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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Completion of the Weimar Edition of Goethe.

Professor Bernhard Suphan, Director of the Goethe-Schiller-Archiv in Weimar, asks me to make the following announcement of general interest. The only volumes of the Weimar edition of Goethe not yet issued and officially described in the Goethe Jahrbuch are the following, fewer than is usually supposed:

I. Abtheilung (works proper).

5II (additional and new poems, together with the critical apparatus to vols. 4 and 5I) since the death of Redlich, who had almost completed the work, in charge of Julius Wahle.

25II (Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, concluding vol. with critical apparatus) to be edited by Carl Schüddekopf.

These two volumes present unusual difficulties, and may not appear for two years.

31–32 (Italiänische Reise II Theil. Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt) edited by Wahle.

42II (literary essays concluded, and critical apparatus to 42I) edited by Max Hecker.

II. Abtheilung (scientific works).

5II (various papers relating to the theory of colors) is already printed.

13 (a supplementary volume not at first contemplated), edited by Max Morris, is also already printed.

III. Abtheilung (diaries), complete except the volumes of indexes which will require much labor to prepare.

IV. Abtheilung (letters, in chronological order).

30 (beginning with November, 1818, and including an index to the letters still needing one: *i. e.* since Schiller's death), edited by Schüddekopf, will appear very shortly. The following volumes will be issued as rapidly as possible—at first four and then five annually, so that all forty-eight volumes of letters including

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the indexes will be out at the end of four years from now. To facilitate matters the letters in the later volumes will be numbered independently, so that one volume need not be kept back for another. It is thus confidently expected that the entire edition (with the exception of course of the authoritative Bibliography not yet begun) will be completed in four years.

Since there is some misunderstanding on the subject it may be worth while to note here that while the various *Abtheilungen* are sold separately as units, single volumes may not be had, *except* in the case of the *Gedichte* (volumes $1\text{-}5^{II} = 6$ volumes, cf. above) and *Faust* (volumes 14 and $15^{I\text{-}II} = 3$ volumes).

The eminent scholars so long engaged on this monumental work rely on the coöperation of scholars and those having Goethe autographs in every land, and anyone noticing any errors or misprints, or able to contribute as to autograph material (however insignificant apparently) is earnestly besought to communicate at once with the Goethe-Schiller-Archiv in Weimar. It is for instance especially desirable that Goethe's lost letter (August 11, 1819, cf. Goethe-Jahrbuch, 1904, pp. 16 and 34) to Harvard College be found, so as to be printed in its proper place chronologically.

LEONARD L. MACKALL.

Johns Hopkins University.

A Critical Edition of Wieland.

In view of the well known need for a complete and critical edition of Wieland, the Berlin Academy has decided to undertake one on a large scale, including all his letters and translations. An announcement to this effect was made in the open meeting of the Academy on January 28, 1904, and at least one short notice (Herrigs Archiv CXII, 385) has appeared since. Yet it seems decidedly advisable again to call public attention to this matter, so as to secure the active coöperation of all in possession of Wieland manuscripts, etc. Communications should be addressed to the Königl. Akad. der Wissensehaften, Potsdamerstrasse, Berlin, or in regard to Wieland's letters to Prof. Bernhard Seuffert, Harrachgasse 1, Graz, Austria.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XX. BALTIMORE, JANUARY, 1905. No. 1.

THE RELATION OF MUSICAL TERMS IN THE WOODKIRK SHEPHERDS PLAYS TO THE DATES OF THEIR COMPOSITION.

In the *Prima Pastorum*,[1] when the three shepherds have finished their meal, one suggests a song before parting, to which the second shepherd assents.

> "Who so can best syng
> Shall have the begynnyng."—ll. 265, 266.

A similar incident occurs in *Secunda Pastorum*, the first shepherd saying :

> "Yet I wold, or we yode | oone gaf vs a song."—l. 183.

To this the others agree, and they proceed to distribute the parts as follows :

> 1*st Shep.* "Lett me syng the tenory."
> 2*nd Shep.* "And I the tryble so hye."
> 3*rd Shep.* "Then the meyne fallys to me ;
> Lett se how ye chauntt."—ll. 186–9.

Again, when the angel has sung his message of peace and good will, the shepherds enter into a discussion concerning the music they have just heard. Says the first, in *Prima Pastorum :*

> 1*st Shep.* "It was wonder curiose | with smalle noytys emang."—l. 306.

and the second exclaims :

> 2*nd Shep.* "Now, by God that me boght | it was a mery song ;
> I dar say that he broght | foure & twenty to a long."—ll. 413, 414.

To this, after a moment's thought, the other rejoins seriously :

> 1*st Shep.* "In fayth I trow noght | so many he throng
> On a heppe ;
> They were gentyll and small,
> And well tonyd with all."—ll. 416–419.

In the *Secunda Pastorum* the shepherds speak with more particularity. One cries :

> 2*nd Shep.* "Say, what was his song? | hard ye not how he crakyd it?
> Thre brefes to a long."—l. 656–7.

and the other replies :

> 3*rd Shep.* "Yee, mary, he hakt it.
> Was no crotchett wrong | nor no thyng that lakt it."—l. 657–8.

As far as I know, there are no other instances in any of the English miracle-cycles where music is mentioned with any suggestion of technicality, except possibly one in the Chester *Shepherd Play* later to be mentioned. In all the Shepherd plays there is somewhat animated discussion as to the words of the angels' song and admiration for the "*mery stefn*," but that is all.

For the Woodkirk plays, however, if my distinctions be not too curious, the inference would seem to be plausible that between the composition of the two Shepherd plays sufficient time must have elapsed for considerable progress in the knowledge of the art of music, at least in the mind of the author. This assumption is based on the suppositions, possibly overstrained, (1) that the song as attempted in *Prima Pastorum* was either a Round or a Plain-song with a bourdon, or humming accompaniment, while that in *Secunda Pastorum* was a three-part Descant, and (2) that the denomination of small notes was not yet generally known at the time when the first play was written, particularly as these, though presumably common in the lighter folk-songs, were long regarded with suspicion by the clerics.

To take up these points in order, let me first assume that the shepherds' song in the earlier play was a Round or Plain-song with humming accompaniment. This does not necessarily follow from the words :

> "Who so can best syng
> Shall have the *begynnyng*,"

[1] *The Towneley Plays*, ed. England and Pollard, E. E. T. S., ext. ser., lxxi, 1897.

though I have granted it the benefit of the doubt. This possibility is also suggested in the Chester *Adoration of the Shepherds*,[2] when Trowle says :

> Nowe sing on ! let us see !
> Some songe I will assaie :
> All men *singes after me*,
> For musique of me learne you may.—ll. 455 ff.

We know that Rounds had long been popular in England from the extant copy of *Sumer is a cumen in*,[3] which Sir Fred. Madden assigned to 1240. Chappel, in 1855, said that it was written in 1226 by John of Fornsete, who kept the Cartulary of the Abbey of Reading, but later[4] suggested that it may have been written by Walter of Evesham in 1240. The language shows that it cannot have been much later than the middle of the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, no other Round is extant for two hundred years, but "Walter Map,"[5] writing before the middle of the thirteenth century, speaks of "subjecting Canons to the form of Rounds"[6] with a homely naïveté that proves his readers were too familiar with Rounds and Canons to mistake the drift of his allusion.

> "Commissus notario, munera suffunde;
> Statim causae subtrahet quando, cur, et unde,
> Et formae subjiciet canones rotundae."

Admitting the familiarity with the Round, the question arises as to whether Descant as such was not of much later birth, resulting perhaps from recognition of its possibility through the harmonies produced by the Round. Unfortunately, the early history of music is in a state of the utmost confusion, since musical tracts and treatises, though written in great numbers, do not agree in definition or historical facts. De Muris,[7] writing as late as 1326, gives a long and confusing list of various names used by different writers to indicate the same thing, showing that even in his time notation was far from being settled. Modern scholars also exhibit almost the same variance, and it is hazardous to accept any theory. Especially dark is the early meaning of Descant and the history of its appearance.

Giraldus Cambrensis,[8] writing about 1185, says, "The Britons do not sing their tunes in unison, like the inhabitants of other countries, but in different parts . . . . as many different parts as singers finally unite in consonance and organic melody on soft B flat. In the northern parts of Britain and on the borders *of Yorkshire* the inhabitants make use of a similar kind of symphonious harmony in singing, but with *only two* varieties of tone and voice, the one murmuring the under part, the other singing the upper in a manner equally soft and pleasing." The fact that this was not common to all England but only to the North, he would account for as an inheritance from the Danes and Norwegians, but Chappel thinks it more probably came from the monks of Weremouth. Such singing, however, was merely extempore and popular and cannot be accepted as due to musical theory.

Lavignac[9] quotes a tradition that a monk of the ninth century, Hucbald of St. Armand, did combine fourths and fifths in a barbaric harmony, and Matthew[10] adds that in a tract, *Musica Enchiriadis*, he called these tenor and descant. On the other hand, W. C. Printz,[11] writing his *Historische Beschreibung der Edelen Sing- und Kling-Kunst* in 1690, places the invention of music in consonance in 940, with St. Dunstan of Canterbury as the first to compose in parts, though even he admits that singing in consonance was not general till long after. The truth of this statement seems to have been generally accepted for a time, but wholly without evidence. J. Nucius, however, in 1613, in his *Musices Poeticae* ascribes the invention to John of Dunstable in 1400. It is most probable that Printz confused the two names and should have taken the latter, though 1400 is too

[2] *The Chester Plays*, ed. Deimling, E. E. T. S. ext. ser. lxii.

[3] Wm. Chappel, *Old English Popular Music*, ed. H. Ellis Wooldridge, N. Y., 1893.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. xi.

[5] Sir G. Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1899. See *Sumer*.

[6] Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Contra Avaros.* (1179 or 1210?)

[7] C. Abdy Williams, *The Story of Notation*, London, 1903, p. 124.

[8] *Descriptio Cambriae*, cap. XIII. See Chappel, p. 6.

[9] A. Lavignac, *Music and Musicians*, 1901, p. 393. See also H. Ellis Wooldridge, *Oxford History of Music, The Polyphonic Period*, vol. I, p. 46, 1901.

[10] J. E. Matthew, *Manual of Musical History*, 1892, p. 15.

[11] Sir J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, London, 1853, p. 651.

late for the invention of symphonious music, but perhaps not for its first systematic application.

Hawkins[12] declares that symphony was known before Guido of Arezzi, who about 1040 invented a notation to define it, and Naumann[13] speaks of Guido as zealous in part-singing. Yet he, later, calls *Sumer is a cumen in* the only extant specimen of polyphonic music of the early period. Wooldridge,[14] on the other hand, believes that the *Winchester Troper* (1080) contains some two-part pieces, but as these are in neumes without staff or clef, an exact translation is impossible. Of this Davey[15] says that one cannot judge, though, since it is a double tropary, there is a slight suggestion of harmony. There is no indication of length of notes, nor is there any evidence that two lines were intended to be sung simultaneously. The *Arundel MS.* 248[16] seems also to have music in two parts.

Granting that part singing was known thus early,—and yet the two-part manuscripts may have been written for the organ, not for the voice,—we cannot assume more than that they are such "fortuitous or experimental conjunction of notes as we find in some French and English manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries."[17] Crowest[18] quotes Chappel as saying that part singing was common in Wales or at least that the people made Descant, the forerunner of Counterpoint, to their tunes in the same way that singers did to the Plain Song of the Church, singing extemporancously above and below it.

It is not until 1326 or 1330 that we certainly find separate parts well developed when Jean de Muris[19] in a musical treatise, *Speculum Musicae*, describes Descant and gives the name tenor to the main harmony. Whether or not he was the first to use the terms, his use is authoritative, as he was highly skilled in the learning of his time. Several of his treatises on music are still extant. We know that in the fourteenth century a system of "faux-bourdon,[20]—Ritter[21] says that it appeared about 1322,—in a series of thirds and sixths in three parts began to take the place of the former harsh fourths and fifths, and that this, becoming immediately popular, was rapidly adopted everywhere. Chaucer frequently testifies to the practice of part singing in his day, as when he writes:

> "This Somonour bar to hym a stif bordoun,"[22]

or again:

> ". . . For som of hem songe lowe
> Som hye, and al of oon acorde."[23]

While Counterpoint may have been known before de Muris,[24] he was the first to methodize and clarify knowledge in this as in mensurable music. From his time the science of music made rapid strides. In 1364 Guillaume de Machault[25] wrote for triplum, motetus, contratenor, and tenor, and about 1380 Wyclif[26] speaks of "grete crying of song as deschaunt, contrenote, and orgene." Finally, about 1400, John of Dunstable[27] so systematized and developed the science of music that he has by many later students been recognized as the father of polyphony.

To sum up the argument thus far, we find a tradition of music in parts as early as the ninth and eleventh centuries as employed by Hucbald and Guido and a disposition on the part of some modern scholars to grant this tradition, of others to deny the appearance of Descant before de Muris. Whether or not it was practised before, it was not until he wrote his treatises that we have conclusive evidence of Descant properly so-called. At least, we are sure that the period from de Muris through Dunstable was one of

[12] Hawkins, p. 151.

[13] E. Naumann, *The History of Music*, ed. by Ouseley, London, p. 205.

[14] Wooldridge, p. 75.

[15] Davey, *History of English Music*, p. 13.

[16] Davey, p. 29.

[17] Davey, p. ix.

[18] F. J. Crowest, *The Story of British Music from the earliest Times to the Tudors*, N. Y., 1896, p. 65.

[19] J. J. Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de Musique*. See *de Meurs*, VII, 186.

[20] A. Lavignac, p. 400.

[21] F. Ritter, *The History of Music*, Boston, 1883, p. 62.

[22] Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales, Prologue*, l. 675.

[23] Chaucer, *Death of Blanche the Duchess*, ll. 304, 305.

[24] Michaud, *Biographie universelle*, see *de Muris*. See also Naumann, p. 297, and R. Hope, *Medieval Music*, London, 1899, p. 133.

[25] A. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, 2nd ed. 1880, II, p. 337.

[26] Wyclif's *Works*, ed. 1880, p. 77.

[27] Davey, p. vii.

rapid development in this art. What I would suggest, though with great hesitation, is that at the time of *Prima Pastorum* the author was thinking only of a Round or of rough impromptu Descant on Plain-song, but that when he wrote the second or revised play, he had learned more about music and could speak more technically ; in other words, that the interval between the two plays was one of development such as we know the last half of the fourteenth century to have been.

De Muris had described the tenor. By the time of *Secunda Pastorum* a new part, the treble, had been added. If only it were known when this term was first used, it might help to determine the date of these plays. Ambros[28] thinks that the name treble may have been derived from *triplum*, since it was so used in the annals of Ludwig IX. He records that it was seen as early as 1364 in a *Gloria* of Guillaume de Machault written for the coronation of Charles V.

To turn now to the other musical references, we see in the first play wonder at the number of "smalle notes,"—"foure and twenty to a long" —as one shepherd guesses, though the other would not hazard "so many." These are general statements such as anyone unacquainted with musical theory might venture. Indeed, the second shepherd shows positive ignorance when he suggests the impossible combination of twenty-four notes to a long, a suggestion only doubtfully rejected by the other. The only notes[29] known to early musicians were the long and the breve, and the first liturgical music was written almost wholly in breves. Later,[30] Franco of Liege, a learned Benedictine of the last half of the eleventh century, is said to have used four notes,—the large, long, breve, and semi-breve, the last answering to the modern whole note. Hitherto there had been no divisions of musical notes, but all were supposed to sing in the same time to avoid confusion. He invented mensurable music. To de Muris, who so clearly employed Franco's invention, was long accredited the invention of the minim,[31] but this he only adopted from its discoverer,[32] Phillipo de Vitriaco, who may in turn have had it from Navarro.

In accordance with early usage[33] each note was equivalent to three of the next lower denomination, but with the tendency to quicken music, seen in the introduction of one small note after another, came a lessening of the value of the notes themselves until each became equivalent to only two of the next lower. Rhythm, according to the earlier system, was called *perfect*,[34] as answering to the Trinity ; to the later, *imperfect*. By neither reckoning can one count "foure and twenty to a long." The shepherd in *Secunda Pastorum* was better versed in music, when he perceived in the angels' song the perfect rhythm of "three brefes to a long."

Finally, the third shepherd in this latter play employs a term not hitherto found,—"Was no crotchett wrong." Even as late as de Muris there is no reference to this note. Indeed, he writes, "Minima quae est? Impartita. Quare? Quia non est dare minore minus."[35] But about 1400 Thomas de Walsyngham,[36] royal historiographer to Henry VI and author of one of the musical tracts, number seven, in the *Manuscript of Waltham Holy Cross*,[37] there writes: "There are five characters in musical notation,—the Large, Long, Breve, Semi-breve, and Minim. Of late a new character has been introduced called a crotchett, which would be of no use would musicians remember that beyond the minim no subdivision ought to be made." In number three[38] of the same manuscript the author speaks of the semi-minim or crotchetum as a useless invention which he had rejected, and number five, variously ascribed to John Hambois, Simon Tunsted, and John of Torkesey or Tewksbury, describes a shorter note than the minim, called by some, the author says, a crotchetum, by others a simple. This manuscript, belonging in 1795 to the Earl

[28] Ambros, II, 337–8.

[29] Bedford, *Temple Music*, 1706, XI, 227.

[30] Ambros, II, 360 ff. Also Hawkins, pp. 176, 217, and N. Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, Leipzig, 1801, II, 391 ff.

[31] Hawkins, p. 217. Michaud, see *de Muris*.

[32] Forkel, II, 418 ; Ambros, II, 379.

[33] Hawkins, p. 223, 235.

[34] Ambros, II, 364.

[35] Ambros, II, 379.

[36] See Michaud, *de Walsyngham ;* also S. Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography, Thomas de Walsyngham.*

[37] *Lansdowne MS.* 763, British Museum.

[38] J. Bird, *Gleanings from the History of Music*, Boston, 1850, p. 104.

of Shelbourne, was a collection of tracts made by John Wild, Precentor of the Monastery of the Holy Cross at Waltham before the Reformation. The original manuscript, on vellum of the fourteenth century, was destroyed by fire in the eighteenth, but fortunately a copy had been made by Dr. Pepusch. Granting that the fifth number was written by Tunsted[39] we can date it about 1351, and so find an approximate date for the appearance of the crotchet, and assign 1400 for its more complete establishment.

From these data it is, I urge, not unreasonable to infer that *Prima Pastorum* was written early in this period of transition and intense interest in music, *Secunda Pastorum* later in its development, perhaps about 1400 or a little later.

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THE HARVARD MANUSCRIPT OF THE FARCE OF *MAISTRE PIERRE PATHELIN* AND PATHELIN'S JARGONS.

The two oldest texts of *Pathelin* at present known are that which Guillaume Le Roy is believed to have printed not later than 1486, and the edition published by Pierre Levet (who copied Le Roy) about 1489. Only one copy of each exists. Le Roy's *Pathelin* is now owned by a private collector; Levet's *Pathelin* is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Several pages, lost long ago from Le Roy's edition, are now represented by counterfeits, so cunningly executed as almost to foil suspicious scrutiny. But investigation reveals that the skilful penman to whom the false pages are due borrowed the missing text from the copies of *Pathelin* by Beneaut and Levet in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Thus we know to a certainty which pages are counterfeit, and from the excellent edition by Levet we may supply what the older and slightly better edition by Le Roy has lost.

Apparently these two printed books have preserved the text of *Pathelin* remarkably well, and this is scarcely to be wondered at, for Le Roy's edition appeared in all likelihood not more than sixteen years after the birth of our farce; the tradition was still fresh, and the text was furthermore preserved from corruption by being in octosyllabic rime. Nevertheless, the disappearance of the earliest manuscripts, fatal though it was, is a real misfortune. No scholarship, however keen, will ever be able to restore the original text. And this is particularly true of those verses in which Maître Pierre raves in various dialects, to the great amusement of the audience but to the utter bewilderment of Guillaume Joceaume and of ourselves. Even if we knew thoroughly how the dialects,—I might almost say the *patois* of Picardie, Lorraine, the Limousin, Normandie, Brittany, and Flemish France were spoken about the year 1470, our knowledge would not help us in the least to reconstitute the text of *Pathelin*, and here is the reason: Had the author of *Pathelin* been able to write correct verse not only in French—his mother tongue—but in four or five dialects, to say nothing of Latin and of Breton, an idiom different in every way from French, then he would have been a prodigy more wonderful than the troubadour, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, who feigns to have held a bilingual conversation in verse with a plain housewife of Genoa.[1]

It would be easy to cite a score of authors great and small who have written or attempted to write verses in some foreign tongue. That any man ever succeeded, or could succeed, in writing absolutely correct verses in six or seven different dialects and languages is incredible. Why, then, should we suppose the author of *Pathelin* to have been capable of such a feat? Is it not infinitely more probable that he was not? And what artistic motive could he have had for attempting such a *tour de force*, even with the help of individuals to the manner born? The whole aim of the genius who wrote *Pathelin* was doubtless to amuse his audience by having a shrewd rascal of a lawyer bewilder and cheat a thick-witted tradesman by causing that lawyer to babble in various kinds of gibberish more or less closely resembling

[39] See *Dict. Nat. Biog., Hamboys.*

[1] Dante, on the other hand, has left certain verses in Provençal, which seem inaccurate when compared with authentic Provençal of his or a slightly earlier time. So, too, Shakespeare's French, as handed down, is not flawless.

uncouth or familiar contemporary dialects. This comic device was not new in the year 1470, and it has been employed with many variations by other writers since, not necessarily to abet the schemes of swindlers, but to create laughter. Rabelais knew the trick and he played it handsomely in the sixth and ninth chapters of the second book of Pantagruel.

Mr. L. E. Chevaldin has spent four years writing a book in which he attempts to restore and translate *Les Jargons de la Farce de Pathelin.*[2] It can not be said that he has succeeded. An assumption that the author of *Pathelin* was a kind of poetic "Mithridates" is in itself extravagant, but the further assumption that anyone now living can restore the jargons used by the delirious lawyer to their original form is logically absurd. There was method in Pathelin's madness, but the method was not philological. Had we the author's own manuscript we should unquestionably see something quite different from the text so confidently produced by Mr. Chevaldin. Unfortunately, the author's manuscript is lost forever, having doubtless been thumbed out of existence by the first performers of his immortal farce. Other manuscripts were no doubt soon copied from the first, but they too have disappeared, and the only manuscripts at present known belong to the very end of the fifteenth, or to the first half of the sixteenth century, or, as is the case with the Harvard MS., to the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The so-called Taylor MS., a fragment on vellum, has been assigned to the fifteenth century. Whatever its true date may be, this MS. is incomplete, and, though its readings are often highly suggestive, it is hardly so authoritative as Le Roy or Levet. The two paper manuscripts rightly assigned to the sixteenth century and now preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, are garbled, modernized, and in all respects inferior to the printed editions of Le Roy and Levet; yet they contain certain interesting features, and should in any case not be scorned by anybody who aims to offer a critical text, for it often happens that a modern or comparatively modern text contains, despite all its changes, primitive features not to be found in considerably older texts. For this reason it was a pleasant surprise to learn that Harvard University possessed a manuscript of *Pathelin.* Of this I may give a description; for, whatever its value may be, this manuscript is one of Pathelin's heirs and is at least important enough to be briefly noticed and included henceforth in all *Pathelin* bibliographies.

The Harvard Library bought this MS. from the Medlicott Library, for $5.00, September 2, 1878. The MS. was then, as now, bound in a mottled calfskin binding which belongs, no doubt, to the eighteenth, and probably to the middle of the eighteenth century. On the back of the binding are these words: "LA COMEDIE DE PATELIN." The MS. itself bears no title. On the recto of the second fly-leaf (part of the MS. and not of the binding) are the following words, written with a pencil in a hand very similar to that of the text, but obviously later than 1755: "Bouche, histoire de Provence, tom. 2 page 722, dit qu'il a vû une très grande quantité de pièces de vingt sols appellées quarts d'Escu, marquées de l'an 1591 et du nom du cardinal Bourbon; et même une de cette sorte de l'an 1596.

"Hist. de France par Daniel, tome XI. page 608. Paris, 1755. 17 vol. in-4°." The verso bears a Library memorandum. On the recto of the next page, numbered 1, the text begins:

> "Maistre Pierre Pathelin
> et Guillemette sa femme.
>
> Pathelin.
> Sainte Marie, Guillemette," *etc.*

The text of *Pathelin* ends at the top of p. 72. Close under the last verse, "S'il me trouue, ie luy pardonne" begins a "Chancon," written in the same hand and ending near the bottom of p.

[2] *Les Jargons de la Farce de Pathelin, pour la première fois reconstitués, traduits et commentés, avec le bienveillant concours de philologues français et de professeurs d'universités françaises et étrangères.* Par L.-E. Chevaldin, Professeur agrégé au Lycée de Rouen, Ancien Chargé de conférences de grammaire à la Faculte des Lettres de Poitiers. Paris: Albert Fontemoing, éditeur, 1903.

The 515 pages of this book bear convincing evidence as to the enthusiasm and industry of its author, but he has introduced an immense amount of things which seem to me to have nothing to do with the case. Mr. Chevaldin's plan is good, as may be seen by the citation given below from his *Table des matières*, and he has brought together many interesting facts, but, as has been said above, his restorations and his translations are not conclusive because his premises are untenable.

73. This *chanson* is a sprightly example of fifteenth-century lyric poetry and, unless it turns out to have been printed—Mr. Jeanroy writes me that he does not remember having read such a piece—I shall hope to publish it later, with a few explanatory notes. After the *chanson* come these words :

> "Transcrit sur l'original le
> Lundi 20 . de Septbre fait par
> Jules[?] * * * * * iort * * "

The asterisks represent a, to me, undecipherable scrawl. The legible part of this signature and part of the word "fait" are written on a patch, but this patch was fastened on before the last words were written. The rest of the MS. is in a clear, rather rounded hand, small enough to allow each page to contain some 33 lines. The pages are 16.7 centimetres high by 10.4 wide. The scribe numbered them all. He also numbered the verses by tens up to 1000, with which figure the numbering ends. But his numbering soon goes wrong, for vs. 20 is omitted, and thereafter certain insertions and omissions occur.

Whatever the scribe's "original" may have been (for he assuredly did not "transcribe" any extant MS. or printed book) his model probably belonged to the first half of the sixteenth century when various publishers had already begun to modernize the vocabulary and syntax of *Pathelin;* for in but forty or fifty years the language had undergone such changes that even a reader, still more a hearer, would have misunderstood, or not understood, what was no doubt clear to everybody in the year 1470. In these forty or fifty years the French language may be said to have changed as much as in the two centuries between Molière and Hugo. *Pathelin* seemed quaintly archaic to Étienne Pasquier, whose delightful essay—the earliest study of *Pathelin* known—appeared in the first edition of his *Recherches* in 1560.

Probably the modernizations in the Harvard MS., as well as a good many other variants, were in the "original." A few of them are worth quotation.

	Le Roy (about 1486).	Harvard MS.
7	dont on chante en aduocassaige	Dont on pense en auocassage
96	He dieu quel marchant	Hé Dieux ! quel allant.
167	tant plus vous voy dieu par le pere	Hé Dieux ! tant bien ie uous appaire,
273	Nenny de par une longaine	Nenni. tant de peine m'engaigne,
278	Hen cest pour une	hape pour une,
296	Ie iray mais il fait mal dacroire	J'iray mais i'ay regret d'accroire
297	ce scauez vous bien a lestraine	Cet argent qui est mon estraine.
546	Ouy le mal saint mathurin	Ouy. que le mal St. Mathelin,
547	sans le mien au cueur vous tienne	Sans mon peché au coeur vous tienne.
829	Ha quel(le) nicette	Ah ! quel emporté !
848–855	"Picard" jargon.	Pure French, though archaic.
971	veez vous pas comme il estime	Cõme il se debat et consume.
972	haultement la diuinite	Comme il a l'esprit agité.

Many other examples might be cited. These few are enough. Yet a modernization of a different and important character should be noticed.

The oldest editions of *Pathelin* give no divisions into scenes. The Harvard MS., however, divides the play into fourteen scenes. The last, to be sure, is called "Scene trezieme," but this is due merely to an error of the "original" or of the scribe, through which "Scene huitieme" occurs twice. The division of a play into acts and scenes was an invention of the Renaissance.

Although the Harvard MS. is not a faithful transcription of any text at present known, it has a few striking features similar or identical to those in other more or less eccentric texts :

	Galiot du Pré (1532).	Harvard MS.
41	Car s'il, *etc.*	Car s'il, *etc.*

(By the omission of *Car*, Le Roy's edition gives here only seven syllables, though eight are required to make a correct verse).

273	Nenny tant de peine mengaigne	Nenni. tant de peine m'engaigne,
674	. . . . . cude	. . . . . cude

	Ménier (1614).	Harvard MS.
76	D'un gris vert, d'un fin de brucelle	D'un gris verd, d'un fin de Bruxelle,

Other very similar or even identical peculiarities of Ménier's *Pathelin* and of the Harvard MS. might be pointed out, but I expect to print them in the Variants of my critical edition. In any case the freakish features of the MS. are not numerous enough to furnish a good clue as to the source from which it was derived. No doubt several "original," that is, old, texts may have been accessible to the scribe, but it is not likely that we shall ever know exactly which he copied. Possibly he copied from more than one. Whatever the truth may be, of one thing I am sure: The Harvard MS. of *Pathelin*, though itself not earlier than the seventeenth century, presents readings different from those of any other MS. or printed edition now known, and these readings in a large measure go back to a much earlier time, preserving, it may be, certain features of the really original text. These readings are likely to be valuable, when the time comes for attempting to offer a scientific edition. In conclusion, the Harvard MS. is worth quite as much as the two paper MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and, like other efforts to rejuvenate the style of a work which new generations wished to enjoy but could no longer understand, unless it was made young like themselves, it teaches not a little about the decay of ideas, or rather of that vehicle called language which seems to change even faster than the ideas that it has to bear. At any rate, it should not be slighted by anyone interested in *Maître Pathelin*.

Here follows an illustrative citation from Mr. Chevaldin's *Table des Matières*:

SECONDE PARTIE

Les jargons de la farce de Pathelin

Chapitre 1.—Le Breton

I. Note préliminaire..... 79
II. 1. Le français bretonisé..... 81
2. Le Breton du ms. Bigot [A very corrupt MS. belonging to the first half of the sixteenth century. At least forty years younger than the oldest printed text]..... 91
3. Le breton du ms. La Vallière [The same remark applies]..... 93
4. Le breton du ms. Taylor [On page 81 Mr. Chevaldin says, "c'est le manuscrit Téchener de M. Loth, ou de ce qu'on pourrait appeler la vulgate du *Pathelin*." On page 254 he says, . . . "c'est dans le manuscrit Taylor et dans la vulgate qu'il faut découvrir le mot." What this mysterious "vulgate" may mean I should like to know. On page 102, finally, Mr. Chevaldin says, "Les huit premières [éditions] constituent, avec les trois manuscrits restants, à peu près tout le bagage *pathelinesque* de la Bibliothèque Nationale." The so-called "Taylor MS." is catalogued under "Nouvelles Acquisitions, f. f. 4723." This MS. is on vellum. Two hundred and twenty-six verses are lacking at the beginning; fifty, between the thirty-ninth and fortieth folios, and nineteen at the end.

As to "Les huit premières [éditions]," Mr. Chevaldin not only is assuming that none have been lost, but the list he gives is wrong anyhow. He does not include a dozen nameless, undated editions, nor does he seem to recognize the two editions by Nyverd, the valuable Le Caron, Jannot, and, worst of all his omissions, the edition of Le Roy. Furthermore, Mr. Chevaldin seems to be wholly ignorant of the relations and relative importance of these various editions. But these are only a few of the incoherences and confusions which swarm over the 515 pages of this book].
5. Restitution d'Émile Souvestre..... 104
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It would be labor wasted to criticize this book at greater length. A refutation in detail of Isidor of Seville's *Etymologiæ* would scarcely require more time and space, and would be equally useless.

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HROTHULF.

Hroðulf, who was hitherto regarded as the nephew of Hroðgar and the son of Halga,[1] has lately been assigned a new rôle, that of brother-in-law to the venerable Danish king (W. C. Abbott, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIX, 122–125). If this were proved to be true, we should have just cause to rejoice over the identification of the long lost husband of Healfdene's daughter (l. 62 f.). At the same time it is important to note that the desire to supply this very name has been the primary motive of this novel interpretation of Hroðulf's position. To show that nothing is gained, but much lost by the proposed innovation, is the object of the following lines.

Hroðulf has no share in the action of the poem. The whole story might have been told without his existence ever being alluded to. (No wonder that Müllenhoff laid the insertion of the name at the door of his interpolator A). He seems to be a figure-head. Yet one of marked dignity, rank, and importance. In epic tradition he is closely associated with Hroðgar. Shoulder by shoulder they fight against Ingeld, Hroðgar's son-in-law, humble his pride and rout the host of the Heaðobeardan (*Wids.* 45–49). They occupy seats of honor side by side in the hall Heorot (*Beow.* 1163 f.), as befits near relatives of royal rank, who are called *magas*, *Beow.* 1015, and *suhtergefæderan*, *Beow.* 1163, *suhtorfædran*, *Wids.* 46. It almost looks as if Hroðulf were conceived of as a sort of joint-regent, and it may be questioned whether *maga gemedu* 247, 'the consent of the kinsmen' (without which there was properly no admission to the land of the Danes) should not be understood with reference to the *magas* of l. 1015. With just a little imagination we may draw a fine picture of the two Scyldings ruling in high state and glory over the Danes, Hroðgar the old and wise, a peace-maker (l. 470 ff., 1859 ff., 2026 ff.), a man of sentiment, and Hroðulf, the young and valiant, a great warrior, a man of energy and ambition. At a later time, however, as the poet intimates, not without fine 'tragic irony' (Sarrazin), the harmonious union was broken (*þa gyt wæs hiera sib ætgædere, / æghwylc oðrum trywe* 1164, cf. *Wids.* 45 : *Hroþwulf and Hroðgar heoldon lengest / sibbe ætsomne*), treachery was committed (*nalles facenstafas / þeodscyldingas þenden fremedon*, l. 1018), and Hroðulf, unmindful of his obligations to his uncle, behaved ill toward his cousins, Hreðric and Hroðmund (l. 1180 ff.), that is to say (very likely) usurped the throne (cf. Sarrazin, *Engl. Stud.*, XXIII, 230 ; Uhlenbeck, *Tijdschrift voor nederl. taal- en letterk.* XX, 186). The 'epic prophecy,' though skilfully veiled in this instance, is no less reliable than the prediction of the great feud between the Danes and Heaðobeardan (ll. 83 ff., 2026 ff.).[2]

Valuable light is thrown on the person of Hroðulf by Scandinavian sources, such as the Hrolfs Saga, Ynglinga Saga, Saxo Grammaticus, etc. In these Hrolf figures as the son of Helgi, Hroar's brother, and is a hero of great prominence, a king whose glory equals that of Hroðgar in the Anglo-Saxon epic (Müllenhoff, *Beovulf* 32 ff.). That the story of Hroðulf's treachery also was known in Scandinavian tradition has been shown by Sarrazin, who pointed out the allusion to Rolvo's slaying of Röricus (*Engl. Stud.* XXIV, 144 f.).

To ignore the testimony of Scandinavian sources would be wilfully throwing away a kind of information no *Beowulf* student can dispense with.

Now what are the arguments advanced by Mr. Abbott? 1. "It is not probable that the son of Hrothgar's younger brother would be honored

[1] *I. e.*, by modern scholars. Leo made him Hroðgar's son-in-law (husband of Freawaru), Ettmüller and Thorpe, Hroðgar's cousin.

[2] One is tempted to regard the motive of Beowulf's 'adoption' (ll. 946 ff., 1175 f.) as in some way connected with the motive of Hroðulf's treachery. In case of future difficulties among the Scyldings, Beowulf might come to the rescue of the Danish prince (or princes) (cf. l. 1226 f.), or Hreðric might find a place of refuge at the court of the Geats (*he mæg þær fela / freonda findan*, 1837).

with a place by the king himself at the high feast when neither his own sons nor his distinguished guest were so placed, but it is not improbable his brother-in-law might be so honored. It is not probable that the two young sons of Hrothgar would find in the son of their father's younger brother that certainty of protection which the age and position of their uncle would afford." To which objections I beg to offer the following considerations in reply. Hroðgar is throughout represented as an old man, say of sixty-five (according to Trautmann, seventy) years. His two sons, Hreðric and Hroðmund, are youngsters, presumably in the neighborhood of eighteen years. Freawaru, his daughter, looks like a young lady (*geong* 2025) of twenty, and Wealhþeow, who is never spoken of as advanced in life, may have just reached the age of forty or forty-five. (Whether or not she was Hroðgar's second wife, we need not inquire). Allowing a difference of five years between Hroðgar and his younger brother Halga, the son of the latter might be a man of thirty winters, old enough to be looked upon as a future protector of Hroðgar's legitimate heirs (l. 1180 ff.), and young enough to have enjoyed in his tender age—after his father's early death—the loving care of both Hroðgar and Wealhþeow (l. 1186 f.). On the other hand, Hroðgar's sister cannot well be supposed to be his junior by more than fifteen or twenty years (Trautmann, *Anglia-Beiblatt*, x, 260, thinks she is fifty), and her husband [Hroðulf, according to Mr. Abbott] must by this time have seen at least two score and ten, so that, quite contrary to Wealhþeow's words, *he* might have been in a position to befriend *her* in her childhood.

Again, what sense would there be in the brother-in-law's [Hroðulf's] staying at the court? (And why is he never seen in the company of his wife?) Would he not have gone to his own residence, which must be presumed to have been at a considerable distance from Heorot (Lethra), considering he is one of the Scylfings? Contrariwise it is quite natural that the son of the Scylding Halga should remain in his native land. In the same manner uncle and nephew (Hygelac and Beowulf) are found living together in the land of the Geats: *him wæs þam samod | on ðam leodscipe lond gecynde, | eard eðelriht* 2196, and after Hygelac's death, Beowulf acts as guardian of Heardred, his cousin (as Hroðulf is expected to act towards Hreðric and Hroðmund), l. 2377 ff. It is true that the uncle is in this case the mother's brother, *eam* (cf. Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 20).[3]

2. Mr. Abbott calls the customary definition of *suhtergefæderan* 'arbitrary and inconclusive.' He claims for the first part of the word the sense of a relationship created by law, "like our '-in-law' or the French *beau-* compounds."[4] As a matter of fact, the only traceable meanings of *suhterga, suhtri(g)a* are 'brother's son' and 'father's brother's son,' as is clearly stated by Toller. Moreover, Mr. Abbott's further suggestion that "the second part of the compound would . . . indicate that this connection came through the father" is decidedly questionable, since the natural order of the two elements would thus have been reversed.[5] A **mæg-fæder(a)* in place of *fæderen-mæg* could not be thought of. Hence the old interpretation of *suhtergefæderan* (probably = *suhterge-fæderan*) as a dvanda compound like *aðum-swerian*, OS. *gisun-fader* (in which the name of the younger relative precedes that of the older one) may still be regarded as considerably safer.

3. "And it might not be too much to suggest that Beowulf's visit to Hrothgar was not wholly unconnected with the presence of his kinsman [Hroðulf the Scylfing] at the latter's court." If such were the case, we should expect some sort of allusion to that fact, for there was ample opportunity to throw out at least a hint, especially in the various introductory speeches, ll. 372 ff., 407 ff., 457 ff. Nothing of the kind is found, and we need not, and cannot, lower Beowulf's motive, which is one of pure chivalry.

4. The metrical improvement of l. 62 resulting from reading *hyrde ic þæt Elan cwen Hroðulfes wæs* has been shown by Professor Bright to be non-existent. Such a line may safely be pronounced impossible in the poem of *Beowulf*. The stylistic

[3] The companionship of Sigemund and Fitela (*eam* and *nefa*) may also be mentioned, though their connection is of course of a peculiar nature.

[4] By the way, what is meant by the "innumerable compounds" of *Schwieger?*

[5] It might be different if the first part had the plain, definite meaning of 'law.' In that case it might be possible to compare the compound to *godfæder, fostorfæder*, although a **god-ge-fædera* would seem highly problematical.

and metrical functions of *hyrde ic* are clearly seen in l. 2163: *hyrde ic þæt þam frætwum feower mearas| lungre gelice last weardode.*[6]

5. Finally, what is the true nature of the paleographical evidence of which so much has been made? As Mr. F. E. Bryant has pointed out (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIX, 121), *heaðo* of *heaðoscilfingas* (l. 63) appears to be written over an erasure, though no letter underneath *heaðo* can be made out with certainty. What conclusion regarding the original reading of the passage can be drawn from this fact? None whatever. The scribe had made a mistake, which he corrected. That is all the erasure tells us. Whether that unlucky scribal blunder which has caused so much headache to modern scholars, occurred before or after *elan cwen*, cannot be learned from it. Nor do we know whether the (first) scribe of our *Beowulf* copy actually committed or merely transmitted it. Besides can we really be sure that what he erased was not simply a blot of ink?

There would be some point in Mr. Abbott's paleographical argumentation if in the original MS. the half-lines had been indicated as such, but this is out of the question.

To sum up. There is no reason to transfer Hroðulf from the line of the Scyldings to that of the Scylfings. He is not the son-in-law of Healfdene. The names of Healfdene's daughter and her husband are unknown to us. Of the different names proposed for the daughter, *Elan*, *Sigeneow*, *Yrde*, and for the son-in-law, *Onela*, *Ongenþeow*, *Sæwela*, *Hroðulf*, those of *Yrde* and *Hroðulf* must certainly be ruled out.

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DID THACKERAY WRITE *Elizabeth Brownrigge?*

It is a well-known and curious fact that the authorship of *Elizabeth Brownrigge* has never been definitely fixed; nor have the arguments, for and against, ascribing that burlesque to Thackeray ever been succinctly gathered and stated, so far as I am aware. The piece in question first appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* for August and September, 1832, and occupies, in all, about forty double-column pages of that monthly. It is dedicated "to the author of *Eugene Aram*," and is a rather clever parody on that romance of criminal life.

Now, if Thackeray wrote *Elizabeth Brownrigge*, it is a significant fact that he nowhere lays claim to it, nor does any one seem to have ascribed it to him until after his death,—a period of over thirty years after its publication. The first suggestion that Thackeray was the probable author of the burlesque was made by Dr. John Brown, in an article reviewing Thackeray and his work, in the *North British Review* for February, 1864, (Vol. XL, 216 sq.). The original Thackeray bibliography, compiled by Mr. R. H. Shepherd, 1880, contained no mention of *Elizabeth Brownrigge*, and the "Works of William Makepeace Thackeray," completed in 1886, failed to include it. The poet Swinburne called Mr. Shepherd's attention to the probable omission from the 1880 bibliography in the unusually guarded statement that "'Elizabeth Brownrigge' . . . ought to be Thackeray's, for, if it is not, he stole the idea, and to some extent the style, [from it, for *Catherine* (pr. 1839)]."[1] Not until 1887, when Mr. Shepherd collected and published "Sultan Stork and other Stories and Sketches by William Makepeace Thackeray," was *Elizabeth Brownrigge* reprinted from the columns of *Fraser*.

That a burlesque showing so much critical acumen and literary skill should remain unclaimed and unidentified so long gives some color to the improbability of its belonging to Thackeray. Furthermore, if Thackeray wrote *Elizabeth Brownrigge*, it is out of all proportion in size and quality to the other productions of Thackeray's earliest literary years, and seems to be a reversal in the evolution of his work. Such an anomaly is, of course, possible, but it is more or less improbable that an aspiring youth of twenty-one should fail to take advantage of the opening which this smart bit of burlesque should have made for him in *Fraser's*

[6] Certainly the phrase does not point to the composer's "uncertainty of information," as has been supposed (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIX, 121).

[1] Letter from A. C. Swinburne to R. H. Shepherd, dated December 24, 1880. Reprinted in *Sultan Stork*, etc., Introd., p. vii.

columns, particularly since Thackeray was not only gifted in the *rôle* of burlesquer, (as witness practically all of his writings before and immediately after 1832), but also he was in urgent need, at this time, of employment. Again, to strengthen this view, it would seem strange that one should write for a magazine a story, parody though it be, so sustained in quality and of the length of *Elizabeth Brownrigge*, and not continue to contribute to the same periodical. Nevertheless, with the exception of *The King of Brentford* (a *jeu d'esprit* in imitation of Béranger's *Il était un Roi d'Yvetot*), it is nearly five years after the publication of *Elizabeth Brownrigge* before Thackeray is certainly identified (in the *Yellowplush Correspondence*) as a regular contributor to *Fraser's*. And as a final possible objection to the Thackeray authorship of the burlesque on *Eugene Aram*, it should be noted that another might have written the burlesque story under consideration: Thackeray could hardly have been alone in seeing the weak points in Bulwer's armor, and the tone of criticism in 1832 was so common to the multitude of writers that it is no easy task to determine the authorship of a given piece from solely internal evidence.

On the other hand, favoring the Thackeray authorship, strong evidence might be deduced from a comparison of *Elizabeth Brownrigge* with *Catherine*. While, as a literary effort, the latter is easily the superior of the former, and while the satire is less bitter and the burlesque more open and palatable in the later performance; the purpose, method, and style of the two are identical. Both are particularly aimed at Bulwer; they contain similar expressions characteristic of Thackeray; and, above all, the tenets of 'realism' which Thackeray gradually developed for himself and on which he based his great novels, appear in both burlesques as no one but Thackeray, of all his contemporaries, has expressed them. In the dedication to *Elizabeth Brownrigge* we read the following, addressed to Bulwer: "I am told . . . that in a former work, having to paint an adulterer, you described him as belonging to the class of country curates, among whom, perhaps, such a criminal is not met with once in a hundred years; while, on the contrary, being in search of a tender-hearted, generous, sentimental, high-minded hero of romance, you turned to the pages of the *Newgate Calendar*, and looked for him in the list of men who have cut throats for money, among whom a person in possession of such qualities could never have been met with at all." And in a note appended to the first chapter of *Catherine* we find this explanation of the author's purpose: "The amusing novel of *Ernest Maltravers* . . . opens with a seduction; but then it is performed by persons of the strictest virtue on both sides; and there is so much religion and philosophy in the heart of the seducer, so much tender innocence in the soul of the seduced, that—bless the little dears!—their very peccadilloes make one interested in them; and their naughtiness becomes quite sacred, so deliciously is it described. Now, if we *are* to be interested by rascally action, let us have them with plain faces, and let them be performed, not by virtuous philosophers, but by rascals." And more to the same effect. This insistence on novelists representing character as it *is* in the world is the *motivation* common to *Elizabeth Brownrigge* and *Catherine;* and its expression in both is in Thackeray's vein, as evidenced by numerous others of his literary and art criticisms of the period between 1830 and 1840. Another stricture on Bulwer's practice of reversing the characters of life in his novels may be compared with the foregoing in Thackeray's "Our Batch of Novels for Christmas, 1837," published in *Fraser's* for January, 1838 (Vol. 17, pp. 79–103), in which *Ernest Maltravers* is, for the third time, handled after the same manner. In the same article Thackeray makes the following comment on Mrs. Trollope's *Vicar of Wrexhill:* "Mrs. Trollope may make a licentious book of which the heroes and heroines are all of the evangelical party; and it may be true, that there are scoundrels belonging to that party as to every other; but her shameful error has been in fixing upon the evangelical *class* as an object of satire, making them necessarily licentious and hypocritical, and charging upon every one of them the vices which belong to a very few of all sects . . . ." This is of an exact piece with the quotation from the dedication to *Elizabeth Brownrigge*, and may be traced, in spirit and expression, through the review of "The Duchess of Marlborough's Private Correspondence" (1838), "French Literature" (1833),

"Strictures on Pictures" (1838), "Madame Sand and *Spiridion*" (1839), etc., etc., to mention only examples from Thackeray's early writings. The aim and execution of the author of *Elizabeth Brownrigge* is in such perfect harmony with the above citations and with qualities that are peculiarly Thackeray's that, without absolute proofs to the contrary, it does not seem over rash to assign that burlesque to him.

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GOETHE'S *Hermann und Dorothea* AND VOSS' *Iliad.*

The last six years have produced three editions of *Hermann und Dorothea* by American editors, and a fourth is promised us in the near future. The purposes of the editors is necessarily determined by the needs that the text is designed to meet, and the editions make greater or less pretense of scholarship accordingly. We do not demand a large amount of original investigation for a school edition; a presentation of the most essential facts already known, adapted to the needs of the student is what we may expect and is all that is necessary. A certain amount of repetition of the work of others is inevitable and often desirable; certain things are said by every editor of *H. und D.* and must be said by every successor; indeed, it is often better to quote the words of an earlier editor than to appropriate his thought and present it as one's own in a mutilated form. And yet even for the editor of the most unpretentious edition there is often opportunity for verification and sifting of the statements of his predecessors.

Among the things that are inevitable in an edition of Goethe's idyll are references to "the Homeric quality" which pervades it and the student finds numerous citations and annotations to bear this out. For this there is abundant opportunity and justification, perhaps for even more than is ordinarily said. Victor Hehn[1] has collected the most conspicuous passages which suggest reminiscences of Homer and Vergil, and most of our modern editions contain them in the annotations. Concerning line 107 of the seventh canto of *H. und D.*, there prevails remarkable unanimity of opinion among the later American editors in referring it to the *direct* influence of Voss' translation. The line reads:

"In den Brunnen zurück, und süsses Verlangen ergriff sie."

Hart[2] has no note on this line.

Hewitt[3] annotates:

"An Homeric expression. See *Iliad*, III. 446, Voss' translation:

'Wie ich jetzt dich liebe und süsses Verlangen ergreift mich.'"

Hatfield[4] makes the following comment:

"Cf. *Iliad*, III, 446:

ὥς σεο νῦν ἔραμαι καί με γλυκὺς ἵμερος αἱρεῖ

translated by Voss:

Wie ich jetzt dich liebe und süsses Verlangen ergreift mich."

Palmer[5]: "An Homeric expression, fixed in this form by Voss in his translation of the *Iliad*, III, 446:

Wie ich jetzt dich liebe und süsses Verlangen ergreift mich."

Adams[6] merely quotes Hewett.

In spite of the positive statement in the annotations of the editors cited above that the line in question was translated by Voss in the form given by them an attempt to verify the quotation was singularly disappointing, for in the Reclam[7] edition it appears in this guise:

Als ich anjetzt dir glühe, durchbebt von süssem Verlangen.

This failure of the Reclam text to agree with

[1] Victor Hehn, Ueber Goethes *Hermann und Dorothea*. Zweite verbesserte Auflage, page 127 ff. Stuttgart, Cotta, 1898.

[2] James Morgan Hart, Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*. New York, Putnam's Sons, 1875.

[3] W. T. Hewett, Goethe's *H. u. D.* D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1891.

[4] James Taft Hatfield, Goethe's *H. u. D.* Macmillan, New York, 1899.

[5] Arthur H. Palmer, Goethe's *H. u. D.* D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1903.

[6] W. A. Adams, Goethe's *H. u. D.* D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1904.

[7] Reclam's *Universal-Bibliothek*, No. 251–253. Neudruck der ersten Ausgabe, Leipzig.

the reading given by Hewett, Hatfield, Palmer and Adams was not a little puzzling, but an examination of the Cotta edition [8] was just as unsatisfactory, for that likewise read: "durchbebt von süssem Verlangen." That the second half of the line in *H. und D.* is Homeric can not be gainsaid, but it is not a formula used by Voss in translating line 446 of the third canto beyond the agreement in the use of "süsses Verlangen." A reference to that portion of the line as rendered by Voss and the Greek would have been sufficient. It is certainly remarkable that the citation of Professor Hewett should have been so generally accepted without verification by any of the later editors of *Hermann und Dorothea.*

In the lifetime of Voss there appeared five editions of the *Iliad* translation, (1793, 1802, 1806, 1814 and 1821). The fact that Professor Hewett in the bibliography appended to his excellent edition gives "the fifth edition of the *Iliad*, Stuttgart, 1821," suggested the possibility that the form of the quotation might be due to the difference in the edition. Such is, however, not the case. I am indebted to Mr. C. W. Harris, Librarian of Cornell University, for the information that the 1821 edition reads: "durchbebt von süssem verlangen." It was not then the fifth edition that was responsible for Professor Hewett's citation, but to quote from an edition of Voss of 1821 in an attempt to show the influence of Voss upon a work of Goethe's that appeared in 1797 is not to be regarded as safe as a general method. In this particular instance it made no difference, but the words of Lautenbacher in the introduction to his edition of Voss should be noted: "Denn immer suchte er zu verbessern . . . Verbesserte, ja sogar stark verbesserte Auflagen seines Homer kamen heraus, 1802, 1806, 1814 und 1821."

Mr. Charles Allyn Williams, who has at my request consulted the editions at the library of the University of Berlin, states that the first three editions of Voss's translation (1793, 1802, 1806) all read: "durchbebt von süssem verlangen." Through the courtesy of Mr. Wm. C. Lane, Librarian at Harvard, I am able to say that the fourth edition (1814) has likewise the same reading for line 446 of the third canto: "durchbebt von süssem verlangen." The source of the line given by the four American editors I have been unable to ascertain; it is doubtless an actual translation, but is, if I am not mistaken, from some *later* translator of the *Iliad.*

There are other passages, however, in Goethe's idyll that are very suggestive if one is searching for reminiscences of Homer in *H. und D.* If not conclusive they are at least of interest in showing to what extent a similar situation may find expression in closely related form in two poems so widely separated in point of time as the *Iliad* and *Hermann und Dorothea.* It must not be forgotten that a slight similarity in form and thought is heightened when the *metrical* form is the same, and that caution is necessary to guard against over hasty conclusions.

Compare the two following passages from the two poems. I quote from Voss' translation of the *Iliad:*

"Also sprach er bethränt; ihn vernahm die treffliche Mutter (*Iliad*, I, 357).
Und nun setzte sie nahe sich hin vor den Thränenbenetzten,
Streichelt' ihn drauf mit der Hand und redete, also beginnend:
Liebes Kind, was weinst du? und was betrübt dir die Seele?
Sprich, verhehle mir nichts, damit wir es beide wissen." (I, 360-363).

"Wie? du weinest, mein Sohn?" versetzte die Mutter betroffen.
Daran kenn' ich dich nicht; ich habe das niemals erfahren.
Sag', was beklemmt dir das Herz? was treibt dich, einsam zu sitzen
Unter dem Birnbaum hier? Was bringt dir Thränen ins Auge?" (*H. und D.*, IV, 67-70).

I make no attempt to draw any conclusions from the similarity of these two passages, but present them with the suggestion that a careful comparison of Voss' *Iliad* with *Hermann und Dorothea* might bring to light other lines of equal interest.

[8] Homer's *Ilias.* Uebersetzt von Johann Heinrich Voss. Erster druck aus dem Jahr 1793. Mit einer litterarhistorischen Einleitung von Joseph Lautenbacher, Stuttgart, Cotta.

Note.—The materials for this article are the source of the note in Allen's edition.

In the Clarendon Press edition of *H. und D.*, edited by C. A. Buchheim and Emma S. Buchheim (Oxford, 1901),

the suggestion is made that the last part of line 107 in Canto VII might possibly have been imitated from Homer, *Il.* iii. 446 and the Greek is quoted with the supplementary statement that it "is translated by Voss : Wie ich jetzt dich liebe und süsses Verlangen ergreift mich."

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BALTHASAR GRACIAN, AND THE CHAINS OF HERCULES.

In his study of *Gracian und der Geschmark*, Karl Borinski mentions that the interesting Spanish Jesuit when he in the *Discreto* introduces "the hombre de plausibles noticias," talks about the "golden chains of Hercules,"—las cadenas del Tebano.[1] He admits that Gracian has taken the simile from the *Emblems* of Alciato, which had been translated into Spanish as early as 1549. The idea of these chains is, that Hercules is not conquering by physical force only, but more by the power of persuasion—the chief weapon of the "man of fair judgment and laudable conceits." He is represented as leading crowds of people by golden chains starting from his mouth and fastened to his followers.

This illustration occurs twice in Alciato's *Emblems*, once in the *Andreæ Alciati Emblematum Fontes Quattuor*, and again in *Andreæ Alciati Emblematum flumen abundans*, both published by the Holbein Society, the first in 1870, the other in 1871 ; reprints of the original editions, Augsburg, 1531, Paris, 1534, Venice, 1546, and — the flumen abundans—after the Lyons edition, 1557. Both illustrations bear the same motto "Eloquentia fortitudine præstantior," and the same text, to which they supply the explanatory illustration :

> Arcus læva tenet rigidam fert dextera clavam,
> Contegit et Nemees corpora nuda leo.
> Heraclis hæc igitur facies, non convenit illud
> Quod vetus et senio tempora cana gerit.
> Quid quod lingua illi levibus traiecta cathenis
> Quis fissi facili allicit aure viros ? [2]

[1] *Balthasar Gracian und die Hoflitteratur in Deutschland.* Halle, 1894. Section iv, p. 45.

[2] This the text from the "Fontes Quattuor." The "Flum. Ab." has here : Queis fissa facileis ff.

> An ne quod Alcyden lingua n n robore Galli [3]
> Præstantem populis iura dedisse ferunt.
> Cedunt arma togæ et quamvis durissima corda
> Eloquio pollens ad aura vota trahit.—

The two cuts are different. The former is about one and a half by three inches, without marginal embellishments, and occurs in the midst of the unnumbered page, below the text to another emblem. It shows, very much out of drawing, the figure of Hercules with club, bow and lion skin, while a heavy rope-like chain issues from his mouth, which leashes in and passes round the hips of some naked men, who follow Hercules. The other cut fills a whole page under the heading "Scientia," it has a heavy, conventional marginal vignette and shows Hercules, again with his attributes, walking through a mountainous district, while from his mouth pass a series of thin lines—the chains—which are fastened to his followers' ears. These persons are dressed in the style of Alciato's time ; some with the Spanish cape, doublet and hose, others in flowing garments, indicating obviously laity and clergy alike led away by the power of eloquence.

Perfectly independent of these "Emblems," referring neither to Gracian nor Alciato, Professor E. Egger remarks : [4]

"C'est le sophiste Lucien [5] qui, au deuxième siècle après Jesus Christ, voyageant à travers la Gaule y rencontre quelque part une peinture représentant le personnage qu'on tenait pour être l'Hercule gaulois, et qui nous raconte comment un savant du pays, familier avec l'usage de la langue greeque, lui a expliqué cette image d'Hercule. Pour les Gaulois le dieu de l'éloquence n'était pas l'Apollon jeune et beau, si poétiquement réalisé par la peinture et la sculpture hellénique ; c' est un vieillard à cheveux blancs ; le teint hâlé par le soleil, 'comme serait celui d'un vieux marin' ; il porte une peau de lion, un carquois suspendu de ses épaules ; il tient une massue de la main droite, et de la gauche un arc tendu. Mais la massue et les flêches ne sont pas les vrais instruments de sa

[3] Anné, quod Alciden ff.

[4] *L'Hellénisme en France*, Paris, 1869, p. 14.

[5] Cf. Reitz's edition, vol. vii, p. 315, Προς λαλία ἡ Ἡρακλῆς.

puissance celle-ci est toute entière dans la séduction de sa parole. A l'extrémité de sa langue se rattachent des chaines d'or et d'ambre, qui vont de là aux oreilles d'une foule de captifs volontaires et ces captifs suivent avec plaisir le dieu qui les maîtrise. Voila une image étrange, assurément, qui ne *devait* avoir pour les yeux aucun attrait."

This last remark evidently shows that the author has no knowledge of the *Emblemas*, yet he gives a close description of Alciato's pictures.

The "learned Kelt," whom Lucian meets, whom he takes to be "a philosopher among his own people," and who was ὀυκ ἀπαίδευτας τὰ ἡμέτερα, ὡς ἔδειξει ἀκριβῶς Ἑλλάδα φωνήν ἀφιεις, gives the afore-mentioned explanation; he takes up point by point. Why Hercules is the personification of eloquence? He is stronger than Hermes. Why he is old? Τό δέ γῆρας ἔχει τι λέξαι τῶν νέων σοφώτερον. He finally gives a panegyric on eloquence more powerful than arms, closely akin to Alciato's verses.

Now, Alciato was a very learned man, a clever jurist, spending the greater part of his life at Milan with its celebrated libraries; he was known to have studied Greek, which, in his lifetime (1492–1550), took so violently hold of the minds, that orthodox churchmen went so far as to condemn it as being one with reformation and Antichrist. There can be no doubt that he directly refers to Lucian's Gallic Hercules, which he admits in all but mentioning the Sophists, whose cleverness and versatility must have appealed strongly to a man like Alciato.

But it is remarkable that Gracian did not recognize the source of the emblem, which is thus only the carrier of the Hellenic conceit into the Spanish Jesuit's moral treatise, where it roused the criticism of no less a person than Arthur Schopenhauer—"der sich mit Unrecht kritisch darüber geäussert hat," (Borinski: Baltasar Gracian)—yet who evidently was also unaware of its origin.

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NOCH EIN WORT ÜBER GERM. *f, þ, h, s* > *b, ð, ȝ, z*.

Den phonetischen Vorgang, der bei dem Stimmhaftwerden von germ. *f, þ, h, s*, stattgefunden haben soll, beschreibt Verner selber folgendermassen: "Das stärkere Luftausströmen ist ein Moment, das der expiratorische Accent mit den tonlosen Consonanten gemein hat. Daher konnte der verstärkte Luftstrom in der accentuirten Silbe die tonlose Explosiva tonlos erhalten, d. h. verhindern, dass die Stimmbänder zum Tönen verengert blieben, wie dies bei normalem Luftausströmen in der unaccentuirten Silbe geschah." (K. Zs. 23, 116.)

Verner war daher offenbar der Meinung, dass die stimmlosen Spiranten stimmhaft geworden seien, noch ehe die Akzentverschiebung eingetreten war. Dass ihm die meisten späteren Gelehrten darin beipflichteten, erhellt daraus, dass sie den Vorgang graphisch so darstellen: Idg. *patér* > **faðér* > *fáder*. Idg. *swekrū́* > *sweɣrū́* > ahd. *swigar*, &c. (Kluge, *Grundriss* I, 339) **septém* > urg. **sefún* > **seƀún* > *sêƀun*, got. ahd. *sibun* (Dieter, *Altgermanische Dialekte*, 171) Urgerm. **liƀṓ* aus *lifṓ*; Urgerm. **faðér* aus *fapér*, &c. (Brugmann, *Grundriss* I, 388). Auch scheint die gewöhnliche Formulierung des Vernerschen Gesetzes dieselbe Auffassung zu bekunden: Die Erweichung der betreffenden Spiranten erfolgte, "wenn der nächst vorhergehende Sonant nicht nach der idg. Betonung den Hauptton trug" (Paul, P. B. *Beitr.* 6, 538) oder "falls der idg. Wortakzent nicht auf dem unmittelbar vorausgehenden Vokale ruht" (Streitberg, *Urg. Grammatik* 124). "Dieser freie Accent des Indogermanischen reichte noch bis in germanische Zeit hinein, ... und hatte Einfluss auf die Verschiebung der Teunis" (Behaghel, *Die deutsche Sprache*, 8), &c.

Wilmanns dagegen fasst die Sache anders auf: "Nur die Vorsilbe *ga-*, die Grimm bereits mit lat. *co-* identifizierte, ist ein sicheres und altes Beispiel für die Erweichung anlautender Spirans. Dies Verhältnis scheint darauf hinzuweisen, dass, obwohl der Grund zum grammatischen Wechsel in der Zeit des freien Accentes gelegt sein muss, doch der nur bekannte Abschluss erst erfolgte, als bereits die germanische Betonung galt. Nur in

Silben, die nach germanischer Weise unbetont blieben, stellte sich der stimmhafte Laut ein, also in der Vorsilbe *ga-*, zuweilen auch in dem zweiten Bestandteil eines Compositums : *Hermunduri* neben *Thuringi*," &c. (*Grammatik* I, § 24).

Es liegen hier also zwei entgegengesetzte Meinungen vor :

1. Die Erweichung der betreffenden Spiranten fand vor der Akzentverschiebung statt.

2. Die Erweichung der betreffenden Spiranten hat ihren Abschluss erst gefunden, als bereits die germanische Betonung galt.

Keine von diesen beiden Theorieen will mir als stichhaltig erscheinen.

Verners Beweisführung, knapp ausgedrückt, ist diese : *as-á* muss in *az-á* übergehen, und zwar aus folgenden phonetischen Gründen :

s und betonte Silbe haben starkes Luftausströmen gemein.

z und unbetonte Silbe haben schwächeres Luftausströmen gemein.

Hier verfällt er aber in die irrige Meinung, dass kräftige Betonung durch starkes Luftausströmen bedingt sei. Um eine Silbe kräftig zu betonen, muss man freilich Kraft gebrauchen ; aber *wie* diese Kraft verwendet wird, ist eine andere Sache. Ebensogut könnte man argumentieren : Zur Hervorbringung eines stimmhaften Lautes gehört mehr Kraft als zur Hervorbringung eines stimmlosen : daher muss die Kraft, die zum Betonen einer Silbe erforderlich ist, notwendigerweise einen nachfolgenden stimmlosen Laut in einen stimmhaften verwandeln.

Wenn Verners Erklärung phonetisch richtig wäre, müsste ein Satz wie *das eine wie das ándere* eine starke Neigung zeigen in *daz eine wie daz ándere* überzugehen ; was aber besonders bei starker Betonung der bezeichneten Wörter niemals geschieht.[1] Zweitens scheitert Verners Erklärung, wie Wilmanns richtig hervorhebt, daran, dass—wie *Hermunduri*, *messi-rahs* und *ga-* zeigen —die Erweichung nicht eintrat, solange der auf den stimmlosen Spiranten nächst folgende Sonant betont wurde (d.h. den Hauptton trug).

[1] Wenn man den Einwand erhebt : die *s* bleiben stimmlos wegen des festen Einsatzes bei "eine" und "andere," so denke man an englische Sätze wie *give us áll of this íce*, wo das *s* in *us* and *this* desto sicherer stimmlos bleiben je energischer *all* und *ice* betont werden.

Was Wilmanns eigene Ansicht anlangt, so ist folgendes zu bedenken. Wenn die *χ*, *f*, *p* und *s* noch nicht stimmhaft geworden waren, als die germanische Betonung schon im Gebrauch war, so sieht man nicht ein, warum sie nachher, ohne weitere Ursache, stimmhaft werden mussten. Auch auf die Frage 'wann,' wäre wol schwerlich eine Antwort zu geben. Was ist der "Grund" für den grammatischen Wechsel, der in die Zeit des freien Accentes gelegt werden muss? Da der ganze Vorgang ein rein phonetischer ist, könnte man ferner füglich fragen : ist in dem Satze *give us áll of this íce* ein Grund schon vorhanden, warum *s* zu *z* werden müsste, und was ist er? Doch ich will solche Fragen nicht weiter häufen, denn der verehrte Verfasser hat sich, wie ich glaube, absichtlich unbestimmt ausgedrückt, weil er eben keine genaue Erklärung geben wollte.

Meine eigene Ansicht (die mir übrigens so einfach erscheint, dass ich lange gezaudert habe, sie zu veröffentlichen), kann ich folgendermassen formulieren :

Der Übergang von germ. *χ*, *f*, *þ*, *s* > *ȝ*, *ƀ*, *ð*, *z* erfolgte zu einer Zeit, wo bei den Wörtern, die eine Akzentverschiebung erlitten, weder die idg. noch die germ. Betonungsweise galt, sondern zu einer Zeit, wo Level stress herrschte.

Zu dieser Ansicht wird man zunächst rein logisch gezwungen. Denn es liegen nur drei Möglichkeiten vor. Die Erweichung erfolgte endgiltig entweder : 1. Vor der Akzentverschiebung, oder 2. Während der Akzentverschiebung, oder 3. Nach der Akzentverschiebung. Die erste Möglichkeit glaube ich oben abgetan zu haben. Die dritte Möglichkeit kann ich wenigstens als höchst unwahrscheinlich bezeichnen. Es bleibt also bloss die zweite übrig.

Dass Level stress wirklich eine Zeit lang geherrscht hat, brauche ich wol kaum zu beweisen. Es glaubt gewiss niemand, dass sich der Akzent von **barmás* (vgl. *φορμός*) mit einem Sprung zu **bármas*, Got. *bárms* verschoben habe. Man ist gezwungen, sich eine Mittelstufe vorzustellen, wo die Betonung **bàrmàs* galt. Wie lange diese Betonung bestanden haben mag, ist freilich kaum zu ermitteln. Beispiele für dieselbe Betonungsweise, deren Erklärung genau die nämliche ist, kann man täglich im gesprochenen Englisch hören. Noch vor wenigen Jahren wurde überall

suprême betont: jetzt hört man, besonders im westlichen Teil der Vereinigten Staaten, vielfach *sùprème*, mit deutlichem Level stress und Silbentrennung, und es wird niemand Wunder nehmen, wenn sich der Akzent weiter zu *súpreme* verschiebt (desgl. *dètàil* aus *detâil*, *èxprèss* aus *expréss*, &c.). Auch geschichtlich können wir Level stress bei Akzentverschiebungen beweisen. Als das Compositum **mati-sahs* zuerst gebildet wurde, sprach man zweifelsohne **mâti sàhs*, wo *sahs* jedenfalls stärker betont wurde als der Ableitungsvocal *i* von *mati*. Das mhd. nhd. *messer* und die allmähliche Verschrumpfung der Silbe *sahs*, *rahs*, *ras*, &c., beweist andererseits, dass die Betonung des Ableitungsvocals allmählich stärker wurde, während der Akzent des zweiten Gliedes des Compositums im Schwinden begriffen war. Dass es einen Zeitpunkt gab, wo die zweite und dritte Silbe des Wortes gleich stark betont wurden, ist also so gut wie ausgemacht.

Wo ein Wort mit Level stress gesprochen wird, ist ferner zu bemerken, dass sich gewöhnlich auch deutliche Silbentrennung einstellt; so z. B. *sùp-prème* (wo das *p-p* bloss ein langes einfaches *p* darstellen soll), *sè-lèckmen* (=*selectmen*, New England), &c. Solche Silbentrennung kann daher für gleiche Fälle im Germanischen angenommen werden.

Warum nun die χ, *f*, *þ*, *s* zu ɣ, *ƀ*, ð, *z* wurden, ist leicht zu verstehen. Wenn man *faþ-êr* sprach, war kein besonderer Grund vorhanden, warum das *þ* stimmhaft werden sollte, auch nicht bei *fáþ-er* oder *fá-þer*. Wenn man aber *fàþèr* mit Level stress sprach, und noch dazu mit der Silbentrennung innerhalb des *þ*, so war es unvermeidlich, dass *þ* in ð überging, und zwar aus dem einfachen Grunde, weil das *þ* den Angriffen seiner stimmhaften Nachbarlaute auf beiden Seiten ausgesetzt war.

Bei *ga-* gilt natürlich dieselbe Erklärung, nur haben wir hier vom Satzakzent statt vom Wortakzent auszugehen. Fälle wie: *þù ɣà winnas*, *sià ɣà láuban*, &c., haben den Übergang von χ > ɣ veranlasst,[2] und das ɣ ist dann in allen Fällen durchgeführt worden.

Dass in diesem Problem, wie so oft in philologischen Fragen, mathematische Sicherheit nicht zu erzielen ist, gebe ich gern zu. Die Wahrscheinlichkeit aber, dass der phonetische Vorgang, von dem wir reden, so verlaufen ist, wie ich ihn darzustellen versucht habe, scheint mir so gross zu sein, dass ich für meine Person keinen Zweifel an der Richtigkeit der gegebenen Erklärung hegen kann.

Zum Schluss bemerke ich nur noch Folgendes. Das Vernersche Gesetz, wie es von Streitberg und anderen formuliert wird, ist wenigstens irreführend. Man will wol nichts über die Ursache des grammatischen Wechsels sagen, aber indem man schreibt: "falls der idg. Wortakzent nicht auf dem unmittelbar vorausgehenden Vokale ruht" legt man, vielleicht unwillkürlich, den Nachdruck auf den idg. Akzent, der an sich nichts mit dem Wechsel zu tun hatte. Dagegen bleibt die eigentliche Ursache—der Einfluss der stimmhaften Nachbarlaute, dem die Spiranten wegen des durch die Akzentverschiebung veranlassten Level stress ausgesetzt waren—ganz unerwähnt.

Im Lichte des Vorhergehenden möchte ich also das Vernersche Gesetz folgendermassen formulieren:

Die nach Vollzug der germanischen Lautverschiebung vorhandenen vier harten Reibelaute (Spiranten) *h*, þ, *f*, *s* wurden, ausser in den Verbindungen *ht*, *hs*, *ft*, *fs*, *sk*, *st*, *sp*, erweicht, wenn sie infolge der germanischen Akzentverschiebung oder aus Gründen des Satzakzentes zwischen gleichbetonte Sonoren zu stehen kamen.

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[2] Vielleicht stellt folgendes Schema die Entwickelung des ɣ richtiger dar:

$$\text{Indg. } k < \begin{matrix} kh\text{—}\chi\text{—}h. \\ kh\text{—}ɣ\text{—}g. \end{matrix}$$

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

Gosse, Edmund William: *English Literature: An Illustrated Record.* Volume iv. London: Macmillan & Company; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904.

This recent contribution by Mr. Gosse to the story of nineteenth century literature has already reached the hands of several critics who have appraised the work on a general survey of its contents.[1]

[1] For example, E. Koeppel in *Englische Studien* xxxiv, 281-285.

There is justification for putting it to a narrower test than is habitual with many reviewers. When we apply the touchstone for careful workmanship and requisite historical fidelity to a part, chosen almost at random, of Mr. Gosse's late achievement, we may readily suppose that there is a vein of pyrite running through the whole volume. From motives of curiosity I have been comparing the brief account of Coleridge on pp. 49–52 with the standard Life by Dykes Campbell, noting the following discrepancies.

At the bottom of p. 49, Coleridge's mother is called "Anne Bowden." Her maiden name was *Bowdon*. Turning the page, we read: "In February, 1791, Coleridge left school and went into residence as a sizar at Jesus College, Cambridge." According to the most conscientious of biographers, "His 'discharge' from the school is dated September 7th, 1791, and he went into residence at Jesus in the following month." Further on Mr. Gosse says that ". . . Coleridge had to continue to be a trooper for nearly four months." He enlisted on December 2, 1793, and was discharged on April 10, 1794. Again, on the same page, we are informed that "He also accepted, in June, 1796, the sub-editorship of *The Morning Chronicle*, but whether he ever took up this post seems to be doubtful:" "we only know," affirms Campbell, "that the negotiations ended fruitlessly." The misstatements observed thus far are perhaps separately insignificant; not so the glaring error on p. 51, where we are given to understand that from the time of his arrival in Germany, Coleridge "remained, *wandering about*, until June, 1799," the month of his departure. Such a wholesale ignoring of Coleridge's industry at the University of Goettingen involves a total misconception of his development ever after, and offers in itself sufficient condemnation of Mr. Gosse's biographical sketch. Yet we should not overlook the erroneous assertion, half a page below, that "In 1812 he delivered his first series of 'Lectures on Shakespeare'" (unwarranted title). This seems an odd slip when we discover on p. 57 what purports to be a "Programme of Coleridge's Lectures of 1808." Unfortunately the latter date is but an additional sign of confused inaccuracy; the prospectus in question belongs not to the series of 1807–08, but to that of 1811–12. The sketch, which makes no reference to Mary Evans or Thomas Poole, characters so noteworthy in the poet's earlier life, ends with a misleading euphemism: Coleridge died not "in sleep" (p. 52), but in "a state of coma" (Campbell).

His lax handling of the data of Coleridge's life is but paralleled by the disjointed language in which Mr. Gosse presents those data, and by his disregard of the accepted text in his excerpts from Coleridge's poetry. Here are some models of gymnastic style: (pp. 49–50) "Soon after his father's death, S. T. Coleridge was placed at Christ's Hospital at the age of nearly ten"; ". . . Coleridge had to continue to be a trooper for nearly four months"; (p. 51) "At Stowey many—indeed, almost all—of Coleridge's best poems were composed"; (p. 52) "this last very heavy affliction bowed S. T. Coleridge to the ground, and threw him back upon excessive laudanum"; "He increased in bodily weakness . . ." *To increase in weakness* is a felicity resembling *to remain, wandering about.*

In the four selections from Coleridge's poetry there are not fewer than fourteen improvements on the standard text; some in punctuation, others in the use of italics and capitals, others in elision; the substitution of "drank" for *drunk* in the last line of *Kubla Khan* is unpardonable. In addition, the editor labels a facsimile from an inferior MS. variant of the well-known *Glycine's Song* as "An unpublished Poem by S. T. Coleridge."

In other words the limited space devoted to Coleridge in this "Record" discloses every mark of unscholarly procedure on the part of the author of Volume IV, and casts grave suspicion upon the value of other sections of his work; a suspicion that is deepened by a glance, for example, at the portion on Wordsworth, who (p. 45) "after 1810 . . . grew gradually fossilized . . ." Not to speak of "a lack of sympathetic imagination" which the reviewer for *The Athenæum* (April 2, 1904) finds in Mr. Gosse, we may suppose that the latter's methods of book-making — to take something obvious—differ considerably from those accredited to Coleridge. "It has been repeated *ad nauseam*," says Gillman, "that great minds will not descend to the industrious accumulation of those acquirements best suited to fit them for independence. To say that Coleridge would not

condescend would be a calumny [;] nay, when his health permitted, he would drudge and work more laboriously at some of the mechanical parts of literature, than any man I ever knew."

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ITALIAN LITERATURE.

OSKAR KLINGLER: *Die Comédie-Italienne in Paris, nach der Sammlung von Gherardi.* Mit Illustrationen. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1902. vi and 232 pp.

We are certainly accustomed to find German works extremely conscientious and thorough, up-to-date and frequently giving one the impression that the last word has been said on the subject as far as our present means of information are concerned. But it is not often that a young Doctor's dissertation shows such a wide acquaintance not only with the topic treated, but also with those connected with it; not often either that such maturity of judgment is shown by a student at the moment he leaves the university, as is the case in the book under consideration. Of course, I may add, without robbing Dr. Klingler of his well-deserved praise, that one feels in these interesting pages the high inspiration and the strong direction of the great master Morf: *tel maître, tel élève.*

For no period of French literature is it more useful to undertake careful investigations in the "genres secondaires" than for the seventeenth century. In general, they are apt to give a better insight into the real spirit of an epoch than those classed as first rank 'genres'; they ignore conventionalities to a large extent, and therefore are more true to life. The *fabliaux* offer better information with regard to the life of the Middle Ages than the great epics, the 'conteurs' of the eighteenth century than the authors of *Les époques de la Nature* or *L'esprit des lois,* and the 'chansonniers' of all times than the austere lyrics. Now, as no century has been more conventional than the seventeenth in France, in art as well as in social life, the consequence is that the classical literature of this period is more misleading than that of any other. Thus, if one wants to form an equitable opinion as to the character of this age, and indirectly to appreciate with more accuracy the meaning of its greatest writers, it will prove an excellent method to undertake some researches among the more informal writers of the time. I should like to lay special stress upon that which, according to me, is the great merit of Dr. Klingler's book, namely, that he has so well understood the value of such an investigation. No pedantic erudition is to be found in his book, no heaps of uninteresting data or bits of unimportant information, no shallow desire merely to bring forward things that were never printed before, but a judicious selection of those facts which bear upon the intelligence of an epoch in literature. One has never the impression of being confronted with a hunter of 'curiosa,' who is satisfied when he has emptied before you his bag of oddities; you feel, on the contrary, that the author knows a great deal more than is contained in his book—erudition is a means for him, not an end.

Dr. Klingler has taken advantage of every opportunity to show the connection between the "Italiens" in the seventeenth century, and the diverse manifestations of literary and of public life. This course was in a way rendered necessary by the fact that the Italian plays treat subjects in close relation with the life of Paris at the time, but it was none the less possible to approach the study in a much narrower spirit than Dr. Klingler did.

On page 16, for example, he speaks of the establishment of the *censure* in 1702; the 'Italiens' had actually been expelled from Paris five years before; however, their share in the responsibility for the decision of the court was evident, though not traceable directly to written documents, and it is therefore justly pointed out here.—The deplorable fashion which prevailed very long in the theater of society people sitting on the stage and taking advantage of the performance to display beautiful costumes, in thus hiding the actors from the audience, was particularly obnoxious at the 'Italiens'; the house was always so crowded that there was no better chance for the foppy gentlemen to be seen by the *tout-Paris* in their gorgeous attires. Dr. Klingler does not miss the oppor-

tunity of giving us valuable information about this strange custom (pp. 85–86),[1] while again on pp. 86–87 we read something interesting about the hissing having become so common that the people resorted to a new means of disapprobation, namely, bells. I could indicate many more similar little pieces of information that add greatly to the charm of the book. The whole of Chapter II, in which a number of those characteristic customs of the contemporaries are explained in connection with the plays, forms an excellent picture of the society of the seventeenth century and of the different classes composing it, such as nobility, physicians, lawyers, 'précieux' and 'précieuses,' women in general, the rising class of the "financiers roturiers," etc.

The author offers rather scarce information as regards the relations of Molière to the Italiens. He refers for details to Moland's classical work: *Molière et la Comédie italienne* (1867), which he considers conclusive. He lays stress, however, on the debt which Molière owed to Fiorelli, the famous Scaramouche of the stage. Below an engraving of the time representing Scaramouche one can read the following quatrain:

Cet Illustre Comédien
Atteignit de son art l'agréable manière.
Il fut le Maître de Molière
Et la Nature fut le sien.

A few pages are devoted to those French authors of repute who wrote for the Italiens, such as Regnard, Dufresny and La Motte (Chapter V). Racine (who had first intended to offer his *Plaideurs* to the Italiens) and Corneille, are quoted with reference to the parodies of their plays, especially *Le Cid* (p. 24 and pp. 181–182) and *Bérénice* (p. 25 and p. 180).

Among the problems to which Dr. Klingler devotes special attention and which he generally appears to have solved, I wish to mention:

The true cause of the expulsion of the Italiens in 1697 (pp. 11–17);—the passage from the regular Italian *Commedia del arte*, or play in which the actors improvise their rôles on the stage, to the *Commedia litteraria*, in which the actor recited a text written out beforehand by an author (pp. 201–203 and *passim*);—the transition from the use of the Italian language to the use of French, and occasionally the amusing mixture of both, on the Parisian stage (pp. 171–189);—on page 200 observations are made in regard to the number of picturesque expressions found in the French plays of the 'Italiens' giving a suggestive insight into the unconventional language of the time as contrasted with that used by the classics;—the relations of the Italian plays with the Vaudeville, the Opéra-comique, and Opéra, all three of which were then in the period of formation and the object of much discussion (p. 76 and p. 186). Here Dr. Klingler adopts mostly as a basis for his own statements the fifth chapter of Font's *Essai sur Favart et les origines de la comédie mêlée de chant* (1894).[2]

The second part of Chapter III (B. *Die Typen*) offered serious difficulties of treatment. The *types* changed a great deal in the course of all those years, and therefore it was not easy to give to every one of them thoroughly consistent features in a sketch of a few pages and leave an impression of unity. Dr. Klingler did, however, about as well as could be done under the circumstances. Arlequin and Scaramouche are particularly well portrayed.

Dr. Klingler had to rely almost exclusively on the Gherardi collection for his appreciation of the Comédie italienne. The definitive edition is of 1700, thus giving the form assumed by those plays in the later days; we can infer only indirectly what they were at first. There are good reasons, however, for believing that they were hardly superior and more refined, and, if this is the case, a perusal of Dr. Klingler's work will satisfy every one that it was not altogether an injustice if the historians of literature did not give more prominence to these productions. They are no doubt very witty sometimes (*e. g.*, p. 185–186), but after all, they are from beginning to end what they call in France *des charges*. The "Italiens" was a popular place of amusement "où l'on allait que pour y rire," as a contemporary very well

[1] See on this subject the article by P. Berret, in the "Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France," Vol. VIII (1901), pp. 456-459. *Comment la scène française a été débarrassée de la présence des gentilshommes.*

[2] An able contribution to the subject has recently been made in the *Revue de Paris*, February 15, 1904, by Romain Rolland.

said (p. 17, pp. 25, 82 and *passim*). Not counting utterly unrefined passages (cf. pp. 180, 183, 185 *note*, etc.), the comic element is generally extremely vulgar and commonplace (see *e. g.*, pp. 46, 63, 103–104, 148, 150, 166, 168, etc.). Many times they simply plagiarize Molière and exaggerate his way of *castigare ridendo mores* (*e. g.*, pp. 63, 69), and there is no need to add that they would rather pick out that part of the great writer's work for which he has most often been reproached (Schneegans: *Groteske Satire bei Molière*), the *gros sel* that does not appeal at all to the cultivated mind. All this throws light upon a period which one tries to know and understand as a scholar; in fact, it has nothing to do with higher art.

One thing is rather striking in those plays, namely, the quantity of allusions which, to be understood, require fairly well educated audiences. I do not see how a modern popular audience would take allusions to the innumerable little stories of the Gods of Olympus, to the episodes of Amadis of Gaul, etc., etc. There was no compulsory instruction at the time, and yet the public seems to have managed to collect more information about all kinds of subjects than the average public does nowadays with our elaborate system of schools, colleges and universities. But this is a problem for pedagogs to discuss.

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HISTORICAL DRAMA.

Otto von der Pfordten: Werden und Wesen des historischen Dramas. Heidelberg, 1901.

Writers on the technique of the drama have for years based their laws on Aristotle, and, interpreting him now more, now less broadly, have always forced the modern drama into this Procrustean bed. Latterly, however, as the difference in origin and nature between the Greek and the modern drama has become better understood, writers have begun to deduce the consequence, that the modern "epic" drama obeys different laws of construction than the Greek "lyric" drama. An interesting book along this line of thought, treating more particularly of the historic drama, is v. d. Pfordten's Werden und Wesen des historischen Dramas.

In the first historic part he calls to mind this difference between the Greek "tragedy" and the modern drama. He suggests a new division of the drama according to subject-matter, and distinguishes 1) Zeitloses Drama (meaning the "tragedy"); 2) Historisches Drama; 3) Gleichzeitiges Drama (meaning the society drama). (III. Einl.)

He then defines what he means by historic drama (IV. Einl., 40, 57, 69, 72, 79, 80, 82, 84, 102, 175). He demands first, that it be born of the poet's historic as well as of his poetic sense; and secondly, that it picture definite people of a definite past time, *i. e.*, realistically elaborated characters, not types, (this he calls giving milieu); and that it represent real historic events, interesting because they have really happened. He insists further on conscientious use of historic facts, and, above all, on a real comprehension of history and historic periods ("Momente").

The historic drama thus defined is shown to be a modern development. The only extant antique historic plays, the Greek "Persians," the Roman "Octavia," present disguised the typical heroes and conflicts of the old mythical "tragedy," not real history (13 ff. 23 ff.).

Among modern nations, England had the earliest and most important development; in the Chronicle plays, in Marlowe, and above all in Shakespeare, we find plays based on entirely different principles. They are epic in origin, are full of living action, and claim interest from the beholders because they are representations of real historic events (29 ff.). Shakespeare's art, however, was capable of further development, in form, inasmuch as he retained too many epic elements, especially in the Histories; in culture, as historic knowledge has since then become more complete (39).

Of Romance nations (42 ff.) Italy and France developed the "timeless" drama; Manzoni is an isolated and late figure, and incomplete at that; Hugo, Dumas père, have only "costume-pieces" with anecdotic treatment of history. Spain, in Lope de Vegas, made an excellent beginning; but Calderon and the later writers developed the "timeless" drama.

Germany (61 ff.) did not have a development of the historic drama as early as England. The sixteenth century shows a "Lutherfestspiel," a Tell, but these are not really historic. He speaks of germs, "Ansaetze," in Ayrer, Gryphius, Weise, and in the Haupt- und Staatsaktionen; but the real historic drama in Germany he dates with Goethe's Goetz. The historic drama, that had sprouted in England with Shakespeare, was now transplanted to Germany, and there attained further growth (39–49). Schiller's contribution was a larger conception of political conflict and movement, and, in parts, a more realistic reproduction of historic scenes (72 f.). Grillparzer's Ottokar, Hebbel's Agnes Bernauer, Grabbe's dramas, show, in part, a further development, and in later times especially Wildenbruch's Die Quitzows, etc. Ibsen, Hauptmann, and Sudermann, are also mentioned.

After having thus vindicated the importance of the historic drama as a distinct species, he discusses in a second theoretic part, (in many ways anticipated in the first part), the technique of this historic drama. He insists that this species, with its epic origin, with its thoroughly realistic intention of depicting definite people and events of a definite time and place, is built on entirely different dramaturgical principles than the "timeless" drama (39, 49, 53, 68, 69, 107.). Its genesis is out of action; action in it is an end in itself, not a means by which it is made possible for the hero to experience an emotion "Affect" (107); it is an epic put into dialogue (68). Although the effort must be, to bring dramatic concentration into this rich material, the epic element can never be entirely overcome (39). Lessing, and even Freytag, did not understand this essential difference between the Greeks and Shakespeare, did not see the inadequacy of Aristotle (68). Historic individuals are for Lessing merely a repertory of names to fit certain characters that the poet desires to depict (69–70). Even Goethe and Schiller accomplished what they did in this line almost adventitiously (72, 73). "130 Jahre lang, seit dem Goetz, bemuehen sich die besten Koepfe der Nation, das Wunder zu stande zu bringen, und das Unvereinbare zu vereinigen."

In discussing the actual technique of the historic drama, he insists that, although epic, the action must be composed and concentrated (39, 99, 109, 110). While such unity as Aristotle demands is impossible, yet a unity of action is given by the dominance of the "Grundidee" (by which he means the fundamental conflict of the drama) (110).

The necessity of adaptation to the stage acts as a farther corrective in arranging the plot toward unity (97, 157 ff.). Although the present complexity of the stage is to be deplored, yet it must be reckoned with, as only a stage-drama is alive.

The historic dramatist is governed also by his relation to historic truth (131ff., 138). He may arrange but not falsify historic facts. He may invent minor characters and episodes, but they must be historically possible. His endeavor must be, to give a true picture of the past reality (175 ff.).

In a third practical part, v. d. Pfordten gives a few hints as to how to write a historic drama, and commends this species to dramatists for cultivation (157 ff.).

v. d. Pfordten's whole book is indeed an apology for the historic drama. He not only says that it is a modern product, but he pleads that it is most in consonance with the Germanic genius (70, 76, 77, 81 ff., 83). Shakespeare's mantle has fallen on the Germans, and a subsequent development has come through Goethe, Schiller, and a host of others. The historic drama is also a peculiarly national growth, beginning always in a joyous patriotic affirmation of one's country's glorious past (34, 58, 63), and only then passing over to interest in the world's great history. Future progress of the species must lie along the line of more conscientious use of sources, of greater historic insight, and of more excellent organization of the "epic" material (80, etc.).

In speaking of the book as a whole, one must admit that its organization is not logically systematic enough, and that its method is not absolutely scholarly; nevertheless, the main theses stand out clearly. The handling of the early German historic drama is superficial, for the drama of the Reformation offers much more material than v. d. Pfordten seems to have considered (see Goedeke's Grundriss der Literaturgeschichte, 111). In speaking of Grabbe he does not recognise the importance of his contribution to the

development in question, for Grabbe's advance in conscientious use of historic sources, as well as in philosophic comprehension of history, is decided. Such remarks as "staatliches Behagen liebt Rueckschau" (35) (when we remember a similar phenomenon as characteristic of the Romanticists); "Einheit von Zeit und Ort eskamotirt die Zeit weg" (49) (when this unity is particularly characteristic of the realistic social drama);—these and similar statements seem colored for the sake of proving a point. Perhaps he is right in insisting that the first English historic plays were the result of patriotic enthusiasm (see Schelling, The English Chronicle Play, N. Y., 1902), yet the patriotic coloring throughout the book is somewhat obtrusive. So also is the plea that optimism "freudige Bejahung," not tragedy, is the dominant mood of the historic drama (139, 144). One might also doubt the legitimacy of the apotheosis of Wildenbruch.

Regarding v. d. Pfordten's definition of the historic drama, one might add, that by centralizing "Grundidee" should be meant, the conception of history as a movement; and that a drama that presents simply a private fate of a great historic person, is not truly historic; the point is, that this fate should affect masses, or society as a whole. The traditional dramaturgical principles concerning the plot, the hero, etc., receive important modifications in consequence of this definition, and in this respect the book gives no further light; but this matter cannot, of course, be entered upon here.

v. d. Pfordten's book is excellent in that it insists on the individuality of the historic drama as a species; in the effort it makes to define clearly what is meant by historic drama; in proving it to be a modern development; in the stress it lays on the essential dramaturgical difference between the antique and the historic drama; and in arguing a development beyond Shakespeare and Schiller. It is suggestive, too, in pleading for a very general production of historic plays even by minor writers, on the ground that their working together may bring about a period of bloom somewhat as was the case in the great period of Greek sculpture, or in the painting of the Italian Renaissance.

There is no doubt but that this book must be considered a noteworthy endeavor to throw light on a hitherto very obscure and neglected province, and that it is the best and most complete expression along this line, that has yet appeared. At the same time it is a suggestive contribution to comparative literature.

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SPAIN.

Études sur l'Espagne par A. Morel-Fatio. Troisième Série. Paris: E. Bouillon, 1904.

In this volume the distinguished hispanist presents us with the third of his admirable series of *Studies*. It was a very happy thought that inspired M. Morel-Fatio to reprint in this handsome and convenient form his many essays upon Spanish subjects which are scattered through various journals. In this volume, as in the other two which have preceded it, we see everywhere the sure hand—the firm grasp of the master who dominates his subject at every point. It is safe to say that very few foreigners have ever gained such an intimate knowledge of the Spanish character and none perhaps has ever revealed it to us with the clearness and charm of style that we find on every page of these studies. Here we have not a mere bald narrative of dry historical facts, but a living, animated picture of the persons and things of Spain such as we will seek elsewhere in vain.

A list of the essays comprised in this third series will show the extent of the field—embracing Spanish history, literature and philology—which M. Morel-Fatio has covered: I. *La lettre de Sanche IV à Alonso Pérez de Guzman.*—II. *Un drame historique de Tirso de Molina.*—III. *D.ª Marina de Aragón.*—IV. *Une comédie de collège.*—V. *Histoire de deux sonnets.*—VI. *Soldats espagnols.*—VII. *Un grand d'Espagne, agent de Louis XIV.*—VIII. *La golille et l'habit militaire.*—IX. *Fernán Caballero.*—X. *L'espagnol de Manzoni.*—XI. *Mélanges de philologie.*

The second essay: *Un drame historique de Tirso de Molina* is a penetrating discussion of the various sources of Tirso de Molina's *La Prudencia en la Muger*, first printed in 1634 in the *Parte tercera* of his plays, the heroine of which is Maria de

Molina, daughter of Prince Alfonso (brother of Saint Ferdinand), and wife of Sancho IV. The principal sources of Tirso's play as pointed out by M. Morel-Fatio, are the chronicle of the reign of Ferdinand IV : *La cronica del muy valeroso rey don Fernando, visnieto del santo rey don Fernando*, etc., Valladolid, 1554, and the chronicles of Alfonso X and of Sancho IV. The historical episodes which form the chief basis of the drama are discussed at length, as well as the various changes introduced by the poet to heighten the dramatic effect, notably in the case of D. Diego de Haro, who is represented as the lover of the Queen. As M. Morel-Fatio says : "Ce Haro répresente une concession au goût de l'époque qui ne concevait pas de *comedia* sans amour ni galanterie." Other sources are given for other episodes, especially Argote de Molina's *Nobleza de Andaluzía* (1588). The jewish physician of Act II, Ismaël, who is urged by D. Juan to poison the young king, is as the author shows, the *judio Simuel* of the chronicle. The incident of the falling portrait which deters the jew from carrying out his purpose, had been previously pointed out (as M. Morel-Fatio states) by Hartzenbusch, and was taken by Tirso from a play which had great vogue in its time—the *Prospera Fortuna de Rui Lopez Davalos*, by Damian Salustrio del Poyo, and which was first printed in the spurious Part III of Lope's comedias in 1612 (it had been acted at least as early as 1605), and the corresponding scenes of which the author transcribes.

After tracing the various sources of the play, M. Morel-Fatio puts the question whether the manner in which the various characters and incidents are depicted in the play give a true impression of the epoch and the characters as they are revealed to us in history. This he answers in the affirmative, and this is due, he says, to the fact that thanks to the chronicles in the vulgar tongue and also to the *Romanceros*, of which a number are, for the people, in a manner only the epitome of history, the idiom and consequently the usages, and, in a certain measure the ideas of the middle ages in Castile remained quite accessible to the centralized Spain of the XVII century. And I cannot help transcribing here a striking passage of the author in which he explains most convincingly the difference, for example, between France and Spain in the seventeenth century :

"L'Espagne du XVII[e] siècle n'a pas divorcé comme la France du même temps avec le moyen âge ; elle sent très vivement qu'elle le continue, elle le comprend, elle l'aime. Il s'est d'ailleurs, produit ici si peu de changements dans la langue et dans beaucoup d'institutions, que les poètes qui prenne pour sujets des épisodes de l'histoire médiévale se servent facilement des récits anciens ; ils n'ont souvent presque rien à y changer pour les mettre dans les formes de composition et de versification réclamées par le goût nouveau. Les exemples de ces adaptations abondent dans le théâtre espagnol et surtout chez Lope. Tirso ne fait pas exception, et dans notre pièce il doit à ce procédé, dont il use comme ses émules, d'avoir reussi à donner au public des *bancos* et de la *tertulia* une sensation de ce que furent l'âme et les passions de Marie de Molina ; car de parti pris, certes, il ne se préoccupe nullement de ressusciter des moeurs disparues."

Concerning the many anachronisms to be found in the Spanish drama of the time, the author makes the following pertinent observations :

"La recherche de la couleur locale et l'archéologie n'existaient pas plus pour Tirso que pour aucun autre de ses contemporains : toutes les fois qu'il n'est pas soutenu par ses textes, toutes les fois qu'il opère seul, l'homme du XVII[e] siècle reparaît qui parle et qui pense comme tel. Les anachronismes ne l'arrêtent jamais ; il en commet, je ne dirai pas sans le savoir, car il en est d'énormes qu'il doit avoir aperçus, mais parce qu'il n'éprouve pas ce besoin que nous ressentons de mettre une certaine harmonie entre les faits recueillis dans les histoires et le milieu où ces faits se sont produits."

The writer cannot help expressing the regret that M. Morel-Fatio did not include the admirable notes and explanations of various passages of *La Prudencia en la Muger* which he has published in the *Bulletin Hispanique* (Vol. II). They would have formed a fitting appendix to this essay.

It would lead us too far to call attention in a like manner to the other essays in this remarkable volume. Sufficient has been said to indicate the scholarly and penetrating character of these studies, which always maintain the same high level and are written with a clearness and precision of style which makes them fascinating reading.

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SCOTTISH POETRY.

The Poems of Walter Kennedy. Edited with Introductions, various readings, and notes, by J. SCHIPPER, Ph. D., LL. D. Vienna: 1901.

Among the Scottish poets of the 15th century, Walter Kennedy seems to have held a distinguished place. He is mentioned with praise by Dunbar, Douglas, and Lyndsay; but little of his work has reached us, and that little has been almost entirely neglected. Of the six compositions bearing his name, Laing printed five and part of the sixth in his edition of Dunbar, but his complete extant works have never been collected into a single volume. Even from the volume before us the editor has excluded Kennedy's share in the famous *Flyting* with Dunbar, because he had already printed it in his edition of the latter poet; so that the reader must go elsewhere for the most curious and interesting part of Kennedy's work.

Kennedy enjoys the distinction of being the only early poet of the west of Scotland whose works have come down to us. He was a man of distinguished family, being a scion of the powerful clan or house of the Kennedies of Carrick, and even boasted royal blood. From allusions in the *Flyting*, he seems to have possessed considerable property. He was born about the middle of the 15th century, studied at Glasgow, where he took the Bachelor's and Master's degrees, and probably entered the church, though this is not certain. From a reference in Dunbar it seems probable that he died about 1507.

If we were certain that we have Kennedy's works as he wrote them, it would show that the literary language of the west did not appreciably differ from that of the east; but the text has suffered greatly at the hands of the scribes, who may have occasionally changed the phrasing. In particular, the transcriber of *The Passioun of Christ*, (a poem of 235 stanzas in rime royal) has been so outrageously careless, that the editor has found the restoration of the text a very difficult and often an impossible task, and in many places seems to have fallen into errors.

A thoroughly critical edition of Kennedy is still a *desideratum;* but in the mean time the following notes on Schipper's edition may perhaps be of some help. (Dr. Schipper's words are distinguished by double quotation marks.)

P. 12, l. 17 Gold and silver that I micht gett,
Broches, beisandis.

Schipper explains that the besants signify the roundels on coats-of-arms; but evidently coins are meant, as the 'aigit man' is speaking of his former wealth.

P. 15, l. 20 To pleiss þa mullis attour all þingis.

"The word *mulis* signifies girls." Not so: the meaning of the word may be gathered from *The Freiris of Berwick*, 142.

P. 19, l. 41 Ruby of reuþ, riche lass, and hevinnis gem.

"*Lass* is to be taken here in the sense of virgin." *Lass* is lace, or necklace.

Notes to the *Passioun.*

Line 26 As struttioun stif, as tigar tiranus.

"As stiff or helpless as an ostrich." As strong as an ostrich.

27 Mair pure of gude þan wes Diogynes.

"Poorer in good, sc. in good deeds." More destitute of possessions.

63 That þaim till hide the better wald confound.

S. quite misses the sense of the passage. The poet says that he will eschew all unusual or ill-sounding terms, except in those cases where avoiding them would rather confuse his meaning than make it clear.

130 Quhilk resauit ane man to reabill.

"To restore her to her legitimate state." The poet is speaking of the Virgin's womb, which he calls a 'riall flour-de-lice,' which received One to reinstate [fallen] man.

151 he be his ded þe saule price laid doun.

"*Saule* does not mean soul here, but sole." *The saule price* means the price of the soul, paid by Christ at his death. A weak genitive like 'his lady grace.'

162 his moder [did] him [bring.]

Did, inserted by S., should have been *couth*,

always used by Kennedy in the pleonastic form, as in l. 259.

245 and cum doun lampe of lycht.

S. seems to mistake the sense, which is that Christ spake with Moses and Elias on Mount Tabor, and came down a lamp of light, *i. e.*, transfigured. The next line shows this to be the meaning.

259 his manheid to de fra God couth borrow.

"*Manheid*, bravery, fortitude." *Manheid* is humanity, Christ received his Humanity from God that he might be able to die.

286 wesche þair feit þat ran to sched his blude.

As Judas alone betrayed him, probably we should read *þai*, those.

306 Peter bad Johnne at Crist inquir of him
Quha tratour wes.

"*Of him*, on his (viz. Peter's) account." Inquire about him who was the traitor, or, as to who was the traitor.

324 þe king panis to his deid.

Panis must be a scribal error for *passis*. Cf. ll. 321, 330, 337, 338.

327 Thocht þat þi hert wer closit into leid,
ȝit wald it melt and gar the watter spring
Profound.

S. declares himself unable to explain this passage. It means: when thou thinkest of the bitter passion of Christ (325), though thy heart were enclosed in lead, yet would it melt and pour forth water (tears of pity) profusely.

357 Bot auerice wes into his hert ifall.

Ifall is Schipper's emendation, but here, and in l. 1116, he seems to have forgotten that Kennedy wrote in Scottish.

358 Thai laithly lippis, vntit with fals tressoun.

"*Vntit* must mean untied, opened." It means anointed, smeared. Judas kissed the sweet mouth of Christ with lips smeared with treachery.

459 Will is þair law, inwy þai mak sereff.

S. explains *sereff* as "servant"—apparently a guess. It is sheriff. The poet is using the terms of a trial.

462 faith, quhilk herd hankis his hand.

"Which herdsman fastens his hand." Which fastens his hand hard. So 998: 'Ded hankis herd in his bandis.' Herdsman would have been *hird*, as in l. 1685.

492 Quhill be to de to Pilat wes present.

Of course *be* is a typographical error for *he*.

494 In caus of blude to schaw the sentement.

"In a case of sentence of death to show this sentence to him." It means that Christ was brought before Pilate in order that the Roman procurator should give his assent to a sentence of death, which we are told (493) was the law in that country. If *sentement* is sentence, then it means that in a capital case, Pilate had to pronounce the sentence.

509 Hangit himself, his [body] brist in twa.

S. supplies *body*, but the word was probably *belly*.

511 His avarice so pervinst verite.

"What is the meaning of *pervinst?*" Overcame.

570 Thai cryit: Tollie away! take him sone!

"*Tollie away*, take him away." Of course; but he should have put an exclamation mark after *Tollie*, and explained that this is the Latin *tolle*. *Joh.* xix, 15.

575 þai haue spulȝeit [þo] þe heid all bair.

The MS. has *to*, which S. changes to *þo* on the ground that "*to þe* does not give a sense." On the contrary, his emendation does not give a sense. Christ's head was already bare and could not be unclothed. They stripped his body 'to the head.'

580 He wes mair tender [into] his body,
Than is the scheyne into a mannis e.

"*Scheyne* must signify here the faculty of seeing." The poet, to enhance the sufferings of Christ, tells us that his body was exquisitely sensitive. 'More tender than the faculty of seeing' is hardly sense. I am persuaded (though I cannot furnish examples) that the 'sheen' or 'bright' of the eye is the cornea or pupil.

591 Of fairheid floure, þe rute of rute eterne.

The first *rute* should be *frute*. Cf. l. 1098.

620 In purpour cled quhilk noyis him fellony.

"Which vexes him [and causes him] cruelty." Of course we should read *fellonly*.

630 Crist held his toung and till ansuerit nocht.

We should read 'till him.'

650 Thai euer refreschit with new torment gane.

Read *tormênt agane*.

678 Thai slay thair Lord . . . .
And loussit the theif quik to sla aganc.

"*Quick* probably is used here as an adverb: speedily." They slay their Lord, and let the thief go alive to commit more murders.

740 He taist it and put it fra him syne.

Doubtless a scribal error for 'taistit it.'

766 all the lethis on his tender bak
Thai sa depart.

"*Lethe*, a channel or small run of water (?)." *Lethis* are *lithis*, joints.

768 Fra heid to fute þai brak [baith hid] and ryme.

"What is the meaning of *ryme*?" It is an error for *lyme*, limb.

797 I may nocht luke bot þow abone me draw
To kiss þi feit.

"One should expect to read *bot þe*." Why? The poet is addressing Christ on the cross, and says, 'I cannot look (upon thee) unless thou draw me up.'

802 May seik and sing as dulfull dring allane.

Seik probably = *sike* or *sich*, sigh. S. has no note on the unusual word *dring*, which occurs in Lyndsay and Polwarth. It seems to mean 'poor creature.'

805 Deith with his dart.

S. properly points out that instead of *dart* there should be a word riming with *hing*. Most likely it was *sting*.

812 My claithis ar partit and þaim cuttis laid.

"Instead of *þaim* possibly we are to read *þair*." Hardly. 'My clothes are parted and lots laid to them,' *i. e.*, cast for them.

838 The joy þay tyne agane [he] gart þaim wyn.

Tyne should probably be *tynt*. The joy they had lost he caused them to win again.

858 The folk for scorne apoun him schuk þair heid,
Sayand: On þe and all þi doctryne fyne.

Fyne should be *fy!*, riming with *by* and *hy*.

864 For ewill wynning þair followis syn and vice.

þair should be omitted, and the period after *day* in the previous line changed to a comma. The reading is: The men that walk are men of covetousness, who in this world wander night and day [and] for evil gain follow sin and vice.

901 sum wer heidit, sum stanit, and sum slanc.

"*Heidit* probably is the same as *hidit*, p. part of *to hide*, to beat the hide or skin of; to flog, thrash; it is connected with *hide*, skin, and may also mean 'to flay' here." Not at all; it is simply 'headed,' *i. e.*, beheaded.

911 This crabbit thief þat hang on his rycht hand.

S. has no note, but of course it should be 'left hand.' See l. 905.

914 The saynd of God ay reput myschance.

"*Saynd*, message or messenger." Rather 'sending' = anything sent. Grammar and metre seem to require *þai ay reput*. What God sends they always consider misfortune.

915 Tha murne euer be þai in trublance.

This makes no sense. Would it be too violent to change to: 'Tha mon [or maun] þai euer be in trublance'? 'Then must they ever be in tribulation'?

936 Fra twelf till þre he [sc. Phebus] let no thing espire.

Espire from *aspirare*, to breathe forth, shine forth. 'Donec aspiret dies.' *Cant.* iv, 6.

1007 sall nocht ceiss to cry quhill I worth hais.

Until I become hoarse. Cf. l. 1035.

1078 And vthir by for ded sone can pas.

"And others for the dead ones (*i. e.* to see them) soon began to pass by." It should be printed *byfor ded, i. e.* formerly dead. Men who had died before (arose and) went about. *Matt.* xxvii, 52.

1091 The swerd of dule sa sair hir hert can bracc.

"*Brace*, to embrace; here . . . . to attack." *Brace* should probably be *race*, cut, wound. Cf. *Rauf Coilzear*, 550.

1094 For hir sueit sone all boldin into pane.

"*Boldin*, swelled; p. part. from *balden*, *bolden*, to grow." (?) *Boldin* (with silent l) is the same as *bodin*, clad, equipped. 'All bodin in feir of weir.' Dunbar, *Seven Deadly Sins.*

1116 With strif iquit

MS. has *I quite*. A correction may be necessary, but *iquit* is not Scottish.

1124 garris me mute.

Causes me to change.

1140 man, þat had nocht to lay doun.

"Who had nothing to lay down, or to lie down upon." Who had nothing to lay down (pay) for his redemption.

1149 Thocht fra the stok grew nocht þe bobe of wyne.

This metaphorical passage deserved some explanation. The cross on which Christ is hanging is justifying itself to the Virgin Mary, as necessary to the act of atonement. The cluster of grapes (*bobe of wyne*) is Christ; the stock (prop) is the cross, which upholds the cluster though it did not produce it.

1195 þuhat pane and pyne.

Of course a typographical error for *quhat*.

1198 Efter þat deid as bond þis knycht had tane.

"*þis knycht* is the one referred to in 1181." [Sc. Longeus who had pierced Christ's side.] "After this knight had taken the dead one as he was bound to do." This is all wrong. Longeus had nothing to do with taking the body, which was taken down by Joseph and Nicodemus (l. 1237). Longeus, we are told (l. 1188) on the miraculous restoration of his sight, resigned from service and entered the religious life, and was afterwards made a bishop and died a martyr. 'This Knight' is Christ, as elsewhere (*e. g.* 1317), whom death was bound (by the Almighty's will) to take.

1270 Thy teth is haw.

"*Teth* . . . . here seems to mean 'appearance, face.'" *Teth* means teeth. The Virgin enumerates in detail the disfigurements of Christ's body, among the rest, discoloration of the teeth.

1287 Quhilk gart him murne.

The context requires *hir*. Her natural feeling made her mourn, and this grief did not offend reason (l. 1288).

1292 Out of þis warld prolixit þat in pyne.

S. asks "what is the meaning of this passage?" I should incline to correct to: 'Out of þis warld prolixt þat art in pyne.' The sense would then be: 'besecch him to bring [thee] who art in pain, out of this tedious world.' *Prolixt*, tedious, *Howlat*, l. 34.

1295 With cruell ded, ȝe thoch he did no myss.

"ȝe is unintelligible." ȝe is 'yea': 'yea, though he did no wrong.'

1301 Off precious spice to mak a conspectioun.

"*Conspectioun* signifies literally 'a beholding,' which gives no sense. Here it seems to mean 'a composition, a mixture of spices.' The poet seems to have connected *spice* in some way or other with the Lat. *specere*." Of course the poet wrote *confectioun*.

1312 Vnder the cure of dedis dirk vmbrakill.

I suspect *cure* here to be for *couer* = cover.

1357 Bot þe ladyis hir causit mak resisting.

This is neither metre nor sense. Perhaps we should read *reisting*. The ladies made her 'rest' (pause, or wait) 'until the third day.'

1368 To quhome the ded may nocht resistance ma.

"*The ded*, the dead one." I incline to think it means 'death.' If the body be taken from the grave, 'they will proclaim that he is Christ our King whom [whose arising] death could not resist,' or, against whom death has no power.

1377 For sickar armes þai soucht in þe sepulture.

"They searched in the sepulchre for sure weapons. But what is the meaning of this?" The correct word, of course, is *sickarnes*. For security (or assurance against trickery) the soldiers searched the sepulchre (before laying the body in it). The

careless scribe repeated *ar* as the beginning of another word. The fact that it is *armes* and not *armis* should have put the editor on the right track.

1398 Thairfor the Knychtis but dreid sleippit sone.

The knychtis should be *the knycht*, sc. Christ.

1403 Thy hurde to hid to skaill I tuke no cure.

Schipper's conjecture that we should read *to hid or skaill* (though he doubts whether it makes sense) seems to me correct. 'I cared neither to hide (lay up) nor to scatter (expend) thy treasure.'

1443 Of hevinly talk makand a riall pace.

"*Pace*, weight. A royal weight. What does this mean?" It is rather from *passus*, a discourse.

1466 Scho went, þat Jowis away his corps had tane.

There should be no comma after *went*. 'She weened that Jews had taken away his body.'

1494 All confort him.

All should be *als*. 'Also comforted him.'

1509 Quhilk ar the sarmonis quhilk ȝe at þer speir?

þer is not a possible word. It should read *at vþer*: 'that you ask of each other.'

1526 He sonȝeit him or he wald forthir pas.

"*To sonȝe*, to care, to be anxious, to hesitate." It is, 'he excused himself from going further.' Fr. *essoignier*. Cf. 'But ony circumstance or sonȝie.' Dunbar, lxxix, 3.

1532 He wes oft wont . . . . to breik þe breid.

For this tradition cf. *Clannesse*, ll. 1101–1108.

1535 As with ane knyf ane wald it þair in hy.

þair must be wrong. Perhaps we should read *kerf*. The statement in *Clannesse* is that Christ was wont to break the bread more perfectly 'þenne alle þe toles of tolowse moȝt tyȝt hit to kerue.'

1569 His saule to tyne þis pietuous Prince had reuth.

"*To tyne*, to loose (sc. from error)." *To tyne* is to lose. Christ had ruth to lose the soul of Thomas through his unbelief, and therefore convinced him.

1634 Bot ȝe, he said, sall find in þe ciete.

Find should be *found*, 'go.' Cf. *Rauf Coilȝear*, 174; *Awntyrs*, 261.

1672 In forme of fire þis Haly Spreit apperit,
þair cludy mind with fire wer to attend.

To attend, is to kindle, but *fire wer* must be wrong. Perhaps we should read *fervour*, or *ferwour*.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

Laws of Wihtred, No. 28.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—No. 28 of the laws of Wihtred, King of Kent (†725), which is nearly identical with the laws of the West-Saxon Ine (†726), runs thus: "Gif feorrancumen man oððe fræmde būton wege [Ine inserts: geond wudu] gange, and hē þonne nāwðer ne hrȳme, nē he horn ne blāwe, for þēof hē bið tō prōfianne, oððe tō slēanne oððe tō ālȳsenne' (Schmid, p. 18, cf. p. 28).

To this there is a curious parallel in an account of travel in Africa by Sir Harry H. Johnston, in the *Youth's Companion* for October 29, 1903, p. 541, col. 1: 'You are seldom received with active hostility by savage Africans if you announce your approach with a great deal of noise or a firing of guns or shouting. It is the silent and stealthy coming which precipitates hostile acts on their part.'

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The "Libro del Oso."

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—At the end of the twenty-third fable of *El Libro de los Gatos*[1] occurs the following phrase: "commo por aquel oso que estaba á la cabecera del lecho se entiende la muerte que non perdona

[1] *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol.* li, *Escritores en Prosa Anteriores al Siglo XV.*, recogidos é ilustrados por Don Pascual de Gayangos, Madrid, 1884, page 549.

á ninguno en este mundo, alto nin bajo, nin pequeño, nin grand, é de aquel oso cuenta en el *Libro del Oso*, commo la osa perdiera sus fijos."

Hermann Knust attempts to explain this "*Libro del Oso*" in his literary and linguistic analysis of the *Libro de Los Gatos.*[2] In a note to Fable xxiii he says of the *Libro del Oso:* "Vermuthlich ein dem Katzenbuche ähnlicher Apolog, über den bis jetzt weiter keine Notiz vorliegt."[3] Again, ignorant of the fact that *El Libro de los Gatos* is at least for the most part, a translation from the Latin of Odo of Cheriton and not an original Spanish work, he includes *El Libro del Oso* among other works with which he says the author must have been familiar: "Von kirchlichen Schriftstellern kannte er Augustin und Gregor, von lateinischen Autoren den Seneca, so wie er von spanischen Schriften das *Libro del Oso* erwähnt. Aufserdem mufs er die *Disciplina clericalis, Calila é Dymna* und die *Narrationes magistri Odonis de Ciringtonia* gekannt haben."[4] In another place, in attempting to account for the odd title of *El Libro de los Gatos*, he is struck by the analogy between this title and that of *El Libro del Oso.* He advances the theory that a whole series of similar collections of animal apologues having as titles the names of various animals may have existed. "Warum endlich die Schrift den Titel *Katzenbuch* führt, ergibt sich aus dem Inhalte nicht. Jeder andere Titel würde eben so gut passen. Vielleicht dafs sich derselbe auf eine Einleitung, die wie das Ende verloren gegangen sein könnte, bezieht, welche Vermuthung der trockene, jeder Begründung entbehrende Anfang zu begünstigen scheint, wenn nicht etwa zur Zeit, als das Buch geschrieben wurde, es Sitte war, derartigen Apologen Thiernamen vorzusetzen. Man denke an das *Bärenbuch.*"[5]

Knust would have avoided making numerous errors if he had consulted the original manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. On comparing the passage in the Gayangos text quoted at the beginning of this article with the original, I find that the correct reading is "libro de ose" (Hosea) and not "*Libro del Oso,*" as Gayangos or his copyist wrote it. In Hervieux's text of Odo of Cheriton's fables the reading corresponds to the correct Spanish reading.[6] Although the MS. of Odo which served as the original of the *Gatos* is apparently lost, the material afforded by the Hervieux text throws valuable light upon many obscure and hitherto unexplained passages.

I intend soon to publish a corrected text of *El Libro de los Gatos*, using the Latin versions as a basis of criticism. The fable which Hervieux numbers xxvii and which is entitled: *De Gautero Querente Locum ubi semper Gauderet* corresponds to Fable xxiii of the *Gatos.* In it I find the following passage: "Sed, si diligenter attenderet in quo lecto iacere oporteret, summo studio talia fugeret, quoniam in capite lecti stat ursa, id est mors que nemini parcit; de qua dicitur in *Osee:* Occurram eis quasi ursa raptis catulis et disrumpam interiora jecoris eorum. Sicut ursa raptis catulis ex magna ira nulli parcit, ita nec mors." The verse which Odo quotes is verse 8 of chapter xiii of the book of Hosea. It is this passage of Odo in somewhat garbled form that we find again in the old Spanish translation. It will, therefore, be seen that this supposed lost work of the Old-Spanish literature never existed.

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On Certain Passages in Old English Historical Poems.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—A few minor gleanings from Sedgefield's handy edition of Old English historical poems (Belles-Lettres Series, 1904) may be of some interest.

1. *Brunnanburh*, 20. (Þær *læg secg manig* . . . .) *werig wigges sæd.* The reading *sæd* has the advantage of securing a fine, bold picture, but is to be rejected in view of the conventional character of the combination. Cf. *hildesæd, Beow.* 2723; *bille gebennad, beadoweorca sæd,* | *ecgum werig, Riddl.* 6, 2. Grein, in the *Bibliothek,*

[2] *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur*, sechster Band, Leipzig, 1865, p. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

[6] *Les Fabulistes latins*, vol. II, *Eudes de Cheriton et ses dérivés*, Paris, 1896.

thought of 'seed,' but later corrected his error (*Sprachschatz* II, 394). That Henry of Huntingdon transliterates *werig wigges sæd* by 'bello fatigati,' may also be mentioned, though not by way of argument.

2. *Five Boroughs*, 3 ff. (*Eadmund . . . Myrce geeode . .*) *swa Dor sceadeþ, | Hwitanwyllesgeat, and Humbran ea, | brada brimstream.* Sedgefield changes *brada* to *bradan*, takes *brimstream* and *ea* as accusatives, and removes the commas after *sceadeþ* and *Hwitanwyllesgeat*, whereby the meaning is completely obscured. But the MSS. are quite clear. The object of the clause introduced by *swa* is a pronoun *hie* to be supplied from *Myrce* 'the Mercians,' *i. e.*, 'the territory of the Mercians.' Cf. *Eadweard's Death*, 12 : (*weold . . . Walum and Scottum | and Bryttum eac . . . Englum and Sexum oretmægcum*) *swa ymbclyppaþ ceald[e] brymmas; Beow.* 93 : (*eorðan . . .*) *swa wæter bebugeð; Elene*, 972.

3. *Eadgars Death*, etc., 13–15. The answer to the question whether bishop Cyneweard died or merely left Britain (perhaps to go to Rome) cannot be doubtful. The expression *þurh gecyndne cræft* 'in a natural manner,' 'in the way of nature' (cf. *Anglia*, XXVII, 435 ; *Jour. Germ. Phil.* IV, 104), is decisive in favor of the former alternative. That the 'poet' makes him depart from Britain,—*of Brytene gewat*—is a little awkward, but is not the phrase merely somewhat more specific than the well-known *fæder ellor hwearf, | aldor of eardc, Beow.*, 55? Besides *Brytene* alliterates with *bisceop.*

4. *Maldon*, 33. *hilde dælon* 'fight' does not seem to embody the original idea of 'deal out fight,' but rather to 'exchange,' or 'share fight,' as in *Beow.* 2534 : *þæt he wiþ aglæcean eofoðo dælc, | eorlscype efne.* See Hittle, *Zur Geschichte der altenglischen Präpositionen 'mid' und 'wiþ,'* 151.

5. *Maldon*, 34. *gif ge spedaþ to þam.* "if you can manage this" (s. v. *spedan*, 'succeed') may be accepted as a fair translation, but I think the literal meaning is 'if you are rich to that extent.' As a parallel use of *spedig*, Toller cites from Ælfric's *Colloquium : ic ne eom swa spedig* [= dives], *ðæt ic mæge bicgean me win.* [Skeat has advocated this view in Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*].

6. *Maldon*, 68. *Hi þær Pantan stream mid prasse bestodon.* As any light on this passage is to be welcomed, attention may be called to Kern's discussion of *bestandan* and *prass* in *Taalkundige Bijdragen*, I, 193.

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The English of Uneducated Germans.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs :—I know two old Germans, each of whom came to this country after reaching maturity, and each of whom consequently speaks an imitation of English constructed of German sounds. They learned their English under very similar conditions, without systematic study, and principally through the medium of conversation, although both read and write the language easily. I have been unable to learn of any decided difference in their environment while learning, or in their method of learning ; and yet one in speaking regularly substitutes for an English letter the corresponding German character, while the other replaces the English sound by the German sound which is most nearly like it. Thus, number one insists that "Yimmy's got a yob," and number two is equally certain that "Shimmy's got a shob." Have we here a case of congenital susceptibility to visual images in the one case and to auditory impressions in the other?

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BRIEF MENTION.

In his address[1] on assuming the full professorship at the University of Tübingen, Dr. Carl Voretzsch gives a history of the founding and development of chairs of Romance philology in the German universities. He called attention to the fact that the first full professorship in the subject was at Halle, where Blanc received the title in 1833. Diez, it is true, was made an *Ordinarius* at Bonn in 1830, but his title was Professor of the Modern Literatures.

[1] *Die Anfänge der Romanischen Philologie an den deutschen Universitäten und ihre Entwicklung an der Universität Tübingen.* Tübingen, Verlag der H. Laupp'schen Buchhandlung, 1904.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THE PARENTHETIC EXCLAMATION IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY.

The statistics upon which the following observations are based were collected in the course of a systematic reading of the body of Old English poetry with the purpose of determining definitely the extent of use and the feeling for the construction which I have called the parenthetic exclamatory sentence. I was led to this examination by observing the great divergence among editors and translators in the treatment of such parenthetic passages, and by the consequent necessity of arriving at some consistent method of punctuation and interpretation. Reading thus with this special end in view, I have found that the parenthetic exclamation occurs much more frequently and regularly than one might infer from the punctuation of the edited texts, and that it constitutes a clearly defined feature of Old English poetic style; these results, it seemed to me, were of sufficient interest to the student of Old English poetry in general to justify their presentation briefly.

One or two illustrative examples of parenthetic exclamations may be cited for the purpose of calling to mind the type of construction under consideration. The second half-line of the second of the following three lines contains such a parenthesis:

Gang ða æfter flore fyrdwyrðe man
mid his handscale (healwudu dynede)
þæt he þone wisan wordum hnægde.
—*Beow.*, 1316–1318.

Another example is *Beow.*, 1422–1423[a]:

Flod blode weol (folc to sægon)
hatan heolfre.

A slight variation on the form is found in passages in which the parenthesis stands between an epic phrase introducing a passage of direct discourse and the passage of direct discourse; an example is the following:

Beowulf maðelode (on him byrne scan
searonet seowed smiþes orþancum):
Wæs þu, Hroðgar, hal! etc.
—*Beow.*, 405–407[a].

One or two less obvious instances may be cited as illustrations of the kinds of misinterpretation that may be corrected by an understanding of this construction. In the following passage,

Leoht eastan com,
beorht beacen godes (brimu swaþredon)
þæt ic sænessas geseon mihte,
—*Beow.*, 569–571.

the editors regularly place a full stop after *godes*.

Wod þa þurh þone wælrec (wigheafolan bær)
frean on fultum.
—*Beow.*, 2661–2662.

Here also the editors connect ll. 2661[b] immediately with l. 2662[a].

I have included in the examination only real parentheses, that is, sentences which are inserted as independent additions between the syntactical elements of other sentences. This rule excludes certain sentences which are virtually parenthetic, but are slightly dependent on the context of the passage in which they occur, as, for example, l. 284[b] in the following lines:

Wegas syndon dryge,
haswe herestræta, holm gerymed,
ealde staðolas.
—*Ex.* 283[b]–285[a].

and such sentences as l. 253[b] in the following, which is parenthetic in thought but forms one of a group of mutually independent sentences:

Ahleop þa for hæleðum hildecalla,
bald beothata, bord up ahof,
heht þa folctogan fyrde gestillan.
—*Ex.* 252–254.

I have called such parenthetic sentences as the examples cited exclamatory, because from their brevity, their position, and their content, it seems probable that in the conventional method of reci-

tation of the scop they were intended to be pronounced with strong emphasis, perhaps with energetic gesture. In kind such sentences are to be related to the short exclamatory summarizing sentences which occur frequently in the narrative poetry at the end of extended passages of narration or description,[1] and to the similar sentences in epic passages made up of a group of short, logically loosely articulated, asyndetic sentences, each sentence adding independently and emphatically its single detail to a completed picture.[2]

It can be shown, I think, that energetic or exclamatory sentences of the kinds indicated were all felt to be characteristic of epic style, that they originated in the early heroic verse, and that they were frequently used in the later imitative verse with a sense of their epic connotation, although in general the feeling for these, as for many other, elements of the epic style became somewhat dulled and obscured in the later verse. It is my purpose at present, however, to limit the discussion to but one form of the emphatic, epic sentence, the parenthetic exclamation.

The occurrences of parenthetic exclamatory sentences in the *Beowulf* are as follows:[3]

18^{b}; 55^{b}–56^{a}; 348^{b}–350^{a}; 383^{b}; 405^{b}–406; 423^{b}; 501^{b}–505; 536^{b}–537^{a}; 570^{b}; 586^{b}; 666^{b}; 811^{b}; 835^{b}–836^{a}; 900^{b}; 925^{b}–927; 1003^{b}; 1317^{b}; 1422^{b}; 1508^{b}; 1520^{b}; 1537^{b}; 1570^{b}; 1607^{b}; 1663^{b}–1664^{a}; 1687^{b}–1698^{a}; 1699^{b}; 1701^{b}–1702^{a}; 1985^{b}; 2043^{b}; 2209^{b}–2210^{a}; 2470^{b}; 2632^{b}; 2661^{b}; 2725^{b}–2728; 2778^{a}; 2793^{b}; 2863^{b}; 3056^{a}; 3146^{b}.

Of these examples ten are sentences which precede passages of direct discourse, ll. 1687^{b}–1699^{b} being noteworthy as containing a double example. After the epic introduction *Hroðgar maðelode*, l. 1687^{a}, the passage, ll. 1687^{b}–1698^{a}, is parenthetic; after this long parenthesis the poet then repeats his epic introduction in a variant form, *Ða se wisa spræc sunu Healfdenes*, l. 1698^{b}–1699^{a}, and this is again followed by a parenthesis, l. 1699^{b}.

In several instances parentheses are indicated by the editors as beginning in the first half-line. There is, however, only one certain example, and this, it should be noted, in a passage of Christian coloring which is probably a late addition. The lines are as follows:

hrinan ne moste
gumena ænig nefne god sylfa
sigora soðcyning sealde þam ðe he wolde
(he is manna gehyld) hord openian.
—*Beow.*, 3053^{b}–3056.

In l. 2777^{b}–2778,

bill ær gescod
(ecg wæs iren) eald hlafordes,

the half-line *ecg wæs iren* is placed in parentheses by all the editors except Trautmann, who avoids the parenthesis by a reconstruction of the whole passage. The passage remains, however, a crux, and the placing of the first half of l. 2778 within parentheses is a strong stylistic argument against the usually accepted interpretation. The only other example is ll. 3114^{b}–3115:

Nu sceal gled fretan
(weaxan wonna leg) wigena strengel.

Grein, followed by Heyne, Wülker, Wyatt, and Holder, enclose l. 3115^{a} within parentheses; Trautmann again avoids the parenthesis by a violent reconstruction of the passage. But it is perhaps possible to explain the passage as it stands without the help of the parentheses. Syntactically, *weaxan* as infinitive should have the same dependence as *fretan*, l. 3114^{b}; it is probable also that it is co-ordinate in meaning with *fretan*, as Grein, *Sprachschatz*, II, 676, and Cosijn, *PBB.* VIII, 573, suggest. In confirmation of this meaning I would cite *An.*, 1536–1538^{a},

Weox wæteres þrym; weras cwanedon
ealde æseberend; wæs him ut myne
fleon fealone stream,

the corresponding passage to which in the prose

[1] For example, *Beow.*, 11^{b}; 114^{b}; 1250^{b}, etc.

[2] Such sentences and the ways in which they are grouped have been studied by Heinzel, *Quellen und Forschungen*, X, 13 ff; also *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum*, X, 220, XV, 157 ff.; and by Schücking, *Die Grundzüge der Satzverknüpfung im Beowulf*, Halle, 1904, pp. 139–148; Haenschhel, *Die Technik der Erzählung im Beowulfliede*, Breslau, 1904, p. 60. Schücking's valuable essay reached me too late to be of service in the preparation of the present study.

[3] Citations are from Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek.* Most of the examples in the *Beowulf* are indicated by Wülker's punctuation; see also Schücking, pp. 135–139; Sarrazin, *Beowulf-Studien*, p. 140.

version of the legend of St. Andrew (Bright's *Reader*, p. 125, l. 24) reads: *and hit* [the water that came from the mouth of the image] *æt manna lichaman and hit acwealde heora bearn and hyra nytenu. And hie ealle woldon fleon of þære ceastre.*

The number of undoubted parentheses in the first half-line is therefore limited to the one passage of late Christian coloring. As the number of certain examples in the whole body of the poetry is extremely small, there can hardly be any question that to place an exclamatory parenthesis in the first half-line, at least in the earlier periods, was felt to be bad style; and this rule, it may be observed, was quite in harmony with the general feeling for metrical effect which always strove to make the second half-line fixed and emphatic, the first half-line relatively free and light.[4]

Certain of the examples cited above may be called in question. By emending the manuscript reading *eafera*, 19ª, to *eaferan*, Kemble is enabled to dispense with the parenthesis in 18ᵇ; he is followed, among others, by Heyne in his earlier editions, the later ones returning to the manuscript reading, and by Sievers (*PBB.*, IX, 134). Sievers cites, in confirmation of the emended reading, the imitated passage in *Fates of the Apostles*, 6ᵇ, *lof wide sprang*, followed, in l. 8ª, by the genitive, *þeodnes þegna*. But the inference from the imitated passage to the original is not a fair one; the wording of the original might easily be followed and the peculiar stylistic color in its context, as one indeed might expect, be overlooked. 811ᵇ is plainly defective, *wæs* having dropped out after *he*, as most of the editors suggest; cf. the similar phrasing in *An.*, 1188 and *Sat.*, 97. But the half-line is also parenthetic and exclamatory, and should be so indicated by the punctuation. The value of 900ᵇ depends somewhat on the general interpretation of the passage in which the half-line occurs; the most reasonable reading, however, is that of Müllenhof (*Haupts Zs.*, XIV, 202), which places only a comma after *onðah* (or with Cosijn, cf. Wyatt's note, *aron ðah*), thus making the half-line parenthetic. 1570ᵇ is also plainly to be enclosed within parentheses, and *stod* is to be taken in the frequent sense 'rose up, stood out' (cf. *Beow.*, 726ᵇ); ll. 1571–1572ª thus complete the description of 1570ª, not that of 1570ᵇ. Although, as Wyatt points out, the phrase of 1985ᵇ is sometimes used with interrogative force, with a noun clause following (cf. *Beow.*, 232, 2784), the noun clause here is the object of *fricgean*, 1985ª, and 1985ᵇ, as the change in tense form indicates, is best taken as parenthetic; the same parenthesis occurs *Jul.*, 27ᵇ. 2661ᵇ is doubtful; the phrase *frean on fultum* may be regarded as completing the sense of both sentences of l. 2661, or 2661ᵇ may be taken better as an independent descriptive sentence; cf. *Beow.*, 1889ᵇ–1890ª. It is uncertain just how much exclamatory force is to be given to the adverbial parentheses in 383ᵇ, 666ᵇ, 2470ᵇ. All three sentences might be read unemphatically; it seems probable, however, or at least possible, that they are to be grouped with the exclamatory parentheses.

In the minor heroic and lyric poetry, parenthetic exclamatory sentences occur sporadically. In the *Maldon*, however, (365 lines) as one might expect from its obvious attempts at resuscitating the national poetic style, the device is again consistently used. The examples are seven in number: 92ᵇ; 96ᵇ; 118ᵇ; 225ᵇ; 230ᵇ; 255ᵇ; 309ᵇ–310. In ll. 156–158 occurs a probable example of parenthesis in the first half-line:

forlet forheardne faran eft ongean
(ord in gewod) þæt se on eorþan læg
þe his þeoden ær þearle gerœhte.

The result clause here follows naturally after l. 156, and the sentence *ord in gewod* may be regarded merely as an exclamatory comment upon the statement of l. 156. A similar sentence grouping occurs in ll. 225–226, although here the parenthesis falls in the second half-line:

þa he forð eode (fœhðe gemunde)
þæt he mid orde œnne gerœhte.
flotan on þam folce.

The placing a parenthesis in the first half-line is perhaps just such deviation from good style as one might expect in a poem of the imitative, academic character of the *Maldon*.

One other example from these shorter poems is perhaps of sufficient interest to warrant citation as

[4] Schücking, p. 137, following Bugge (see Wyatt's note), would place ll. 1014ª–1015ᵇ within parentheses; but this reading is a very doubtful one.

showing how we may have parallelism of sentence tunes as well as of phrase in Old English poetry. The lines are *Wanderer*, 88–91 :

Se þonne þisne wealsteal wise gepohte
and þis deorce lif deope geondþenceð,
frod in ferðe, (feor oft gemon
wælsleahta worn), ond þas word acwið,

the whole being perhaps a recollection from the *Beowulf*, ll. 1700–1703 :

þæt la mæg secgan se þe soð ond riht
fremeð on folce (feor eal gemon
eald eðelweard) þæt ðes eorl wære
geboren betera.

Turning now to the narrative poetry of secondary origin, the Christian poetry written on the model of the earlier heroic verse, we find the device of style more or less consistently preserved. In the *Genesis* (2935 lines), the examples are as follows : 443^{b}, with which compare 447^{b} ; 488^{b}, *leodum*, 489^{a}, being regarded as appositive to *feondum*, 488^{a}, and the phrase *to langre hwile*, 489^{a}, as antithetic to *lytle hwile*, 486^{a} ; 590^{b}–591^{a} ; 647^{b}–648^{a}, omitting *ond* with Bouterwek ; 667^{b} ; 771^{b}–772^{a} ; 993^{b} ; 1795^{b}–1797 ; 1982^{b} ; 2400^{b}–2401^{a} ; 2566^{b} ; introducing passages of direct discourse, 610^{b} ; 822^{b}–823 ; 2125^{b} ; 2892^{b}–2893. The parenthesis of 2054^{b}–2057^{a} follows the epic phrase introducing a passage of discourse, but the speech itself is given indirectly. The parenthesis of ll. 2466–2467, falling between the coördinate imperatives *doð*, 2465^{b} and *geswicað*, 2468^{a}, begins with the first half-line of 2466 ; but the parenthesis is a logical and explanatory one, entirely different in stylistic effect from the type of sentence under consideration.

The first instance of the exclamatory parenthesis in the *Exodus* (589 lines), ll. 158–159, is one of the rare examples in which the parenthesis begins with the first half-line. The parenthesis is unusual also in that it consists of two full lines, each half-line containing a complete sentence. The passage is really, therefore, a parenthetic group of emphatic asyndetic sentences such as were mentioned in the opening paragraphs. The remaining examples are seven in number. It is instructive to note that five of the eight parentheses in the *Exodus* introduce details in the description of battles, (*e. g.*, *cumbol lixton*, 175^{b} ; *byman gehyrdon*, 222^{b} ; *þufas wundon ofer garfare*, 342^{b}–3^{a} ; *ecg grymetode*, 408 ; *garas trymedon, guð hwearfode*, etc., 158–159), that is to say, are obvious recollections of the epic style. The remaining examples are 349^{b}, 583^{b}.

In the *Daniel* (765 lines), the occurrences are as follows : 182^{b}, 270^{b}, 524^{b}, and before a passage of direct discourse, 128^{b}–129. Two instances occur in the *Azarias* (191 lines), 164^{b}, 169^{b} ; two in the *Christ and Satan* (*Bibliothek*, II, 521–562), 342^{b}, and before a passage of direct discourse, 128^{b}–129 ; and one in the Doomsday piece, 280^{b}. In general, however, the device of style is one that the writers of the shorter religious and didactic pieces do not employ. The *Judith* also, which is heroic in subject but is told in an even straightforward manner very unlike the method of narrative of the *Beowulf*, contains no example of the exclamatory parenthesis.

In the group of Cynewulfian poems, marked as they are by the obvious effort to revive the earlier epic style of the *Beowulf*, we should expect to find the exclamatory parenthesis of regular occurrence. It should be remembered, however, that one has to do here with a group of poems which are not uniform in style. In general, it is evident that the *Christ* is less heroic in tone than the *Juliana*, *Elene*, *Andreas*, and other poems in the Cynewulf group. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the parenthetic sentence occurs only four times (13^{b}, 701^{b}, 1441^{b}, 1669^{b}) in the 1694 lines of the poem, and of these instances none has the characteristic exclamatory value of the examples in the *Beowulf*. That the device of style was one, however, that Cynewulf was perfectly familiar with is evident from his use of it in the *Juliana* and *Elene*, and the fewness of the examples in the *Christ* is perhaps due to his endeavor to avoid in general a too close following of the secular epic style in that poem.

The comparatively short *Juliana* (731 lines), on the other hand, shows five clearly defined examples, 27^{b}, 106^{b}–107, 118^{b}, 133^{b}, 291^{b}, three of the occurrences being sentences inserted between the epic phrase introducing a passage of discourse and the speech itself. The *Elene* (1320 lines), in this respect as in others, has carried the imitation of the epic style much further than the other poems of Cynewulf, the examples numbering

eighteen. Of these, nine (ll. 149^b, 437^b, 530^b, 586^b–587^a, 692^b, 859^b, 873^b, 895^b, 1133^b–1134^a (with Cosijn, *Aanteekeningen*, p. 32), are parentheses introduced into the body of a narrative passage, seven (ll. 78^b, 385^b, 609^b–610, 627^b–631, 655^b, 698^b, 749^b) are sentences inserted between an introductory phrase and a passage of direct discourse, and two (935^b–937, 1189^b–1190^a) are a slightly variant form of the latter, being both preceded and followed by an epic speech-introducing phrase.

The *Andreas* (1722 lines), which stylistically runs parallel to the *Elene* in so many respects, resembles it also in its use of the exclamatory parenthesis. The examples are: 36^b; 46^b; 646^b–647; 733^b–734; 764^b; 967^a; 985^b; 1242^b–1243^a; 1261^b; 1322^a; 1565^b; and before a passage of direct discourse, 402^b–404. In lines 967^a, 1322^a, and 1631, occur examples of parentheses in the first half-line. 967^a, *rod wæs aræred*, is imitated from *Vision of the Cross*, 44^a, *rod wæs ic aræred*, where the sentence is one of a group of short exclamatory sentences, though not parenthetic. The placing of l. 1261^b within parentheses solves a problem of punctuation that has troubled editors and translators. *brimrade*, 1262^a, thus becomes a variant of *eastreamas*, 1261^a, *brycgade*, 1261^b, being intransitive as it is in the parallel passage, *Ex. Gn.*, 73, *forst sceal freosan . . . is brycgian*.

It is of some interest in connection with the question of authorship to note that the *Andreas* contains three examples of parentheses in the first half-line, whereas no examples occur in the *Christ*, *Juliana*, or *Elene*.

Of the remaining religious pieces, the *Guthlac* contains two examples of parenthetic exclamation, 307^b, 494^b–495^a; the *Vision of the Cross* the same number, 28^b, 39^b; the short harrowing of hell poem (*Bibliothek*, III, 175–180), three examples, 63^b, 73^b, 108^b. In the *Metres* I have observed four examples, XIX, 1^b; XX, 94^b; XXIV, 45^b–46; XXIX, 32^b; and in the *Psalms*, one, CXL, 4. In the lyric *Phœnix* there are no occurrences of the exclamatory parenthesis.

It may be said, in conclusion, that the parenthetic exclamatory sentence is a consistently used and persistent element of the Old English poetic style, and, if one may judge from the distribution of the examples, chiefly of the epic style. As to its origin and the causes which led to the fixing of this device as a formal element of style, we are perhaps left to inference. To the modern critic, the parenthesis, constituting as it does an abrupt interruption of the sequence of thought in a narrative or descriptive passage, appears to be an unnecessary violation of the simple laws of unity and logical order; and such it must have seemed to the Anglo-Saxon, if he ever stopped to examine it. From the point of view of its origin, however, the device of style is perhaps capable of a rational explanation. Although we may now differ in opinion as to the exact degree of energy with which the various lines and passages are to be delivered in pronouncing Old English poetry, it will be generally conceded that when the scop sang in the hall the manner of his delivery was highly expressive and energetic, perhaps even turbulent and noisy. The impassioned dramatic manner of narration of the Highland bard (although the story itself consisted of but a bare catalog of names) which Scott describes in one of the early chapters of *Waverly*, might stand as our ideal picture of the Old English poet chanting his lay. In such enthusiastic, dramatic recital, the accompaniment and manner of narration increased greatly the exciting power of the narrative—perhaps, when the narrative grew dull, were a sufficient exciting power in themselves. There must thus have grown up a body of traditional convention governing and aiding the singer in the recital of his lines, a scop's elocution, somewhat as we have a conventional stage elocution, and professional scop's devices for keeping up the tone of the narrative. It is perhaps as such a device that the parenthetic exclamation originated, as an occasion for a gesture or a shout, as a stimulus to arouse the flagging attention, or as an indicator of something important to follow.[5]

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[5] Sarrazin, *Beowulf-Studien*, p. 140, regards the use of the parenthesis in the *Beowulf* as due to Scandinavian influence; and Bugge, *Tidskrift*, VIII, 41, mentioning several examples of the parenthesis in the *Beowulf*, cites one instance of similar use in Old Norse poetry. But it is much more likely that the device of style should arise from the similar conditions of oral recitation than through the medium of direct borrowing.

NOTES ON THE SPANISH DRAMA.

Lope, Mira de Amescua and Moreto.

In the *Entremês del Doctor Carlino*, there is a stage direction (l. 4.): *Sale Zumaque*, referring presumably to Doctor Carlino of the title. Restori, in a note, makes the following conjecture:

"Evidentemente è questo un soprannome del comico esecutore dell' *entremês* o forse possessore del manoscritto, così come sono soprannome Juan Rana . . . Ignoro chi sia il comico chi abbia portato questo nomignolo, ma mi conferma in ciò, il vederlo usato in un burlesco monologo del Cañizares. È un nobile *Montañés* che viene alla corte a festeggiare le nozze di Luigi I., principe ereditario, con la Duchessa di Montpensier, nel 1723. I suoi nomi tutti presi dal repertorio del teatro burlesco e i suoi titoli sono da più di un grande di Spagna: ed è agevole immaginare, dice il Pellicer (II, 42–43), che brio vi avrà messo il celebre *gracioso* Damián de Castro: . . .

Zumaque de Moscatel,
que á honrar vengo este festin . . ."[1]

In a review of Restori's work, Farinelli seems to refute Restori's conjecture by calling attention to the meaning of the word *zumaque: zumaque geläufiger Name einer Pflanzengattung, diente bald um den Weinsaft und den Weintrinker selbst zu bezeichnen.*[2] With the meaning of 'sumach,' and the sap derived therefrom, it is indeed found as early, at least, as Covarrubias. Zerolo[3] cites Vicente Espinel, and also gives, as does the Academy dictionary, a familiar use of the word, in the sense of wine: *ser aficionado al zumaque.* That the word also means *Weintrinker* is very possible. What would seem to be of more importance, in the case of the present *entremês*,—if indeed it is not a mere coincidence,—is that *zumaque* is an exact anagram of Mezqua, one of the several forms of Amescua as applied to the Spanish dramatist Dr. Antonio Mira de Amescua. The second "*u*," which alone is superfluous, would be justified as preserving the quality of "*q*." Mira probably wrote his name Amescua, as in what purports to be an autograph copy of his play, *Examinarse de Rey.*[4] His contemporaries hesitated between Mescua and Amescua. The form Mezqua is somewhat rare; it is to be found for the first (?) time in Fabio Franchi's *Essequie.*[5] The only other contemporary (?) instance of Mezqua, that I have found, is in the rare volume of twelve of Mira's plays, preserved in the Royal Library at Munich.[6] Here it occurs in the very play which interests us and which will be referred to later, namely, *La Reyna Sevilla, Comedia famoza, del Doctor Mira de Mezqva.* The title at the head of the pages always has Mezqua,—no attention need be paid to the interchange of "*u*" and "*v*." The same form is to be found in *El Pleito que tuvo el cura . . .*, as printed in the *Flor de las mejores doze comedias* 1652 (fol. 138vo.).[7] Sr. Castillo of Guadix (Mira's birth-place) informs me that the name is now written and pronounced Amezqua. The interchange of "*z*" and "*s*" is frequent in the South of Spain. Tirso de Molina, for instance, has the rhyme: *merezco: parentesco.*[8]

Restori refers to only one other instance of *Zumaque* as a character in a play, or as a proper name. At least two other instances are to be found. The first occurs in Mira's play, *Los carboneros de Francia, y Reyna Sevilla.*[9] Here

[1] Restori, *Piezas de títulos de comedias*, Messina, 1903, pp. 132–141.

[2] *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Vol. cxiii, p. 237.

[3] *Diccionario*, Paris, 1900.

[4] Bibl. Nac., Madrid. Cf. *Catálogo*, No. 1219.

[5] In the first edition, 1636, p. 82 (Bibl. Nat., Paris); in the *Obras sueltas* of Lope de Vega, Vol. xxi, p. 69.

[6] Cf. A. L. Stiefel, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. xv, 1891, p. 218. This is a factitious collection composed of *sueltas*; and, as Stiefel conjectured, *Lo que puede una sospecha* has been taken from the *Lavrel de Comedias. Qvarta parte de diferentes Avtores.* . . Madrid, 1653. None of the prints, with the possible exception of *La Reyna Sevilla*, would seem to be older than the last half of the seventeenth century.

[7] This volume which Barrera cites (p. 260b.), but which he does not analyze in his appendix, is extremely rare (cf. Salvá, No. 1180). In the copy of the National Library at Madrid the title page is wanting. M. Morel-Fatio has a copy in a good state of preservation, and another is in the Ticknor Library.

[8] *Teatro Escogido*, . . . 1839, Vol. ii, p. 160. Hartzenbusch here makes the following remark: "Alguna vez iguala Tellez la pronunciacion de la "z" con la de la "s." A no saberse que el supuesto Tirso era natural de Madrid, don Vicente Salvá le hubiera dado por andaluz." To be noted also is Gallardo's comment upon Andrés de Claramonte y Corroy (*Ensayo*, Vol. ii, col. 479).

[9] Restori, *op. cit.*, p. 88, refers to *Los Carboneros de Tracia*, as in the National Library at Madrid, *Catál.*, No. 498. 'Tracia' is, of course, an error and ought to read 'Francia.' In this manuscript the secondary title (*Carboneros de Tracia*) is in a later hand (Fernando de Roja's?)

Zumaque is one of a group of loquacious peasants. One would fain interpret his words as autobiographical; unfortunately our meagre knowledge of Mira's life and personality leaves us without a proper touchstone. The following passages if any might be so interpreted:

Zumaque, kneeling before Queen Sevilla, says (p. 298):[10]

> aquí tiene á su servicio
> este pobre carbonero.
> Cara tiene matizada,
> colorada, y amarilla,
> como se llaua (var. llama) Seuilla,
> puede llavarse Granada.

The sly reference to Queen Sevilla is evident. Is there any hidden meaning in the reference to Granada, or Mira's life there?

> *Conde.* Vete barbero.
> *Zum.* No soy
> barbero, ni en mi linage
> rapó nadie.
> *Rein.* Y como te llamas, di?
> *Zum.* mal, señora, preguntó,
> que nunca me llamo yo,
> otros me llaman á mi.
> *Rein.* Y es tu nombre?
> *Zum.* Qual? el mío?
> Zumaque, nombre es de pila; . . .

Later Zumaque would marry, but says Lauro:

> Señor,
> aun ay otro inconueniente
> que es el nouio su pariente,
> y será poco temor
> de nuestra Iglesia Romana,
> que casarse con él piense,
> sin que el Papa lo dispense,
> cásese como christiana.

than the rest of the play. For a brief analysis of the plot cf. Schaeffer, *Geschichte des Spanischen Nationaldramas*, Vol. I, p. 308. Sr. Menéndez Pidal kindly informs me that there is in the Royal Library at Madrid a play entitled: *Comedia de los Carboneros de Francia*, the opening verses of which are:

> Bien sabes al descubierto Çesar que
> Adoro a Marcela . . .

This is very different from the play under discussion, but I hope to have an opportunity of returning to the matter on another occasion.

[10] The extracts are cited from *Parte veinte y nueve de comedias nuevas de los mejores ingenios de España*, Madrid, 1673. I have examined seven prints and two manuscripts.

It must be admitted, that for the present, none of these references can be applied to Mira with any degree of plausibility.

Zumaque occurs again in Manuel de Leon's *Entremés del dia de Compadres*,[11] and finally, as Restori notes, in a burlesque monologue by Cañizares. Into neither could a reference to Mira de Amescua be interpreted.

In the *Entremés del Doctor Carlino* (ll. 41, ff.) a reference to our author seems clear and irrefutable. The "*muger*" says (l. 41): *mirad que está ahí el dotor.* Whereupon the ambiguous question is put: *El Dotor Mira de Mescua?* Then three plays are named, two of which belong without any doubt to Mira. The third one has been attributed, now to Mira, now to Lope de Vega. While the fact that *Zumaque* is an anagram of Mezqua may be a mere coincidence, it must be borne in mind, that the *entremés* was represented and probably written in Granada during the life of, or very shortly after the death of Mira. Guadix, his birthplace, is near Granada, and in Granada Mira received his education, and began his literary career.

* * * * * *

The doubtful play, just referred to, is *La Ventura de la Fea.*[12] As this play has never been

[11] *Obras poeticas Posthumas, que a diversos assumptos escriuio el Maestro Don Manuel de Leon Marchante*, . . . En Madrid, . . . Año de MDCCXXII, Vol. I, p. 412.

[12] According to Fajardo this play was attributed to Lope in Part XXVI *extravagante*, Zaragoza, 1645. Restori, in a note, gives reasons for doubting such an attribution. The Rennert-Chorley bibliography of Lope (cf. *The life of Lope de Vega*, by Hugo A. Rennert, Glasgow, 1904, p. 537) calls for the following corrections in its bibliography of this play: 1) Chorley's copy (Brit. Museum) could not possibly be so old as 1645; it is more probably a *suelta* of the last decades of the seventeenth century, or early in the eighteenth. 2) There is a manuscript of this play in the Municipal Library of Madrid (*Catál.*, p. 480). The following details may help to identify the Chorley print. It consists of twenty folios of the usual dimensions (the 2nd and the six subsequent folios are wanting). At the top of the first page are two rows of ornaments (first row: in centre a cross, on either side five groups of flowers; second row: sixteen stars). Then follows the title, etc.: *La Ventura de la Fea.* | *Comedia* | *Famosa.* | De Lope de Vega Carpio. | Hablan en ella las personas siguientes. ||| Don Juan de Sotomayor. | Don Diego. | Carlos. | Valdivia Capitan. | Moscon. | Hernandez Lacayo. ||| Claudio. | Alberto. | Angela. | Francisca. | Aldonça. | Musicos. |||

analyzed in any of the histories of the Spanish drama, a brief summary may be of interest.

Carlos is too fond of Petrarca and Garcilaso for his father Valdivia, who would fain make a legist of his son. Valdivia remonstrates with Carlos, but the latter remains silent. When asked by his friend Diego for an explanation of his silence, he replies :

Quiero escrivir aunque á espacio
con el arte vna comedia.
escriuiendo estoy un passo
en que un padre riñe á un hijo.
yo no quise replicar
a sus razones aqui,
porque dellas aprendí,
como le puedo imitar.
Pero ya lo que me obliga
a sentimiento mayor,
es que el nombre de mi enemiga
está en el Soneto.

D. Die. Él viene.
Carlos. Sabe que mi Angela adoro.
D. Die. De essos Angeles vn coro.[13]

Jornada primera. | Sale Carlos de estudiante, con un papal (sic) | en la mano, y el capitan Valdivia | su padre, y don Diego. |

D. Diego. Vanos enojos recives.
Car. Señor, no los tengas mas.
Val. Como, si tu me los das
con cada verso que escriues? . . . .

The first page ends: "premian con razon los Reyes"; the *comedia* concludes:

Fran. Y en esto acaba Lisardo
la ventura de la Fea.

In a subsequent article, I shall deal with certain *comedias*, of doubtful authorship, which in the final lines are attributed to *Lisardo*. Suffice it to say, for the present, that there is reason to believe that the verses of leave-taking were composed by the *actors* rather than by the *authors*.

A reference in Lope's *Del Pan y del Palo* (ed. Acad., Vol. II, p. lix):

Contenta se va mi Esposa . . . .
Por ella no se dirá
La Ventura de la fea

leads Menéndez y Pelayo to make the remark: *en estos versos . . . hay alusión al título de otra comedia de Lope.* The reference to an *otra comedia* is evident, not so, however, the attribution to Lope.

[13] In the Chorley copy, folio one ends here; the following six folios are wanting. It is not difficult, however, to supply what occurs in the interval; Chorley has done so in his copy.

We now learn that the plot turns about two women, Angela who is beautiful, and Francisca who is ugly. Carlos loves Angela, but her first-love, Juan de Sotomayor, who has been absent for some years in America, where he has made his "*Potosí*," has just returned. Juan learns that Carlos is to wed Angela in the evening. He remonstrates with Carlos and the latter on hearing the history of Juan's love is willing to forego any claims he may have to Angela, who he fears, moreover, no longer cares for him. Carlos soon repents,—Angela assuring him of her affection. Having expected to find Carlos joyous on the eve of their marriage, she is perplexed and grieved to see him sad and disheartened. We are in fact in the presence of a misunderstanding. Through the machinations of her father, Angela is to wed Valdivia, the aged father of Carlos. It will be recalled that Valdivia was very much concerned with his son's law studies! Carlos, however, is ignorant of the intentions of his father, but believes that Angela is to be given in marriage to Juan de Sotomayor.

At this point occurs a scene, in which Francisca laments her ugliness. She is enamored of Juan, whom Doña Angela no longer loves.

Siempre llora
la muger que nace fea:
qué de impossibles desea!
qué de embidia oculta tiene!
con qué verguença que viene
a donde un hombre la vea.

When the guests gather for the marriage, there is great confusion! Juan and Carlos come masked. Valdivia and Angela's father alone know who is the bridegroom. By way of apology old Valdivia descants upon the winter and spring of life. Still unsuccessful in bringing the matter to a point, he reviles and slanders his son Carlos. When, finally, it is learned that Valdivia is the bridegroom, Carlos declares himself. Don Juan reminds him that he had renounced Angela. Carlos replies:

Quando palabra te dí,
pensé que estauas casado
con Doña Angela, ó á lo menos
concertado de casar.

A duel is agreed upon. Valdivia, who is eager to avenge himself on his son Carlos and on Angela bequeaths all his wealth to Francisca. He will,

furthermore, marry her on the morrow. But he dies before the marriage can take place. Francisca's ugliness is soon forgotten, now that she has inherited great wealth. Angela's suitors vie in their attentions to Francisca, pretending withal to be ignorant of her recent good fortune. Angela, who is but human, becomes madly jealous of her sister. Finally, after considerable intrigue, Francisca is given in marriage to Juan, and Carlos weds Angela.

* * * * * *

On folio fourteen of the above-mentioned *La Ventura de la fea* occurs the following romance :

Mirava Lisardo vn dia
del erizado Noviembre,
como bramavan las aguas,
y se quexauan las fuentes.
A los Alamos madre mia
vestirá de ojas el tiempo,
pero no de esperanças
mi pensamiento.

To be noted are the lackey's words concerning this romance :

Proseguid esse romance,
que pienso que si bolviesse
de Napoles su Poeta,
no pudiera conocerle.

Who is the poet referred to? There is a romance by Lope (Rivad., Vol. XVI, p. 464) *Mirando estaba Lisardo* ; but here the resemblance ends.[14]

* * * * * *

In the third *Jornada* of the same play we have an episode that is found in the literatures and traditions of other countries.[15] Moscon, the lackey, is drawn up to a window, but not as he believes by his sweetheart! To his surprise he is left hanging in mid-air! To make the episode more comical, Angela's lovers, in the dim light of evening, mistake Moscon for Angela and forthwith address *him* in amorous strains.

* * * * * *

On the *verso* of folio seventeen of the drama in question occur the words :

Lindo don Diego ; son cuentos
de aliende el mar.

Now as *La Ventura de la Fea* is cited by Lope in 1612 (cf. ed. Acad., Vol. II, p. lix) we have here the earliest use recorded of the phrase which later became the title of Moreto's play *El Lindo don Diego*. For other references see Schaeffer (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124). To be noted also is Calderon's use of the expression in his *El Astrólogo fingido* (third *Jornada*).

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[14] The same thought is found in a contemporary *Letrilla*, cf. *Laberinto amoroso* . . . Barcelona, 1618, ed. Vollmöller, *Roman. Forschungen*, Vol. VI, p. 12 f. Cf. also Gustavo Becquer's well-known poem. For Spanish poets who were in Italy during the early decades of the seventeenth century, cf. Benedetto Croce, *Viaggio ideale del Cervantes a Napoli nel 1612*, in *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, 1899, Vol. I, p. 180 ff. ; and *Vida de D. Diego, Duque de Estrada*, . . . ed. Gayangos, *Memorial Histórico Español*, . . . *que publica la Real Academia de la Historia*, Vol. XII, 1860.

[15] Cf. Andrae, *Romanische Forschungen*, Vol. XVI, p. 342. A similar story is told in American colleges ; here the college policeman is the victim.

ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

1. With Goth. *ana-praggan* 'bedrängen' compare, besides the words given in Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*, MLG. *prange* 'pfahl, stange (um zu hemmen oder zu fesseln) ; maulklemme ; klemme, einengung,' *prangen* 'jemand einengen, mit ihm streiten, kämpfen, ringen,' E. *prong* 'zinke, spitze, stachel,' Gk. *βραχύς* 'small, short,' Lat. *brevis* < **breguis*, base, **bre(n)gh-* 'press, compress ; press, thrust.'

2. Goth. *baitrs* 'bitter' shows the same ablaut form as ON. *beittr* 'sharp.' These and ON. *bitr*, OHG. *bittar* 'bitter,' etc., were probably derived independently from the base *bheid-*.

3. Goth. *diups* 'tief,' *daupjan* 'taufen,' Lith. *dubùs* 'hohl,' etc., and OE. *dūfan* 'sink, dive,' MLG. *bedoven* 'niedergesunken,' ON. *dofenn* 'erlahmt,' ChSl. *dupĭnŭ* 'hohl,' etc., are from IE. bases *dheub-*, *dheup* 'sink, fall away.'

A similar meaning is seen also in IE. bases *dheug-*, *dheuk-*. The former appears in OHG. *tūhhan* 'tauchen,' Lith. *dùgnas* 'boden,' the latter, according to Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.* 37, in OE. *dēagian* 'dye,' *i. e.*, 'dip.' Notice especially these meanings : OHG. *petochen* 'versunken,' *fertochenen* 'verborgenen,' and compare

OHG. *tougan* 'verborgen, heimlich,' *tougal* 'verborgen, dunkel,' - OE. *dēagol, dīegle* 'hidden, secret.'

These meanings developed from 'make a quick movement, dodge.' Compare MHG. *tucken, tücken* 'eine schnelle bewegung machen besonders nach unten, sich beugen, neigen,' *tocken* 'versenken,' *tocken* 'flatterhaftigkeit,' Lith. *dūkti* 'rasen, toben,' *dūkis* 'tollheit, raserei,' *dūkà* 'ein dummer,' *dūkas* 'feiner dunst; geist,' *dvokti* 'stinken,' etc. (cf. author *Color-Names* 34, 89).

These bases we may derive from the IE. base *dheu-* in Skt. *dhūnōti* 'schüttelt, bewegt, entfernt, beseitigt,' Goth. *dauns* 'duft, geruch,' OHG. *toum* 'dampf, dunst, duft,' Gk. θῦμός 'geist, gemütswallung'; Skt. *dhūpas* 'räucherwerk,' OHG. *tūvar* 'töricht,' with which compare OE. *dūfan* 'sink,' etc.

4. OHG. *triofan* 'triefen,' OE. *drēopan* 'drip,' *dropian* 'drop,' ON. *driúpa* 'drip, drop,' *drúpa* 'bow down, hang down, droop, be sad,' *drúpr,* 'dejection, sadness,' MLG. *drupen* 'herabhängen, baumeln,' etc., are from a pre-Germ. base *dhreub-*, with which compare *dhreubh-* (or *-p-*) in the following.

OS. *drūƀon* 'niedergeschlagen sein, droop.' With this compare OHG. *trūba, trūbo,* MLG. *drūf, drūve* 'traube,' which may have meant primarily 'something that dangles or droops.' With the Germ. bases *drūƀ-* and *dreup-* are certainly related Lett. *drúpti, drupt* 'zerfallen,' *dráupít* 'zerbröckeln,' *drupi* 'trümmer' and Gk. θρύπτω 'break in pieces, crush; weaken, enfeeble,' τρυφή 'softness, effeminacy,' τρύφος 'piece, morsel' (cf. author, *AJP.* xx, 260).

Goth. *driusan* 'fallen,' OHG. *trūrēn* 'trauern,' OE. *drēosan* 'fall; perish,' *drēor* 'blood,' *drēorig* 'bloody; sad, sorrowful,' OS. *drōr,* ON. *dreyre* 'blut,' *dreyra* 'bluten,' OE. *drēorgian* 'fall, crumble away,' *drūsian* 'become languid, sluggish.' These have been compared with Gk. θραύω 'break in pieces; weaken, soften,' θραυστός 'broken; brittle,' Lett. *druska* 'krümchen, brocken,' Lat. *frūstum* (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* 37).

The three Germ. bases are too closely related in form and meaning to make it possible to separate them. In some way they must be connected. And Gk. θραύω, θραῦ-σις show a base from which these may come. Compare also Lith. *drovùs* 'blöde,' *i. e.* 'broken, weak' as in OHG. *blōdi* 'gebrechlich, schwach, zaghaft.'

5. OE. *dīc* 'ditch, moat; dike,' *dīcian* 'dig, make an embankment,' ON. *díke* 'ditch; pool,' MHG. *tīch* 'teich' may be compared with Lith. *dygùs* 'stachelig, scharf, spitzig,' *daigau* 'steche,' Lat. *fīgo* 'fix, fasten, drive in, transfix,' base **dheig-* with a pure velar. Lat. *fīvo* is from **dhīgu̯ō*. So with Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* 121, we may add to these Gk. θιγγάνω, θιγεῖν 'touch.'

6. Scotch *thratch* 'gasp convulsively, as one in the agonies of death,' is referred by the *Cent. Dict.* to *thrack* 'to load or burden,' and this word is derived from OE. *þryccan,* OHG. *drucchen* 'drücken.' The first connection is a good one, the second not allowable if we combine *drücken* with ON. *þrúga* 'press.' Both *thrack* and *thratch* may be referred to OE. *þracu,* ge-*þræc* 'pressure, force, violence,' *þrece* 'violence; weariness', ON. *þrek* 'strength, force,' *þrekaðr* 'worn, exhausted.'

7. ON. *þrafne* 'beam,' *þref* 'stake, stick' are derivable from a base *trep-, trop-* 'break,' which appears in Lith. *trapùs* 'spröde, leicht brechend,' Lett. *trepans, trapains* 'morsch,' *trepēt, trapēt* 'verwittern.' Gk. τράπηξ 'a beam to turn anything with; beam, stake, post,' τρόπηξ 'handle of an oar,' τρόπις 'a ship's keel' seem rather to be connected with τρέπω 'turn.' This, however, may be a secondary connection.

8. OS. *thrūfla* 'kelle' has a similar development of meaning. Compare OPruss. *trupis* 'klotz,' Lith. *trupùs* 'bröcklich,' *trupù* intr. 'bröckeln,' ChSl. *trupŭ* 'venter, vulnus, truncus,' *truplĭ* 'hohl,' Gk. τρῦπάω 'bore.' So also Lat. *truncus* 'stem, stock, trunk' is from *truncus* 'broken, cut off, maimed,' Lith. *trúkti* 'entzwei reissen,' etc.

9. OS. *thior* 'dürr, trocken' is not related to Goth. *þaursus,* but contains the diphthong *eu.* Compare ON. *þuerra* 'austrocknen, abnehmen,' *þuerra* 'abnehmen machen,' OS. *thorron* 'vergehen.' The words may be remotely connected with OHG. *dweran* 'drehen,' Skt. *tváratē* 'eilt.' So that ON. *þuerra* 'abnehmen, austrocknen' may come from pre-Germ. **tu̯erso-* 'flow out, waste away.' Compare Lith. *sùkti* 'drehen': Lett. *sukt* 'schwinden'; MHG. *swīmen* 'schwe-

ben, schweifen': OHG. *swīnan* 'schwinden, welken'; Skt. *viṣám* 'flüssigkeit': ON. *visna* 'verwelken,' OHG. *wesanēn* 'trocken werden'; Skt. *sēcayati* 'begiesst': Av. *haecayeiti* 'trocknet.'

10. Goth. *hwōtjan* 'drohen' has long been connected with *gahwatjan* 'anreizen,' ON. *huetia* 'antreiben, schärfen,' *huatr* 'rasch, feurig,' etc., and also with Skt. *cṓdate, cōdáyati* 'treibt an.' To these I added Gk. κῡδάζω 'revile, abuse' (*Am. Germ.* III, 322), with which Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* 167, compares ChSl. *kuditi* 'tadeln,' and I should place here also Lat. *cūdo* 'beat, strike.' This development of meaning hardly needs explanation. Compare, however, ON. *skella, skialla* 'klatschen, schlagen : schmähen'; OHG. *scaltan* 'stossen': *sceltan* 'schelten'; ON. *berja* 'schlagen,' ChSl. *borja̯* 'streite' : Lith. *barìu* 'schelte,' and many others.

Hirt, *PBB.* XXIII, 292, separates Goth. *hwōtjan* from *gahwatjan* but combines it with Gk. κῡδάζω, and *Idg. Abl.* 388, refers both words to a base *kowā*d.* I should write the base *keu̯ēd-* (or *keu̯ed-*). We find *keud-* (*qeude-*) in Skt. *cōdati*; *kūd-* in Gk. κῡδάζω, Lat. *cūdo* (or this may be from **koudō* or **keudō*); *ku̯ōd* in Goth. *hwōtjan*; *ku̯od-* or *ku̯ad-* in Goth. *gahwatjan;* and *ku̯ēd-* in the following.

11. ON. *huáta* 'durchbohren,' OS. *farhwātan* 'verfluchen,' OHG. *fir-wāzan* 'verfluchen, verdammen; verderben; läugnen, widerlegen,' MHG. *verwāzen* 'verstossen, verbannen; verderben; verfluchen, verdammen,' *verwæzen* 'von sich stossen, verfluchen.' These words certainly go with Goth. *hwōtjan*, and it is evident from this comparison that OHG. *firwāzan* is from an older **hwāzan* and hence can not be connected with Skt. *vádati* 'spricht.'

12. OHG. *kraft*, OE. *cræft*, ON. *kraptr* 'strength, power, ability,' Icel. *kræfr* 'strong' have been connected with ChSl. *krĕpŭ* 'fest, stark' (Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.* 149). The supposition is that the Germ. words lost initial *s* after the sound-shift. Hence Germ. *k* : ChSl. *k*. All such connections are based on a theory that does not consider the fact that any particular meaning may arise in many different ways. On the same principle we might connect E. *crave* with Skt. *kr̥̯patē* 'jammert, fleht, ersehnt,' or make hundreds of other like connections which would be equally good—or bad.

But let us examine this connection as to the meaning. The Balto-Slavic words have in them the primary idea of stiffness, rigidity : ChSl. *krĕpŭ* 'fest, stark, starr,' Slovak. *krpenĕt* 'rigescere,' Lith. *kárpa* 'warze,' Welsh *craff* 'stark,' etc. (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* 64). The underlying idea is similar to that in Ger. *stark.*

In the Germ. words, on the other hand, no such idea is present : Icel. *kræfr* 'rasch, stark,' OE. *cræft* 'skill, ability; cunning; knowledge; art, trade; excellence; power, strength; cause,' etc. Of course, the significations we have in the two sets of words might have come from a common meaning. But as the words are not synonymous as they actually occur, we may set aside this combination, which was evidently made on such an assumption.

The Germ. words may be referred to the IE. base *gero-, gere-*, which is recognized in Skt. *járatē* 'regt sich, erwacht,' Gk. ἐγειρω 'rouse, stir, wake up; raise, erect,' ON. *karskr* 'lebhaft, kühn,' etc. (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* 82; Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* 97). Here the underlying meaning is quickness, activity. We may therefore add here Skt. *gard-* 'frohlocken,' *gárdā* 'geil,' *gr̥̯tsa-s* 'rasch, geschickt, gewandt, klug.'

These meanings all go back to 'stir, be active, alert.' Compare Goth. *gailjan* 'erfreuen,' OHG. *geil* 'mutwillig, üppig, ausgelassen, lustig,' etc. Where we find the meaning 'be active, stir, move quickly,' we often also find the developed meaning 'be eager, desire.'

13. OE. *crafian*, ON. *krefia* 'crave, demand' may therefore be connected with Icel. *kræfr* 'rasch, stark.'

14. With Goth. *qiþan* 'sagen' cf. ON. *kuáðe* 'lied, gedicht,' Dan. *kvad* 'lied, gesang,' *kvæde* 'singen,' *kvidre* 'zwitschern,' Sw. *kväde* 'gesang,' *kväda* 'singen, dichten,' OHG. *quitilōn* 'lebhaft sprechen,' MHG. *quitteln* 'zwitschern,' Skt. *gātú-s̥* 'gesang,' *gā́thā* 'gesang, vers.' Av. *gāθa* 'hymn, song,' *gā-* 'sing,' Skt. *gāti, gāyati* 'singt.' For other derivatives of the same base see Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* 79.

This connection assumes an IE. base $g^{u}\bar{e}$- as well as $g^{u}\bar{a}$-. If, however, we combine the Germ. words given above with MHG. *kiuten* 'sprechen, schwatzen' < **kūdjan*, we must assume a pre-Germ. base **gu̯et-*. In this case compare Ir. *guth* 'stimme.'

15. Goth. *lamb* 'lamb' is better derived from the meaning 'spring, hop', than from 'bleat.' So we find the development in meaning in MHG. *gampf* 'schwanken,' *gampen*, *gumpen* 'hüpfen, springen,' ON. *gambra* 'make merry' : *gymbell* 'he-lamb,' *gymbr* 'she-lamb' (cf. author, MOD. LANG. NOTES, XVIII, 16).

So we may refer Goth. *lamb* to Gk. ἐλαφρός 'nimble, quick, swift, light' and ἔλαφος 'deer, hart, hind.' The connection betwcen ἔλαφος and ἐλαφρός (Pott, *Et. Forsch.* 1, 233) is an old one. That between ἔλαφος and *lamb* is assumed by Hirt, *Idg. Ablaut* 555, where both words are derived from a base *elen* and combined with Lith. *elnis* 'hirsch,' etc.

There is no good reason for supposing that the φ in ἐλαφρός is from IE. $g^{u}h$. We have here what occurs in many cases : IE. bases ending in a labial by the side of others ending in a guttural. For many examples see Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.* 35 ff. Moreover, all the forms supposed to be related to ἐλαφρός may go back to words with IE. pure velar *gh*.

16. E. *stack*, ON. *stakkr* 'heuschober' certainly do not need to be separated from ChSl. *stogŭ* 'schober.' But this brings us to the IE. base *st(h)ego-*, with which the Slavic word has been connected : Skt. *sthágati*, *sthagayati* 'hemmt, verschliesst, verbirgt, verhüllt,' Gk. στέγω 'keep off, hold off ; hold, hold in check (δάκρυον ὄμματ' οὐκέτι στέγει, *Eur.* I. A. 888); hold in, contain ; cover over, shelter, protect,' στεγνός 'covered, water-tight ; costive,' στεγνόω 'make costive ; check bleeding ; solder,' στέγος 'roof,' στέγη 'house,' στεγανός 'covered, roofed over ; close, compact ; reserved ; closed up, obstructed (νηδύς); constipating,' Lat. *stagnum*[1] 'standing water,' Lith. *stėgiu* 'decke,' *stógas* 'dach.'

Now the meanings we find in these words evidently come from 'hold, stop, check, hold in, inclose, cover.' The base *sthĕgo-*, therefore, may be a derivative of *sthē-* 'stand.' At any rate, we find a base *st(h)eg-*, *st(h)og-* 'stand, stand stiff' in ON. *stake*, OE. *staca* 'stake,' OHG. *steccho* 'stecken, stock, pfahl, pflock,' *stehhan* 'stechen.'

The meaning of the verb is secondary, and there is no more reason for connecting *stake*, *stechen*, etc., with Lat. *instīgo* than with *stock*, *stocken*, *stochen*, ON. *stauka* 'stossen.' Compare also *stecken*, *verstecken* with Skt. *sthagayati* 'hemmt, verbirgt.'

By the side of *sthego-* occurs a *tego-*, which is probably not the same word.

17. Goth. *stilan*, OHG. *stelan* 'steal,' etc., may in like manner be referred to a pre-Germ. bass *stelo-* 'hold, place, conceal.' Compare MHG. *stille* 'still, heimlich,' *stellen* 'zum stehen bringen, feststellen,' Skt. *sthálati* 'steht.' Compare the development of meaning in the following.

18. MHG. *stüpfen*, *stupfen* 'stechend stossen ; wegstossen, heimlich entfernen,' OHG. *stiufen* 'jem. seiner angehörigen berauben,' *stiof-* 'stief-,' OE. *ā-stīepan* 'bereave,' *stēop-* 'step-,' etc. Tracing these words back we have MHG. *stopfen* 'stechen, stopfen,' *stöuben* 'aufscheuchen, verjagen,' OHG. *stioban* 'rennen, stieben,' Gk. στυπάζω 'schlage, prügele,' στύπος 'stock,' ON. *stofn* 'stem, trunk,' *stúfr* 'stump.'

19. Goth. *stiwiti* 'erdulden, geduld' represents a pre-Germ. **steu̯e-di̯o-* or perhaps rather **steu̯i-di̯o-*. Compare ChSl. *staviti* 'stellen, hemmen,' Lith. *stóviu* 'stehe,' *stova*, OE. *stōw* 'place,' *stōwian* 'restrain,' and, for meanings, Skt. *sthāyin-* 'stehend, dauernd, geduldig.'

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[1] Noreen, *Urg. Lautlehre* 155, connects Lat. *stagnum*, ON. *stakkr*, and *stake*, but goes no further.

THE "MIRACLES DE NOSTRE DAME" AND THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.[1]

Based upon so many different sources from different periods, the Miracle plays do not always offer a picture of the conditions of the Fourteenth century, but they frequently do, and it is the object of this paper to glean from them such details as seem to reflect the age in which they appeared. Only the worldly side will be considered, as the religious side has already been treated.[2]

This is the period of the English invasions,

[1] Based on "Miracles de Nostre Dame par Personnages," by Gaston Paris and Ulysse Robert, in Anciens Textes Français.

[2] Forkert, "Glaubensleben und Kirchlichesleben in den Miracles de Nostre Dame."

when English armies spread misery and desolation over entire French provinces. "The kyng rode about the countrey destroying all before him. . . . Thus the noble realme of France was sore greued on all sides." [3] Thus was war in reality, and it is thus represented in the plays. An invasion of Spain is on foot, and the plans include the destruction of the inhabitants and the beasts of the field :

"Et prengne l'on chastiaux et villes
Et n'espergne l'en filz ne filles
Bestes ne biens." (Mir. XXVIII, l. 71).

The English do not attack the French without warning, "To thentent that their war shuld be more laudable, thei agreed to send their defyances to the french kyng . . . To bear these defyances, was charged the bysshop of Lyncolne . . . he had a safe-conduct to retourne again to his Kyng." [4] The invader in the play acts in precisely the same manner ; he sends his messenger to announce,

"Qu' assaillir venra vostre terre
Et vous mouvera si grant guerre
Qu'il vous toldra vie de corps . . .
Vostre pouoir ne prise maille . . .
Et vous deffie." (XXVIII, 78).

The nobles are angered by this speech, but a messenger is sacred, and they must receive it without violence though they protest energetically,

"Si tu ne fusses messagier
Poins fusses d'un tel esperon
Qu'il ne te fausist chaperon
Jamais avoir." (*Id.*, 98.)

In the Fourteenth century, we are still in feudal France, and all the wars of the Miracle plays are carried on by that system. In the war mentioned above, the emperor to gather his hosts sends messengers to his kings and barons and has them take up arms (*Id.*, 1427). As with the king, so with the baron. When the baron becomes entangled with others, or is called upon by his king, he in turn appeals to the knights who owe him fealty and gathers his followers as the king had done ;

"Le conte de qui vous tenez
Vous mande ainsi qu'a li venez." (VII, 725).

But the king exercises other feudal rights besides the military one. He sees that his barons dispense justice ; an uncle who keeps from his niece her property is called before him to answer to this charge (xxxix, 1122) ; a baron who wishes to pardon a woman confessedly guilty dare not do so for fear of his sovereign :

"Et si tost qu'il aura sceu
Que vous n'arez justice faite
Il mettra la main de fait
Sur toute vostre seigneurie." (XV, 1067).

He exercises the right of deposing a bishop, punishing him, and setting up another in his place vi, 1251). He marries off his subjects as he chooses ; he bestows upon Amille the hand of a countess (xxiii, 391), and upon a noble follower the hand of a princess (xxviii, 470).

There is considerable information as to the judicial system and its workings found in these plays. The one that gives the most complete outline of this is xv. We see the judge herein promoted by his lord from his position as mayor because he is "subtilz et cler veant, bien entendant et arguant." This judge is represented later as having no cases and is therefore missing the fines that devolve upon him. He takes his *sergent* to task for this and accuses him of corruption, in as nice an accusation of graft as could be brought against a modern municipal servant :

"Je scay trop bien comment on fait :
Ains que j'en aie congnoissance
Il vous ample de vin la pense
Et vous est la bourse fourrée :
Ainsi m'amende est recelée,
Que point n'en ay." (XV, 603).

The *sergent* protests against this charge and is on the look-out for some one to bring before the judge ; a woman at this time accidentally drowns her child, and her lamentations bring him to the spot ; he hastens after the judge who immediately proceeds to the place, and there holds the preliminary examination :

"Dame, savez vous de ce fait
Ne tant ne quant?" (*Id.*, 778).

The woman is sent to prison to await trial in the Assize Court, held by the baron ; the case is laid before him by the judge and she is condemned to be burned. The people are called together by the public crier to see that justice is properly done :

[3] The Cronycle of Froissart, Jean Bourchier, London, 1812, I, 55.

[4] Froissart, I, 49.

"Mon seigneur le conte vous mande
A touz ensemble et si commande
De chascun hostel un homme ysse
Sanz nul demour." (*Id.*, 1110).

This summons is not simply a matter of form; the people were expected to be present, for it appears they were liable to fine if they stayed away. This is manifest in another play in which the crier makes his exhortation as above, after which the people discuss his order, and decide to go rather than pay a fine:

1re Voisin. "G'y ay plus chier aler, par foy
Que je l'amende.
2me Voisin. Et j'aussi, qu'il ne demande
Amende, y vois." (xxvi, 910).

Torture of people suspected of crime was much in vogue in this period. We have two cases of this usage. In the first the King threatens that if the victim will not confess,

"L'en t'efforcera tellement
Que n'aura membre vraiement
Qui ne s'en dueil." (xxxi, 1864).

In the second case, a whole family is held for a crime, it not being known who is guilty, and to discover this, the bailiff threatens to put them all to the torture:

"Ou assez tost voir me diront
Ou il questionnez seront
Vilainement." (xxvi, 669).

A form of trial much resorted to during this period is that of combat. If the accused denied the testimony of the accuser, he had the privilege of proving his innocence against him by force of arms. There are three cases of this mode of trial in the plays.[5] The one most complete in its details is *Amis et Amille.* A courtier accuses Amille of crime, which he denies; the courtier immediately demands trial by combat, which is granted; the king asks hostages for the appearance of the combatants; Amille is in the wrong, however, so he dare not fight; he knows that truth is invincible and that he will be killed if he enters the lists after having sworn his innocence. So certain is he that he will be killed that he asks his counter-part Amis to take his place.[6] This is done, and on the day of the combat it is Amis who presents himself to fight the challenger; the oaths are administered by the king, after which they fight; Amis kills his opponent and Amille is adjudged innocent.

That these trials by combat are strictly in keeping with the fourteenth century is seen in the case of Jacques de Grys, who was accused of rape. "Judgement was gyuen that . . . mortale batayle sholde be done betwene the knyght and the squyer . . . Then these two champyons were set one agynst another." [7]

One play offers us the scene of the election of a bishop (Mir. iii). A bishop is murdered, the public crier announces the event to the people, and invites them to pray for the salvation of his soul and to come and view the remains. We have a picture of the preparations for the burial, the coverings of gold, the coffin with its pall of cloth-of-gold in the church. After the burial, it is thought advisable to proceed at once to the election of a new bishop,

"Pour garder de nostre eglise
Les droitures et la franchise." (iii, 497).

A council, composed of the baron, the arch-deacon, the clerks and the canons, meets to elect; it is decided to leave the matter in the hands of a committee of two, who choose the arch-deacon, to which choice the council consents. He is advised to proceed at once to the arch-bishop, who has had no hand in the election, in order to receive his insignia of office and be consecrated. Upon his return, preparations are made for a celebration; he is first conducted to church to give thanks for his new honors; then follows a great dinner with wine and *jongleurs.*

We get a glimpse of the wealth of the convents and monasteries; the monks are represented as having large revenues and saving them; they therefore offer rich booty to thieves and marauders:

"Ilz sont gens qui en leur requoy
Se tienent et petit despendent,
Et a amasser touz jours tendent;
Et si ont de grans revenues
Des maisons qui d'eulx sont tenues
Et de leurs autres labourages,
Pour c'est bon sur eulx les pillages." (xxxiii, 112).

The convent is invaded by robbers, and the abbot

[5] xii, 1198; xxxiii, 730; xvii, 1776.

[6] Petit de Julleville, *Mystères* i, 130, is entirely in the wrong in regard to this event. It is through fear, pure and simple, that Amille will not fight, and not at all because he does not wish to lie.

[7] Froissart ii, chap. lxi.

points out its treasures to save himself from death :

"Or ça vezci nostre tresor
Vezci premiérement draps d'or,
Vezci chasubles et tuniques
D'or et de pierres precieuses." (*Id.*, 261).

That churchmen were not held by the same laws nor judged by the same courts, is also apparent. When two advocates of religious houses are called before a judge and fined, they protest in this wise :

"Sire, vous savez vraiement
Que je suis homme d'eglise :
Ne suis tenuz en nulle guise
De cy repondre." (XIV, 186).

The villain does not enter largely into the plays. He is variously represented, but there is only one play which seems to reflect his general poverty and misery in the fourteenth century, and his helplessness against the upper classes, who ruthlessly despoil him of his goods and pillage him without mercy. We have here a villain complaining to his sovereign lady :

"De vostre fille a vous me plain :
N'avoie pour gangner du pain
A mes enfants et a ma fame
Qu' un povre cheval, chiére dame
Que tolir m'a fait par ces gens ;
N'en riens son cuer n'est diligens
Que d'oster au commun le sien." (XXXI, 1515).

The two salient points of bourgeois life as it appears here are the prosperity of that class and their military importance. The first of these is not restricted to this period for it was already manifest in such previous works as *Aiol*, *Jourdain de Blaivie*, *Renard*, the *Fabliaux*, etc.; the second is characteristic of the times, for it was not until this century that this class reached such prominence in military affairs.

Evidences of the wealth of the bourgeois and the facility with which such wealth was acquired are numerous. One bourgeois buys his release from a vow and pays the pope two hundred besants, which he says is "grant argent" (VIII) ; another says he possesses "biaus menages . . . grans heritages et foison de biens temporiex" (XV, 6); a third gives away a fortune, and then with borrowed capital sets out to reëstablish another, which he does in a few years in foreign parts (XXXV). Flanders was the country with which the greatest trade was carried on, and it is to that country that our merchants turn when they go forth to enrich themselves :

"Dame, a Dieu ; en Flandres m'en vois." (XV, 253.)

"Et droit a Bruges le menras
En marchandise." (XI, 196).

The prominence to which this class has attained is best seen in Mir. XXVIII. In the war quoted above, when the king of Spain has been warned of the approach of the foe, he leaves the kingdom and it is to the bourgeois that he entrusts its safeguard. He sends a messenger to their meeting-place to have them come and confer with him ; and turns the defense over to them. It is against them that the attack is made ; they are called upon to surrender, but refuse, and defend themselves valiantly, but the place is captured and they must give themselves up or die ; they escape by the payment of a ranson that the victor exacts,

"Biaux seigneurs, vostre roy Alfons
M'a courroucié, et a mal fait . . .
Je vous ai pris en fait de guerre :
Rançounnez vous." (XXVIII, 496).

They are willing to give up all they have to get away alive, and thus answer the above demand :

"Prenez quanque pouons avoir
. . . . . et laissiez vivre
Noz povres corps. (*Id.*).

The importance here given the bourgeois is not exaggerated. In the council after the capture of King John, twelve of the thirty-six members were bourgeois, and the provost of Paris held a position of the greatest responsibility. Likewise in the siege of Calais, to which the above offers certain striking resemblances, it is the bourgeois population of the town that defends it so stubbornly against Edward III, and it is with them that terms of peace are agreed upon. "I requyer you tary here a certayne space tyll I go into the towne and shewe this to the *commons* of the towne, who sent me hyder," [8] and after the peace is made the inhabitants ransom themselves by giving over all they possess, and are driven from the city.

These, then, are the details which reflect the age of the Miracle Plays ; they constitute in part what Petit de Julleville calls "la peinture fidèle et minutieuse des mœurs du temps pour lequel il

[8] Froissart I, 175.

(ce théâtre) a été fait."[9] The picture is not always "fidèle et minutieuse," nor is it always concerned with the "mœurs du temps," but he seems to be in the right when he adds, "Une foule de traits, dont il est semé, sont le fruit d'une observation exacte, naturelle et vive ; ils nous apprennent beaucoup de choses sur cette portion de la vie humaine que les chroniques . . . ne nous révéleront jamais."

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THE PHRASE *Sturm und Drang.*

It is well-known that Klinger's drama *Sturm und Drang* furnished the name for the literary movement of which it is one of the most characteristic productions. R. M. Werner (*Zt. f. d. Oesterreich. Gymnasien*, v. 30, p. 293 ; 1879) has shown that, before Kaufmann gave this title to Klinger's drama, Lavater in a letter to Herder used the phrase "aus Sturm und Gedränge heraus." The drama was first performed at Leipsic on the first of April, 1777 (Rieger, *F. M. Klinger*, I, 198). On the third of April, Klinger writes to a friend (Rieger, I, 407) : "Von mir zu reden wäre viel. Ich lebe so hin, bald in Drang und Sturm, bald im gelinden Säusslen, unter Musik, Comoedie und Spiel, Musen und etc." It is the first passage in which the title of the drama is used, though with a slight change of order, to express a state of feeling which was characteristic of Klinger and his associates. Later in the year the drama was performed at Frankfurt by Seyler's troupe, but had little success. H. L. Wagner in his *Briefe die Seylerische Schauspielergesellschaft betreffend* (1777), attributed the failure to the fact that the people did not know what the title meant ; then he continues : "wer fühlt oder auch nur ahndet, was Sturm und Drang seyn mag, für den ist er geschrieben ; wessen Nerven aber zu abgespannt, zu erschlafft sind, vielleicht von jeher keinen rechten Ton gehabt haben ; wer die drey Worte anstaunt, als wären sie chinesisch oder malabarisch, der hat hier nichts zu erwarten, mag immerhin ein alltägliches Gericht sich auftischen lassen." (E. Schmidt, *H. L. Wagner*, 1879, p. 52). The next place where the phrase is used is a review in the *Nürnbergische gelehrte Zeitung auf das Jahr 1778.* The work under consideration is *Sammlung neuer Original-Stücke für das Deutsche Theater.* Berlin und Leipzig, bey G. J. Decker, 1777. The reviewer begins (p. 83) : "In dieser Sammlung sind drey Stücke enthalten. I. Der glückliche Geburtstag. II. Besser getrennt als ungeliebt. III. Das Goldstück, oder der kleine Menschenfreund. Das erste und das letzte ist von Schlettern, einem Mitgliede der Seilerischen Schauspielergesellschaft. Das zweite von D'Arien. . . . Um des ersten willen heissen wir den Verfasser mit Freuden willkommen ! Es war uns ein wahres Vergnügen, unter so vielem Gewirre, Sturm und Drang und kolossalischen Karikaturen, an ihm einen Mann zu finden, der sich näher an die Natur hält." Decker's *Sammlung neuer Original-Stücke* also contained Klinger's *Sturm und Drang* (cf. Rieger, *F. M. Klinger*, I, 200 ; Goedeke, IV, 319), but the copy in the hand of the reviewer had evidently only three plays. In the following year, 1779, the phrase is found in a humorous prologue entitled *Die neuen Schauspieler in Mannheim.* The passage is cited by E. Schmidt in his book on H. L. Wagner (p. 130, n. 34). The daughter of an innkeeper describes a rehearsal in which a man for half an hour soliloquized "von Sturm und Drang, von plastischer Natur, Thatkraft, Wonnegefühl, bildendem Traum, von einem Ding, das ein Ding und wieder kein Ding ist."

The *Gothaische gelehrte Zeitung* of 1780 (p. 144) gives the phrase in participial form. In reviewing the novel *Wilhelm Edelwald, die Geschichte eines verlornen Sohns* (Leipzig, 1780), the writer says : "ein Roman der sich . . . . durch Vermeidung beydes der weichen schmelzenden Empfindeley und der starken, geniemässigen, stürmenden und dringenden Kraft unterscheidet." During the same year the phrase is used twice in the novel *Geschichte eines Genies,* as R. M. Werner has pointed out in the *Zeitschrift f. d. Oesterreich. Gymnasien*, 1879, v. 30, p. 293. A juxtaposition of *Geniewesen* and *Sturm und Drang* as in the *Gothaische gelehrte Zeitung* of 1780, is found in the *Nürnbergische gelehrte Zeitung* of 1781. The writer says (p. 417) : "Die Steckenpferde der Empfindsamkeit, des Genie-

[9] *Les Mystères.*

wesens, des Sturms und Drangs sind, Gottlob! jetzt grösstentheils von den Büchermachern so steif und lahm geritten, dass man selten mehr, als Knaben oder Krancke, damit auf die Leipziger Messen treiben sieht." In Schiller's *Nachrichten zum Nuzen und Vergnügen* (Stuttgart, 1781), there is in the number of July 31st an article about the peculiar marriage customs at the town of Calverton in England. The lot decides the question of marriage and so sentimentality and passion have no room there. The writer, perhaps Schiller himself, concludes his article with the following words: "Arme Jugend von Calverton! wie selten werden unter dir die Legionenweiss herumschwermende inspirirte Jungens und Mädgens werden, wie wenig werden sie von Herzens Sturm und Drang, Mord- und Busch- Cameradschaft zu sagen wissen, wie selten werden sie Geisteskraft genug haben zu empfinden, wie Werther und sich das Hirn zu versengen, oder wie Siegwart, und es im Wasser aufzulösen; aber wir werden desswegen nicht schlimmer daran seyn, antwortet ein solcher holzherzener Einwohner von Calverton." (Cf. Minor, *Der junge Schiller als Journalist*, Viertelj. f. Litt. gesch. 2, 376.)

A humorous variation of the phrase is used in the *Almanach der Belletristen und Belletristinnen* of 1782. In speaking of J. F. Schink, the writer says (p. 181): "Seine ersten Werke verkündeten so etwas von Wurf und Drang, doch bekehrt' er sich nachher." *Drang* alone is used in the sense of *Sturm und Drang* in the *Nürnbergische gelehrte Zeitung* of 1780, p. 776: "Romane, in welchen der Dämon der Empfindeley und das Drangs sein Spiel hat."

The passages show how quickly the title of Klinger's drama was applied to the literary movement of the time. It should be noted, however, that in all the passages quoted the phrase does not refer to the movement as a whole, it is not used in the sense of *Genieperiode* as to-day, but it is applied only to a certain important characteristic of the period. I do not doubt but further examination of the literature of the time will bring to light more evidence. For the time after 1782, Erdmann has collected a few passages (*F. M. Klingers dramatische Dichtungen*, Königsberg, 1777, p. 24), a few others may be found in Grimm and Heyne.

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THOMAS KYD'S RIME SCHEMES AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF *Soliman and Perseda* AND OF *The First Part of Jeronimo.*

It is now generally conceded, on internal evidence, that Thomas Kyd wrote *Soliman and Perseda.* The authorship of *The First Part of Jeronimo* is yet in dispute. Sarrazin[1] attributes it to Kyd; Schick[2] holds his conclusion in abeyance; whereas Boas,[3] relying largely upon the argument of Fischer,[4] believes it to be the work of an anonymous playwright, and later in date than 1602. All evidence for *Soliman and Perseda*, and the weightier portion of that concerning the other play is internal. Apart, however, from the arguments adduced, there is an additional one which may be drawn from certain rime schemes of the plays.

Boas (p. LVII) refers vaguely to the likeness of *Soliman and Perseda* to Kyd's plays in "its metrical characteristics, such as the comparative frequency of double endings and run-on lines, and in its proportion of blank verse to rime." Schick notes some rhythmical features of *The Spanish Tragedy*[5] and speaks[6] of applying metrical tests to that play, to *Soliman and Perseda* and to *Cornelia*, especially the feminine ending test. A feature, more significant, however, than any of these is the sporadic appearance in all three plays of three regular rime schemes: *aca*, where c is an unriming line; *abab*; and *aaa.* These occur in the following places:

aca:

Cornelia: I, I, 35; III, I, 30; IV, I, 105; V, V, 436.

Spanish Tragedy: I, II, 17; II, I, 3; II, II, 96; III, VI, 5; III, XII, 13; III, XIII, 2;

[1] *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, pp. 54–58.

[2] *The Spanish Tragedy.* [Temple Dramatists]. Introduction, pp. XVII–XVIII.

[3] *Works of Thomas Kyd.* Introduction, pp. XLI–XLIV.

[4] *Zur Kunstentwicklung der Englischen Tragödie*, pp. 100–112.

[5] Larger edition of *The Spanish Tragedy*, Part I [Literarhistorische Forschungen, XIX], pp. LXXXXIV–CIII.

[6] *The Spanish Tragedy.* [Temple Dramatists.] A premonition perhaps to notes in the forthcoming edition of *The First Part of Jeronimo* by Schick, or in his yet unpublished Part II of the larger edition of *The Spanish Tragedy.*

III, XIV, 2 ; III, XIV, 60 ; III, XIV, 68 ; III, XIV, 127 ; III, XV, 22 ; IV, IV, 119 ; IV, V, 6.

Soliman and Perseda: II, I, 102 ; II, I, 232 ; II, I, 303 ; II, II, 66 ; IV, I, 115 ; IV, II, 71 ; V, IV, 103 ; V, IV, 123.

abab:

Cornelia: I, I, 102 ; I, I, 147 ; I, I, 151 ; II, II, 124 ; II, II, 128 ; II, II, 132 ; II, II, 224 ; II, II, 304 ; II, II, 252 ; II, II, 310 ; III, I, 25 ; III, III, 57 ; III, III, 99 ; III, III, 108 ; III, III, 127 ; IV, I, 101 ; IV, I, 110 ; IV, I, 122 ; IV, I, 147 ; IV, II, 131.

Spanish Tragedy: II, II, 12, III, XII, 1 ; III, XII, 5 ; III, XII, 19 ; III, XIV, 161 ; IV, I, 179.

Soliman and Perseda: II, I, 148.

aaa:

Cornelia: III, I, 34 ; V, V, 213.

Spanish Tragedy: I, IV, 74 ; III, XIII, 54 ; III, XIV, 5.

Soliman and Perseda: III, IV, 7.

Besides these, *Cornelia* has *ababbb* (I, I, 96) ; *ababcaaa* (III, III, 117) ; and *abba* (II, II, 279, and III, III, 137) ;

The Spanish Tragedy, acaa (III, XIV, 114) ; *aaaa* (II, II, 54) ; *aabab* (IV, IV, 46) ; *ababb* (III, X, 24, and III, XV, 33) and *acbdab* (IV, I, 173) ;

and *Soliman and Perseda, acaa* (IV, I, 145, and V, IV, 32) ; *aaca* (I, II, 1) ; and *acbab* (I, III, 64).

Soliman and Perseda is, therefore, at one with *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Cornelia* in its use of such unusual and whimsically varied rime schemes set at random in the texture of the verse. Of such *The First Part of Jeronimo* contains none at all ; nor does it contain any other rimes except those of the simple couplet, which is used at irregular intervals. This strengthens the argument for the genuineness of *Soliman and Perseda* and the spuriousness of *The First Part of Jeronimo* as plays of Kyd.

It might be suggested that, if Kyd wrote the *Ur-Hamlet*, traces of these rimes might be expected to have reappeared in the extant Hamlet plays. The Shakespearean Quarto of 1603 shows four appearances of the *aca* and two of the *aaa;* but as *Gorboduc*, which may be taken to represent plays not influenced by Kid, also contains the *aca* rime four times, while *Macbeth* contains *aaa* once and *aaaa* once, the occurrence of these forms in Hamlet cannot be considered a trace of Kyd's workmanship. The German play, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, contains no such rimes. If, however, Kyd used them in the *Ur-Hamlet*, their fragility would explain their destruction when the play was revised ; while the inferior author of the German paraphrase[7] would scarcely have attempted to preserve so subtle a feature.

The source of Kyd's usage in this matter was probably twofold : it will be noticed that in *Cornelia* is a large predominance of the *abab* rimes ; and that twice appears *abba*, which is absent in the other two plays of Kyd. This may have been due to the influence of the French original of Garnier, in which one of the strophic choruses is in form *ababdeed*. That the French form strongly influenced Kid is attested by the fact that he wrote most of his speeches for the chorus of *Cornelia* in strophes modelled after the French.[8] In *The Spanish Tragedy*, which probably antedated

[7] W. Creizenach ("'Der Bestrafte Brudermord' and its Relation to Shakespeare's 'Hamlet.'" *Modern Philology*, October, 1904) says : "This view [that the German play was based on the *Ur-Hamlet* of Kyd] I shall not discuss in detail, as its erroneousness must be at once evident to anyone competent to judge." Nevertheless, the recent conclusions of Schick ("Die Entstehung des Hamlet." *Shakespeare Jahrb.*, 1902, p. xxiv.), of Thorndyke ("The Relations of Hamlet to Contemporary Revenge Plays." *Pub. Mod. Lang. Association*, XVII, 1902), of Corbin ("The German Hamlet and the Earlier English Versions." *Harvard Studies*, V, 245), and of Evans (*Der Bestrafte Brudermord, sein Verhältnis zu Shakespeare's Hamlet.* Bonn, 1902. Also "'Der Bestrafte Brudermord' and Shakespeare's 'Hamlet.'" *Modern Philology*, Jan. 1905), give this view at least the status of a not wholly unreasonable hypothesis ; although Evans admits a Shakespearean influence over the composition of the German play.

[8] Boas (p. LXXV) says : "His versions of Garnier's Choruses, though far from faithful to the original, show much skill in the manipulation of varied strophe-forms. Herein he resembles the Countess of Pembroke." For Lady Pembroke's version of Garnier's *Marc Antoine* see Miss Alice Luce's edition, Literarhistorische Forschungen (1897). This version, Miss Luce thinks, inspired Kyd to translate the *Cornelie*.

Cornelia,[9] the prevalence of *abab* rimes and of closely allied forms may have been due solely to earlier English usage. Yet Kyd's rimes exhibit great mobility of form. In *The Spanish Tragedy* he uses *aca*, *acaa*, *aaa*, *aaaa*, *abab*, *aabab*, *abacb*, and *acbdab*. This varying of the rime scheme suggests that the dramatist may, even at the earlier date, have been conversant with the work of Garnier, who in the *Cornelie* varies the form of his strophe, using *ababdeed*, *ababdede*, *aabab*, and *aabddb*, besides couplets.

Yet Garnier's forms of rime always continue unchanged through a number of consecutive strophes; whereas Kyd's are, except in his strophic choruses, always sporadic. In this particular, however, Kyd was but following earlier English usage, as it appeared, for example, in the employment by Sackville and Norton of sporadic couplets. From this influence came the occasional character of his rimes; while from Garnier came their intricate mobility, certainly in *Cornelia* and probably in the other plays.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

C. C. Marden: *Poema de Fernan Gonçalez. Texto crítico con Introducción, Notas y Glosario.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. Madrid: Librería de Murillo. 1904. 8vo., pp. lviii, 226.

The editor of this welcome edition of the *Poema de Fernan Gonçalez* set himself an arduous task when he engaged in the preparation of a critical text of the Old Spanish epic of the thirteenth century, for the bulk of its contents is preserved in but a single manuscript, which cannot be dated earlier than the fifteenth century and bears unmistakable evidences of the bungling of scribes none too familiar with the peculiarities of the poet's language. Professor Marden entered upon his undertaking fully cognizant of the difficulties that would beset his path, and despite them he has so succeeded in reconstructing the text of his document as to rehabilitate it in its ancient linguistic rights. Even the most cursory comparison of his edition with the earlier ones of Gallardo and Janer will show how sane and thorough are the methods of his scholarship and will make it clear that we must regard his text as the authoritative one. We sincerely congratulate the American editor on the excellence of the work that he has done.

Prefacing the text of the Old Spanish literary monument there is an Introduction of nearly sixty pages in which are discussed such subjects as the importance of the story of Fernán Gonzalez in early Castilian poetry, the number and condition of the manuscripts containing certain brief extracts from the *Poema* and the state of the one long manuscript, earlier editions of the whole or part of the *Poema*, the question of its date and authorship, the sources of the matter in it and its relation to the Chronicles, and, finally, linguistic and metrical problems. With the literary history of the hero Fernán González, Professor Marden has not felt impelled to deal at any length, since it has already been treated rather fully by Menéndez y Pelayo and by his able successor at the Universidad Central of Madrid, Menéndez Pidal.

Like the Cid, Fernán González was a doughty Castilian warrior, and like him also he was ever dear to the hearts of the Castilian people. Hence his literary popularity, which is attested not only by the long epic presented to us in the present volume, but also by the accounts of his deeds given as early as the thirteenth century in Berceo's *Vida de San Millán* and in the *Crónica rimada del Cid*. Then, too, his story was probably sung in a fourteenth century *cantar de gesta* of which vestiges may be seen in the ballad *Castellanos y Leoneses* and in the *Crónica de 1344*; and it provided matter for some thirty-two ballads that have been subjected to a close study by Menéndez Pidal. Less valuable as literary documents, but yet indicative of the persisting popularity of Fernán González, are the sixteenth century verse compositions of Gonzalo de Arredondo in which the prowess of the ancient count is celebrated.

The manuscript which is the main source of

[9] Sarrazin, Boas, and Schick agree in fixing the date of composition of *The Spanish Tragedy* prior to 1588; it is generally conceded that the *Cornelia* was written about the close of 1593 or the beginning of 1594.

Professor Marden's text is now in the Escurial library (*Escurialense* B–IV–21). Taking this as his basis, he has had recourse for variants to fragments of the poem quoted by Arredondo, by Sandoval in his *Historia de los cinco Obispos*, and by Argote de Molina in his *Discurso sobre la poesía castellana*. These verses he prints in full: pp. 113–116; Introduction, pp. xxi–xxiii. He thinks that Arredondo and Argote derived their verses from some other source than the Escurial manuscript, but the divergencies which he cites as evidence thereof in the case of Arredondo seem hardly conclusive, for the changes made may be due to Arredondo himself. Still, Professor Marden is within his rights in asserting the possibility of Arredondo's having used a manuscript now lost, whether it be the one formerly at Arlanza or not. The Escurial manuscript is a precious one, inasmuch as it contains certain other relics of Old Spanish literature, viz., the *Consejos y documentos* of the Rabbi Don Santo, the *Doctrina cristiana*, the *Dança general de la muerte*, and the *Revelacion de vn hermitaño*, beside the legend of the Castilian count. The part containing the *Poema de Fernan Gonçalez* is in a pitiable state, and it lacks the latter part of the composition, which must have told of the Count's imprisonment by the King of Leon, his release by his wife, and the episode of the horse and the hawk. Moreover, the characters of the manuscript are often illegible, it is disfigured by blots and erasures, and it has lacunæ that extend at times to whole stanzas and even to series of them. The hands of two different copyists are discernible, and both of them seem to have made a point of modernizing the linguistic conditions of the document, thereby impairing both metre and rhyme. Opposite pp. xv and xviii, Marden has printed facsimiles of short sections of the manuscript.

To get behind the modernized readings of the manuscript and supplant them by others true to the phonetical and graphical conditions of the thirteenth century, to restore the originally correct metre and rhyme, such has been the constant effort of the present editor, who at times has well-nigh achieved the impossible. A striking instance of the skill with which he has solved these and other problems, even carrying them over into the literary and historical domain, has been furnished us in a preliminary article which Marden published several years ago and in which he proved the historical unity of the Count of Poitou and Toulouse and cleared away the absurdities in stanzas 328 and following of the text of the manuscript. Parenthetically let us call attention here to a matter of which he speaks and which may lend itself to some further discussion, viz., the correct accentuation of *-iello* (*-iella*) words. Among the examples of scribal modifications of the original text, Marden mentions the treatment of the diminutive suffix developed out of Latin *-ĕllum* (*ĕllam*). This is found in the manuscript with its true Old Spanish form, *-iello* (*-iella*) but three times: in all other cases the form occurring is *-illo* (*-illa*). He thinks that in these other cases the form *-iello* (*-iella*) should be adopted, and he is of course right; yet, we may be permitted to entertain a doubt whether the Old Spanish accent was *-iéllo* (*-iélla*), as he intimates in connection with stanzas 313, 473 and 615, for in Old Spanish verse *-iello* (*-iella*) seems to show an aversion to rhyming with *-éllo* (*-élla*) words.

The questions of authorship and date appear to require no great amount of discussion. Marden accepts the view of Amador de los Ríos that the *Poema* was put together by a monk of the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza. The fact that it brings in a personage bearing the double title of Count of Poitou and of Toulouse makes it not earlier than 1250, when those counties were united under the rule of Alphonsus, Count of Poitou, who, the year before, had married the daughter of Count Raymond of Toulouse. Approximately this same *terminus a quo* appears fixed by the reference in stanza 640 to Acre and Damiata, which came into St. Louis's hands in 1249. As Alfonso el Sabio utilized the *Poema* for his *Crónica general*, and as the titles of Count of Toulouse and Count of Poitou ceased to be united in 1271, it cannot be rash to place the date of the *Poema* as Marden does "en el año 1250 ó muy poco después."

Among the sources from which the author drew was undoubtedly the religious verse of Berceo. Marden shows that his indebtedness to Berceo's religious verse goes even further than has hitherto been pointed out; and he adds other passages of the *Alexandre* to those which Amador indicated

as followed by the *Poema*. Borrowings from the *Anonymus Pacensis*, the *Pseudo-Turpin*, and the work of Lucas of Tuy have been registered by other scholars: Marden believes that use was also made of the *De Laude Hispaniæ*. He dissents from Amador in so far as regards the reference to the tomb and epitaph of Roderick the Goth, for the account of them given in stanza 84 he considers as taken from the Chronicle of Lucas of Tuy, rather than directly from the *Chronicon Sebastiani*. The influence of other *cantares de gesta* and of oral tradition is, of course, assumed by Marden, who suggests that the author of the *Poema de Fernan Gonçalez*, was acquainted with the *Poema del Cid*—as we may readily grant on general grounds—and with the *Chanson de Roland:* but the evidence in this latter connection (cf. p. 172) is none too weighty.

Of the later Chronicles that drew upon the *Poema de Fernan Gonçalez*—the *Crónica general*, the *Tercera Crónica general*, the *Crónica de 1344*, and the *Crónica del Conde Fernan González* of Arredondo—the *Crónica general* is by all odds the most important, for it carries on the story from the point where the Escurial manuscript breaks off and thus it completes the narrative. As in the earlier part of its account the *Crónica general* agrees with the *Poema* and was probably based thereon, we may take it for granted that the conclusion of the legend as given by the *Crónica general* was likewise that of the *Poema*, and we may even detect in the former traces of the assonanced verse of the latter. Marden (pp. 116 ff.) publishes from a fourteenth century manuscript (*Escurialense, X–i–4*) the whole of the *Crónica general* account of Fernán González, and he has constantly appealed to it for support for his text emendations.

Coming now to that part of his Introduction in which the editor states the methods applied by him in the establishing of his critical text, we have the following remarks to make regarding matters of minor importance.

One might demur at the retention in the restored text of the graphical combinations *brr*, *vrr*, *grr*, etc., and of the inorganic *u* of such words as *alegrue*, *gruyto*, etc. Such spellings are not customary features of thirteenth century Castilian, and they seem to belong in the footnotes. So also, the forms *saqua*, *saquamos*, etc., seem out of place in a critical text, and it cannot be right to allow *z* and *ç* to alternate as early as the thirteenth century in the spelling of the name *Almoçor*, *Almançor*, in which the voiceless sibilant alone finds justification elsewhere. Why should not the reflexive pronoun *se* be joined to its verb preceding? It was surely enclitic, and the editor of a critical text could not be censured for systematically doubling the *s* after a preceding vowel, even though the early Spanish documents seem to show inconsistency in this regard. It is questionable whether we should speak of *me*, *te*, *se* as being proclitics in such cases as 413b *ver mas*, 343c *poner tas*, 303c *aver san*. The Old Spanish conjunctive object pronoun is properly enclitic, but perhaps in such circumstances as these it may be termed an infix. As *qui* is not found elsewhere in the text, the editor's introduction of it in 444c may be regarded as hazardous: *si* or *quand* would answer the purpose and would be warranted by the usage of the poem. No partitive construction is necessarily involved in 234c: *Dar te e yo pan de ordio ca non tengo de trygo*. The noun *pan* is understood before *de trygo*. Marden is probably right in retaining *-ia* of the imperfect ending as a monosyllable, even though it be not in rhyme or at the end of a hemistich: still, it is perplexing to find *venien* as a trisyllable (*e. g.* 456a, b) and *venian* as a dissyllable (*e. g.* 457a). The case of *tornada* (724b), a past participle conjugated with *aver* and put in the feminine, while its object is masculine (*el rrouo*), must occasion grave doubt. One is tempted to substitute *la rroua* for *el rrouo*, thinking of the *roba* of stanza 466c of Berceo's *Santo Domingo* as printed in *Biblioteca de autores españoles* 57; but Fitz-Gerald's edition here shows that the good manuscript reading is *robo*. The sense of 724b as it stands is none too satisfactory. It is hard to believe that the quatrains showing the same word in rhyme twice represent anything but scribal bungling of the text; yet, in the majority of the cases listed by Marden (cf. p. 1) an emendation is not easily found, any more than in the cases of the verses showing assonance rather than the customary rhyme (cf. p. li). In the considerable number of verses presenting only assonance and in the imperfect half alexandrines that are manifestly good *romance* verses or epic hemi-

stichs, and at the same time contain epic formulae not easily reducible, may we not see remnants of earlier *cantares de gesta* used by the monastic author of our school epic, and only partially worked over by him? An hypothesis of this sort would account for the very large number (143) of metrically imperfect lines in the *Poema*. The statement that *mio* is a dissyllable when preceding its substantive (p. liii) is in direct contradiction with the real fact as stated twice elsewhere in the book (pp. xliv and 204): and it is not entirely clear why Marden thinks Baist wrong in supposing the pronunciation *Díos* for the *Poema* (p. liii).

Although the primary purpose of Professor Marden in preparing this edition was to make it a linguistic study, he has devoted thirty pages to notes which are largely in the nature of comments on matters of historical and literary import, and show that he has had in mind practically all the possibilities of interesting and useful investigation that the epic legend of Fernán González offers. In addition he has provided his work with a glossary of the more difficult terms occurring in the text and with an index of proper names. To the list of errata contained in the *Adicciones y correcciones* (pp. 223–4) there may be added the following:

P. xvii, line 35 *gruyes* for *grueyes:* xx, 8 *servió* for *sirvió:* xxvii, 36 *II* for *I:* xxxi, 9 *servió* for *sirvió:* xxxii, *II, propriedad* for *propiedad:* xxxvi, 19, insert *del* after *muerte:* xli, 23 *derividos* for *derivados:* xlii, 27 *esisten* for *existen:* xliv, 32 *Aférisis* for *Aféresis:* xlvi, 35 *Gonçalez* should be italicized: xlix, 29 *d101* for *101d:* lvii, 12 *repitimos* for *repetimos.*

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ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

The Inflection of the English Present Plural Indicative with special reference to the Northern Dialect. A dissertation submitted to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, by John David Rodeffer. Baltimore: John Murphy Company, 1903.

Entwickelung der Præsens Indikativ-Endungen im Englischen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der 3. Pers. Sing. von ungefähr 1500 bis auf Shakspere. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der hohen philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Rostock, vorgelegt von W. von Staden, Oberlehrer in Bremen. Rostock: Carl Hinstorffs Buchdruckerei, 1903.

Dr. Rodeffer's name suggests pleasant memories. I shall never forget his genial company three years ago as we journeyed together to the meeting in Weimar of the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft; nor can I forget his look of pathetic discomfiture when in his very best German—we had been twitting each other about our German—he asked a peasant near Lützen how far it was to the battlefield and received the reply: "Ich spreche nicht polnisch." The phrase "solar plexus" was not current then, but the thing itself was in vogue. However, Dr. Rodeffer's German is fully vindicated in this dissertation, there being only one passage in which I detect the slightest trace of Polish. In referring, on p. 21, to my contention that "in *is, was, -s,* and *-th,* used with plural subjects, we have not instances of borrowing, but evidence rather of a tendency on the part of the third indicative singular to establish itself as the norm and thus to usurp the place held by the indicative plural,"[1] a contention which Dr. Rodeffer accepts, he adds by way of footnote that "Storm (*Englische Philologie,*[2] I, 807) gives a similar explanation: 'Shakespeare, der geborene Mittelländer, scheint von der in der südenglischen Volkssprache herrschenden Verwirrung bisweilen berührt zu sein, und teils aus Unachtsamkeit, teils um die Volkssprache nachzuahmen, teils dem Reim zu Liebe den Singular für den Plural zu gebrauchen.'"

Now it happens that Wülfing, in his review of my article,[2] quoted the same sentence from Storm to show that Storm took a different view of the

[1] See *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xi, 363–376, and *Englische Studien* xxx, 1–20.

[2] See *Beiblatt* (*Anglia*) vii, 344.

construction. Dr. Rodeffer prefaces his quotation with "Storm gives a similar explanation"; Wülfing prefaces his citation of the same sentence with "Storm allerdings erklärt die formen anders." And Dr. Von Staden, p. 108 of his dissertation, after showing that considerations of rime led to the victory of *-s* over *-th* as the 3d indicative sing. ending, asks how the 3d indicative plurals in *-s* and *-th* are to be explained. He answers as follows: "Man könnte meinen, die *-eth* oder *-es*-Formen seien als ein Ueberrest der ae. Plur.-Endung anzusehen. Da aber die *-eth* oder *-es* Plur.-Formen, die mit der 3. Pers. Sing.-Form übereinstimmen, nur in der 3. Pers. Plur. und nicht auch in der 1. und 2. Pers. Plur., so möchte ich mich eher zu der Annahme folgender Hypothese entschliessen, dass die *-eth* Plur.-Formen auf einer Anlehnung an die 3. Pers. Sing. beruhen." The "hypothese" which he then cites is that contained in my article of 1896.

But I am not disposed to cavil over questions of mere priority. If Dr. Rodeffer has misinterpreted either my own position or Storm's, it was, of course, as unintentional as was the suggestion of Polish in his erstwhile pronunciation of German.

Dr. Rodeffer's dissertation supplies in brief compass a sorely needed chapter in the history and use of the inflections of the present indicative. His reading has been wide and thorough, his authorities are held well in hand, his corrections of former misstatements are numerous and convincing, and the style of his dissertation is clear and logical. His results, if not final, at least bring us nearer the truth than do any other investigations of the same problems.

After "A brief survey of the views concerning the origin and development of the Middle English inflection of the present plural indicative" (pp. 1–5), the author discusses in turn the forms of these endings "in the South" (pp. 6–12), "in the Midland" (pp. 13–22), and "in the North" (pp. 23–60), the whole being followed by a "Conclusion" of six pages (61–66). The two most original and valuable parts of the dissertation are, in my judgment, to be found on pages 36–37 and 62.

On p. 36 Dr. Rodeffer mentions the view of Sweet, Murray, and Bülbring that the inflectional *-s* of the Northern third singular and the indicative plural is due to the transition of ð to *s*, and says that suspicion is cast on this explanation because its advocates can cite no analogous processes. He continues: "But there are other facts that tend to cast suspicion on the correctness of this view. The organic transition from ð to *s* would explain the plurals in *-as* but not those in *-es*, an inflection that occurs frequently in both the indicative and the imperative plurals in the *Durham Ritual* and the *Lindisfarne Gospels* . . . . With these *es*-plurals should be associated the plurals in *-eð*, common to all the Early Northern texts. Since these texts were written at a period antedating the weakening of *a* to *e* in inflectional syllables, these plurals in *-eð* and *-es* were probably formed on the analogy of the *-eð* and *-es* of the third singular." So far as I know, Dr. Rodeffer is the first to note this apparent defect in the current view and to suggest that the real difficulty lies not so much in the transition of ð to *s* as in the existence of a preceding *e* instead of *a*. It should have been said, however, that both Kluge[3] and Storm[4] reject the view of Sweet, though for other reasons than those presented by Dr. Rodeffer.

On p. 62 the author adds materially to our knowledge of the conditions under which a word, or words, standing between the personal pronoun and its predicate, may, in Middle Northern, affect the verb ending: "The nature of the intervening word, or words, is the all-important factor in determining the inflection of the verb. If this intervening element is a modifier of the predicate, the uninflected form is used. If it is introduced to explain or qualify the personal pronominal subject, its stronger personality dominates that of the pronoun and the inflected form is required."

Mr. G. Gregory Smith, in his *Specimens of Middle Scots* (1903), an attractive book which makes possible a wider study of Middle Northern by the general reader, had said (*Introduction*, p. xxxv) that "When the personal pronoun is in direct relation with the inflection, the usage is as in Mod. E., except in the 2nd person; in all other cases every person ends in *-is* or *-s*." In other words, Mr. Smith declares that any element intervening between the personal pronoun and its

[3] *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*,[2] I, 1067–'68.
[4] *Englische Philologie*,[2] I, 806.

predicate causes the predicate to assume the inflected form; whereas from Dr. Rodeffer's closer scrutiny it follows that "the nature of the intervening word, or words, is the all-important factor."

Dr. Von Staden's dissertation contains 109 pages, but shows nothing like the wide research and nice discrimination exemplified in Dr. Rodeffer's study. He enumerates the sixteenth century works, prose and verse, that have formed the material of his study, and proceeds to give in statistical form his results for the first person singular (pp. 13–33), the second person singular (pp. 34–42), and the third person singular (pp. 43–89). He then glances at the endings of the present plural indicative (pp. 90–107), but, strange to say, makes no note of *-s* or *-th* plurals, recording only whether the *e* of the predicate is syncopated (*put*) or non-syncopated (*make*). This omission occasions an inevitable "Anhang" (pp. 108–109), in which the author admits that he found many *th* and *s* plurals in the works read; but how many we are not told.

Dr. Von Staden's tabulations show that, in poetry, *th* in the third singular indicative was finally ousted by *s* because *s* furnished a ready rime with the noun plurals in *s*. Thus Skelton uses only *th* for his third singular in prose; and in poetry, provided the predicate is not the rime word, 90 per cent. of his third singular predicates end in *th;* but when the predicates are the rime words, 80 per cent. of them end in *s*.

The author sums up as follows: "Der Unterschied zwischen der *th-* und *s-* Endung, besonders in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jhrdts., liegt in der Schriftgattung, denn *eth* wird im allgemeinen fast ausschliesslich in der Prosa verwandt, während die *es-* Endung zuerst in der Poesie vorkommt und sich hier verallgemeinert. . . . Aus der Poesie ist sie dann in die Prosa übergetreten."

The weakness of Dr. Von Staden's dissertation is that no bibliography is given, no mention made of previous investigations of the same problem, and that his results had already been worked out and established. Had he turned to Hoelper's *Die englische Schriftsprache in Tottel's Miscellany* (1557) *und in Tottel's Ausgabe von Brooke's Romeus und Juliet* (1562), (Strassburg, 1894), he would have found (p. 57) "dass sich die *s*-Flexion der 3. Pers. Sgl. Præsens zunächst den Dichtern empfahl, weil sie dem Reimbedürfnis zahllose Substantive mit pluralem *s* zur Verfügung stellte, und dass sie durch den poetischen Gebrauch im Laufe eines Jahrhunderts eingebürgert wurde, bis sich ihr die Prosaschrifsteller anschlossen."

I cannot see that Dr. Von Staden has added anything to the subject. His dissertation belongs to the class that may be called mildly confirmatory.

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ITALIAN LITERATURE.

The Italian Renaissance in England: Studies, by Lewis Einstein. New York: Columbia University Press, 1902.

Of no other country which played a part in that great intellectual and artistic movement which had its beginnings in Italy in the fourteenth century, could the story be told with any completeness in a volume of the same proportions as that which Mr. Einstein has devoted to a study of the Renaissance in England, the country in which it was developed latest, and where certain phases of the movement may be dismissed with a few words. Mr. Einstein shows a wide acquaintance with the literature of his subject, and has been the first to make use of a number of manuscript sources. But at times details need to be added to his narration; certain of his conclusions are misleading, and he does not seem to have made use of most important contributions on two or three of the topics he discusses.

The first chapter deals with the humanistic movement. Due emphasis is laid on the important part taken in its beginnings by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, by his patronage of Italian scholars and his gifts of books to Oxford.[1] But he should not have given without comment (p. 5) Vespasiano da Bisticci's statement in regard to the dedication of Leonardo Bruni's translation of the

[1] For a bibliography upon Humphrey's gifts to Oxford see *Twentieth Report of the Cambridge Dante Society*, p. 34 n.

Politics.[2] And a fuller and more accurate account of the negotiations between Humphrey and Pietro Candido Decembrio in regard to the latter's dedication of his Latin translation of Plato's *Republic* (p. 5), had been given already by Macray,[3] and the whole correspondence has been published since the appearance of Mr. Einstein's book.[4] But why is the fac-simile of the first page of the work reproduced from a Munich manuscript, when the original is to be found at the British Museum in *Harleian* 1705? And one must have doubts of the paleographical training of one who reads "Archbishop of Milan" into the words of the text in the fac-simile "bajocensis episcopus" —the Bishop of Bayeux, Zano da Castiglione, whose relations with Humphrey were of an intimate nature.[5] He has failed to note the dedication to Humphrey of a version of Plutarch's *Life of Marius*, by one Antonius Pacinus, and the *Libellum de Nobilitate* of Pietro del Monte is a philosophic dialogue and not a drama (p. 181), to judge from the prologue which has been published.[6]

The cosmopolitanism of the scholastic age in which English students flocked to the continental universities, seems to have met with sudden destruction at the end of the fourteenth century. While in the mediæval period large bodies of Englishmen were to be found at the centers of learning in Italy—Mr. Einstein's few instances (p. 14) might be multiplied—those who went there in the first century of the Renaissance were exceptional and few in numbers. Whether humanistic interests attracted students such as Friar David and the monk John, who were in Padua in the last decade of the fourteenth century,[7] as well as those of somewhat later date mentioned by the author, must remain a mooted point until lists of English students at Italian universities have been published, which are at least as complete as those that have appeared of German students.[8] Osbern Bokenam—not Bowkenham—was at least twice in Italy, but the statement that he stayed five years in Venice (p. 15) is due to a misunderstanding of a passage in his works.[9] Of the libraries presented at the beginning of the fifteenth century, to the Carmelite convent by Thomas Walden,[10] and to Norwich Cathedral by Cardinal Easton,[11] no catalogues are extant, upon which to base a judgment of the books selected by the donors, who had filled important ecclesiastical positions in Italy.

With the scanty material on hand our author has sketched the scholastic careers of some of the most prominent members of the first generation of English humanistic students—Grey, Tiptoft, Free —who went for study to Italy "the great limbique of working brains" as Howell called it at a later date.[12] But he has not failed to note that this group of Oxford men has only an individual interest, as they contributed nothing in person to the community of English learning. He has omitted to mention that the statement in a letter written some years after the death of Tiptoft, relative to his legacy to Oxford (p. 26), seems to confirm Hearne's correction[13] of Leland's assertion to the contrary.[14] Mention should also have been made of the same nobleman's gift of books to Cambridge.[15] The career of the second generation of English scholars—Linacre, Grocyn, and Croke—who on their return from Italy introduced the New Learning into the University circles of Oxford and Cambridge, has for the most part only a personal interest on account of their connection with the Pre-Reformation movement. It may be noted that it was in 1485, and not in 1488 (p. 31) that Linacre accompanied William Selling[16] on the latter's embassy to Rome, and that it was in London, and not at Oxford, that More heard

[2] Cf. A. Hortis, *Studj sulle opere latine del Boccaccio*, p. 644 n.

[3] *Bibliographica*, I, p. 325.

[4] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* XIX, 509 ff.

[5] Cf. *e. g.* Beckynton, *Correspondence*, p. cvii.

[6] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* X, p. 101.

[7] Lydgate, *Temple of Glass*, ed. Schick, p. xc; F. Gasquet, *Old English Bible*, p. 32 n.

[8] W. Falckenheiner, in *Sammlung bibliothekwissenschaftlicher Arbeiten*, XV, pp. 34-6.

[9] *Legenden*, ed. Horstmann, Prol. vv. 108, 159-160.

[10] Leland, *Script. Brit.*, p. 439.

[11] Rymer, *Foedera*, VIII, p. 501.

[12] *Forraine Travell*, ed. Arber, p. 41.

[13] *Collections*, III, p. 211.

[14] *Script. Brit.*, p. 478.

[15] *Publ. of Cambridge Hist. Soc.*, *Luard Memor. Series*, vol. I, pp. xvii, 84.

[16] As he always signed himself, and not Celling as he is called in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, nor yet Tilley, as a reviewer of Mr. Einstein's book insists. (Cf. *Hist. Mss. Com.*, IX, p. 116; *Christ Church Letters*, p. xxvi; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1476–85, p. 318.)

him lecture.[17] Bishop Tunstall should be more than mentioned by name, both for his generous gifts to Cambridge, as well as being the author of the *De Arte Supputandi*, the first mathematical book written and published in England, which was based on the advanced Italian methods.[18]

When the author states that Erasmus "went to Oxford because he thought it no longer necessary to go to Italy for Classical learning which could then be better obtained in England than anywhere else" (p. 44), he exaggerates a literal interpretation of certain flattering phrases in the Dutch scholar's letters. If, in writing to one of his English patrons in 1488–1489, he stated that he only wished to go to Italy for the sake of having been there,[19] it is noticeable that he only accepted a position to teach Greek in Cambridge, after he had studied under the Italian humanists. Granted the fact that St. Paul's was the first English school in which Greek was made a part of the curriculum, a study of the old Grammar Schools does not confirm the tradition, accepted without question by our author, of the superiority of Colet's foundation. And a comparison of its course with that of other new foundations, such as that of Wolsey at Ipswich, is much to its disadvantage, with its preference for scholastic methods, and its careful avoidance of the best Classical texts.[20]

If, as Mr. Einstein states, through the efforts of a few scholars "the New Learning of the Italian renaissance had been transplanted to England" (p. 50), to judge from the results it did not take very deep roots. In other ways than political, England has stood in splendid isolation. For almost two centuries after the time of the early humanistic students, her scholars neither kept in touch with the active intellectual movement on the continent, nor contributed any book on a Classical subject which gained a European reputation.[21] In the early part of the seventeenth century it was difficult to find men with sufficient knowledge of Greek to fill the University chairs;[22] and it was only at the end of the same century that there appeared an English scholar—Bentley—who could be ranked among those of first magnitude. The history of her press tells the same story. "A single oration of Cicero and the plays of Terence were the only Latin Classics printed in England during the fifteenth century. No Greek Classic appeared until 1543; and several of the great Greek Classics did not find an English printer until the second half of the seventeenth century."[23]

And it is well to note that the humanistic movement in England was as limited in its sphere as in its duration. There was no Poliziano or Landino, who in writing his native tongue, refined it by applying the tricks of style learned in writing Latin, modeled after the best Classical authors. But it would have been worth while to note the protests of Sir John Cheke and the rhetorician, Wilson, against the Latinists, who larded their English with new-fangled phrases.[24] Not even the initiative of that later literary movement—the imitation of the vernacular poets—was given by the group of humanists, whatever suggestion of a connection between the two movements may be made by Mr. Einstein (p. 320). For the lack of interest, or even contempt, of the great humanists of Italy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for the vernacular literature of their country, showed its results in the collections of manuscripts made by English students who had been under their instruction. One finds there copies of Petrarch's[25] Latin treatises and letters, and of Boccaccio's encyclopædic works, but no signs of the *Canzone* or *Decamerone*.[26]

If the English students who went to the Italian

[17] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* XVIII, p. 514.

[18] A. de Morgan, *Arithmetical Books*, pp. xv, xxi, 13; M. Cantor, *Gesch. der Mathematik*², II, 475.

[19] *Epist.*, XIV.

[20] A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 107.

[21] Cf. M. Pattison, *Casaubon*, p. 262.

[22] Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, II, pp. 389, n. 2; 420. Cf. W. C. Hazlitt, *Schools, School Books*, etc., pp. 105, 147, 241; Ascham, *Works*, ed. Giles, I, pp. 25–6.

[23] A. W. Pollard, *Trans. of the Bibliog. Soc.*, III, p. 196.

[24] Cf. W. Raleigh, *Hoby's Courtier*, p. xlii.

[25] The statement that "a copy of Petrarch's poems found its way to the library of Peterhouse as early as 1426" (p. 54), should be corrected to "a copy of Petrarch's *Letters*, etc."

[26] Cf. Leland, *Collectanea*, IV, p. 61; *Hist. Mss. Com.*, II, p. 131; *Collectanea*, Oxford, II, pp. 317 ff.

universities for instruction in the humanities were few in numbers, there was a large body who went there for that more general education, which the mere incitement of seeing new places, people and customs gives. It is of this class that Mr. Einstein treats in his chapter on the courtier. Up to a century later than the period covered by this study, every well educated Englishman included Italy in his "grand tour." It was through this class of dilettantes that a knowledge of the Italian language came to be reckoned as one of the necessary accomplishments in the higher circles of society; whose clear and bold Italian style of calligraphy, at first a mark of distinction became the standard English hand by the end of the seventeenth century.[27] This class alone found interest in the Elizabethan translations of the Italian hand-books on horsemanship and fencing, which in the next generation were displaced by translations from the French. A reference to Saviolo's *The booke of honour and Armes*, published in 1589,[28] shows the danger of such a general statement as that in which Mr. Einstein says that the *Practise* (1594–5) of the same author "was probably the first in the English language ever written by an Italian" (75). He has also failed to note the allusions to the *Practise* in *Romeo and Juliet*, II, iv, 20–37 and *Love's Labor's Lost*, I, ii, 184 ff., Dekker's reference to the author,[29] and Bacon's allusion to "French and Italian pamphlets, which handle the doctrine of *Duels*." [30]

Four editions of Hoby's translation of the *Cortegiano* and a Latin version, within fifty years, show the continued popularity of the best of the Italian books of courtesy. It, and not the *Galateo* of Della Casa, is the book most "typical of the Italian influence in the Renaissance in refining European manners" (p. 81). The statement that "it was from Italy that there came the first protest against the uncouthness which had been handed down almost as a tradition of social life from the Dark Ages, not only in England but in France" (p. 82), is very far away from the truth. Very numerous are the treatises of courtesy in Old French and in Middle English literature; and they were among the most popular publications of the early English press (Cf. p. 108). It was because the *Galateo* was only one of many of the same kind, that a single edition of Peterson's translation met all the demands of the Elizabethan public. The first edition of Pettie's version of Guazzo's *Conversations*, published in 1581, is unknown to Mr. Einstein, and he has not noted Lord Herbert of Cherbury's tribute in his *Autobiography* to this same class of books. Mention should have been made of Fleming's *Panoplie of Epistles* (1576) which is much fuller than Fulwood's manual of letter-writing.

Again, Mr. Einstein is wrong in stating that the "conception of gentlemanliness by personal effort" was "new," having its origin in Italy in the time of the Renaissance, whence it found its way to England (p. 67). Chaucer's quotation from Boëthius "That he is gentil that doth gentil deedes," [31] expresses a sentiment found in every period of Mediæval literature. The dependence of English military books of the time upon Italian models (p. 95) may be emphasized by the statement of a high authority that the progress of naval tactics in English warfare was delayed through the influence of Italian technical treatises.[32] But of the Italian engineers noted by Mr. Einstein, Jerome came from Trevigi, and not from "Treviso" or "Trevisi," and Savorgano's first name was Mario and not Marco. In the text Mr. Einstein speaks of the books of Tartaglia and Lucar as of separate works, published at different times. In the bibliography, however, he has only noted Lucar's translation of a part of Tartaglia's work, which was published in the same volume as his own treatment on gunnery. He should also have noted the edition of the original Italian work, published in 1546, and dedicated to Henry VIII. The introduction and popularity of Italian methods of book-keeping would have been worth mentioning at this point.[33] The description of Hollyband's *Italian Schoolmaster* (pp. 101–102) applies to other editions of the work, but not to the first of 1575, in which the *Novella* comes first. An early example of

[27] A. F. Pollard, *Henry VIII*, p. 15; E. F. Strange, *Bibliographica*, III, p. 186.

[28] Arber, *Transcripts*, II, p. 537.

[29] *Works*, Huth Library, II, p. 120.

[30] *Works*, ed. Spedding, XI, p. 400.

[31] *Cant. Tales*, D. 1168.

[32] J. Corbet, *Drake*, I, p. 142.

[33] Cf. de Morgan, *Arithmetical Books*, pp. 28, 30, 56.

the interest in Italian is Sir Humphrey Gibert's proposal to have it taught in his model academy.[34]

Of the more material importations from Italy there should be added to those mentioned forks,[35] Venetian glassware[36] and tooth-picks.[37] Complaints about the Italian luxuries that were brought into England are already found in the *Libel of English Policy*, which was written as early as 1436.[38] And it must be noted that French, and not Italian fashions were the models of Englishmen in their dress, English travelers comparing the simplicity of Italian fashions with those of England to the latter's disadvantage.[39]

In his chapter, entitled "The Traveller," Mr. Einstein speaks of Guylforde's account of his trip to the Holy Land, taken in 1506, as containing the first recorded description of Italy by an Englishman. Wey's account, however, dates back to 1458, the *Information for Pilgrims*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde to 1496 at the latest, and an account in verse to about the same date.[40] He has also failed to note that Torkington's account of Venice along with other episodes were pilfered from Guylforde, and the English publications of the list of Stations in Rome should not have been left unmentioned (cf. p. 373). Of later travelers no use has been made of Borde, Coryat, Lithgow and Fynes Moryson. Mr. Einstein has been the first to make considerable use of the manuscript diary of Hoby—since printed—a good presentation of the life abroad of young gentlemen of family. The author has noted the interest of this class in Roman antiquities, and in the customs of contemporary Italy, its small appreciation for the progress of the fine arts, but he has failed to call attention to the omission, noted by Macaulay, in Addison's *Travels in Italy*, of any reference to scenes of historical or literary interest in Mediæval Italy. Inigo Jones's notes upon Italian architecture in his copy of Palladio,[41] and Hoby's mention of Michael Angelo's tomb of Julius II,[42] are worth noting. The assertion of Thomas in regard to English Colleges with their "mean men's children set to school in hope to live upon hired learning"—a strong contrast to the Italian universities, whose students were nearly all of noble birth—is not due to any prejudice (p. 120), but a statement in regard to the condition of English education in that period, which is verified by a mass of evidence.[43]

Under the title of "The Italian Danger," Mr. Einstein has collected a number of references in Elizabethan writers to the moral degeneracy of Italy in that time, and the consequent warning to young travelers to avoid that country. He would have done well to have shown the truth of these charges by a reference to contemporary writers in other countries on the same subject, and he has unmentioned a number of interesting English allusions, such as Harrison's warning of the danger of sending doctors for study to Italy, the home of poisons,[44] and Wotton's reference to Florence as a "paradise inhabited with devils,"[45] one of many instances of the English retort to the Italian proverb in regard to England.[46] But the home of Galileo, of Redi and of Paolo Sarpi had stronger attractions for intelligent Englishmen of the seventeenth century than Mr. Einstein supposes (pp. 175–176), and Venice then still remained the book mart, and news center of the Occident, as it had been since the invention of printing.[47]

In the chapter "The Italians in England," Mr. Einstein has discussed under different heads, the position of Italians in England as churchmen, courtiers, artists and travelers. Harrison in his description of Elizabethan England, commented on the great number of Italians who had held

[34] *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, ed. Furnivall, p. 7; c. 1570.

[35] Coryat, *Crudities*, 1611, p. 90; Jonson, *Devil is an Ass*, v, iii.

[36] Coryat, p. 247; Harrison's *Descriptions*, i, 147; Jonson, *Fox*, iv, 1.

[37] F. J. Furnivall, *Babee's Book*, p. 252; *Fox* ii, 1.

[38] Wright, *Political Songs*, ii, 172.

[39] Coryat, p. 259; Borde, *Introduction*, pp. 178, 181, 188.

[40] Borde, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 182, 220.

[41] Cunningham, *Life of I. Jones*, p. 16.

[42] *Diary*, p. 24.

[43] Cf. F. J. Furnivall, *Babee's Book*, pp. xxvi ff.; Starkey's *Dialogue*, pp. 186–7; Parlin, *Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre*, 1775, p. 12.

[44] Description, i, p. 81.

[45] *Reliquiæ*, p. 673.

[46] Cf. p. 226; Borde, p. 118; Harrison, ii, p. 132.

[47] *N. Ferrar's Life*, ed. Mayor, p. 360; R. Garnett, *Bibliographica*, iii, p. 41; Taunton, *English Jesuits*, p. 238.

English benefices in the past, and especially noted the fact that five Italian bishops had succeeded each other in the see of Worcester.[48] Mr. Einstein should not have satisfied himself with citing the later of these statements without citing his authority, when by a study of Le Neve's *Fasti*, and various diocesan histories, he would have been able to present a striking picture of the extent and influence of this evil practice. It would have been well to give an account of the many riots which took place throughout England on account of the aggressions of the Papal collectors. To call Vicarius "Vicario" and to refer to Tirabosch as an authority (p. 179), shows neither an intimate acquaintance with the history of English universities, nor a careful reading of his Italian authority. It may not be amiss to note that an indulgence issued by Giovanni Gigli (p. 181) was among Caxton's first publications. If Ubaldini was not a dependant of Elizabeth (p. 190), why was he given a pension of forty marks?[49] No Italian artist of any importance came to England, where the great German and Flemish painters met with so much favor. A study of the wanderings of the masterpieces of Italian art does not confirm Haydicke's eulogistic remarks in regard to the collecting of Italian pictures in his time by English collectors (p. 206). And the statement of Peachem in his *Complete Gentleman*, that he could only find copies of Vasari's *Vite* in the libraries of Inigo Jones and another gentleman, shows how little intelligent interest English people of that time took in Italian art.

One swallow does not make a summer, nor did the translation of a few of the works of the leaders of the Italian Reformation, some of whom had a brief residence in England, have the least appreciable influence on the movement in England, as Mr. Einstein seems to think (p. 207). What was of more consequence was the use made of Dante, Petrarch, Marsiglio of Padua and Laurentius Valla by controversial writers, commencing with Fox. The *Benefit of Christ's Death* was long ago shown to be written, not by Aonio Paleario (p. 212), but by Benedetto of Mantua.

The account of Italian travelers in England is a useful supplement to the account given in Rye's *England as Seen by Foreigners*, to which Mr. Einstein should have referred for analogues. But he has omitted to make use of a number of accessible documents both in print and in manuscript.[50]

One can not attempt to criticise the chapter on "The Italian Merchant in England," when it was written without the use of Cunningham's *Industrial History of England*, and *Aliens in England*, Ashley's *Economic History*, Peruzzi's and Schanz's commercial histories, and Ashley's and Doren's histories of the woolen industry.

Again, the chapter on "Italian Political Ideas in England" is very unsatisfactory. If the author had been better acquainted with the Mediæval theory of state, he would not have so emphasized certain conceptions as new and peculiarly Italian. The fact that the few writers whom he cites as in favor of the absolutism of the monarchy, were all connected in some way with Italy, proves nothing. Starkey and Sir Thomas Smith had both studied in the Italian universities, but no such absolutist doctrines are to be found either in the *Dialogue* or the *De republica Anglorum*, with which important books Mr. Einstein seems to be quite unacquainted (cf. p. 307). And yet the second of these books contains a *locus classicus* upon the sovereignty of the Parliament over the king. Mention is incidentally made of the attempt to introduce Roman law into England, but the author does not seem to be acquainted with the history of its fortunes in England; its early introduction into the Oxford schools; the attacks of Wyclif and Roger Bacon; the large number of English law students in the Italian universities at the time of the Renaissance; the attempts and final failure to make it part of the English law. Nor can the author substantiate his statement that the influence of Italian political philosophy "provided the theoretical foundation for the doctrine of the divine right of kings" (p. 296).

The last chapter Mr. Einstein has devoted to "The Italian Influence in English Poetry," after all the most important part of his thesis, and that for which he is least prepared on account of his limited readings in English literature. The statements "Gower and Lydgate and later the Scotch Chaucerians, although familiar with a few of the

[48] *Description*, I, pp. 15, 48.

[49] Cunningham, *Court Revels*, pp. 23, 140.

[50] Cf. *Quarterly Rev.*, vol. CII; *Hist. Mss. Com.* II, pp. 45–6; III, pp. 234–6; 290; IX, p. 362.

Italian writers, failed to appreciate their true spirit. Petrarch they regarded as a scholar, Boccaccio as a teacher" (p. 317), are vague generalities, written without a knowledge of the actual facts. All these English writers were equally ignorant of the Italian language. In translating at second-hand, Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, Lydgate caught some of the enthusiasm of the author for his masters, Dante and Petrarch; that Dante was a poet was known to Gower; but not even the tradition of a name is found in the works of the Scotch poets. Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum* was the only work of an Italian humanist known to Gower and Lyndesay, which was used by them, as by Lydgate and Gawain Douglas, as a manual of Classical mythology. To write that "neither Stephen Hawes nor Skelton ever really felt the spirit of the Renaissance" shows a lack of acquaintance with at least one of these authors. Hawes was thoroughly Mediæval in every way, but Skelton, the translator of Poggio's Latin version of Diodorus Siculus, who was eulogized for his learning by Caxton, Erasmus and Pico da Mirandola, was the best representative of the New Learning in England in his time, albeit like other humanists he was not interested in Italian vernacular literature. Giovanni da Serravalle made a Latin prose version of the *Divina Commedia*, besides writing a commentary on it (p. 317 n). As Leland made the same comparison of Dante and Petrarch with Chaucer, as with Wyatt,[51] the emphasis laid upon the latter comparison is hardly to the point (p. 320). Mr. Einstein speaks of Surrey's use of the *terza rima* as an innovation (p. 329), although he elsewhere refers to Wyatt's earlier attempts (pp. 351, 353). In some respects the treatment of the Italian influence on the Elizabethan sonnet is fuller than the handling of the same subject in Lee's *Shakespeare*, but some details, noted there, have been omitted, and the author has not added a number of important allusions like Hall's to those who,

> "filch whole pages at a clap for need
> From honest Petrarch, clad in English weed."
> *Satires*, VI, 1.

Seven, if not eight, of Giordano Bruno's books were printed in London,[52] of which only two are cited (pp. 346, 395). But that Shakespeare was not acquainted with the works of the Italian philosopher has been shown clearly in an article[53] cited by the author to substantiate his statement of the poet's possible knowledge of Bruno's philosophy (p. 371). The account and bibliography of Italian music in England needs to be corrected by Steele's monograph on early English musical printers.[54] Tofte's and Harrington's translations of Ariosto's *Satires* should have been mentioned in the discussion of that *genre* of poetry (352–4). The *Areopagus* (p. 357) has been discussed more fully elsewhere, unbeknown to the author.[55] The statement is made that "many" of the translations of the Italian *novelle* "were ordered to be burnt" in 1599, whereas the truth is that not a single one of this class of books is to be found in the list of books condemned by the ecclesiastical authorities at that time[56]; and the revocation in 1620 of the license for printing the first complete translation of the *Decamerone* seems to have been only a temporary arrangement.[57] The treatment of the Drama merely shows an almost total ignorance on the part of the author of the Elizabethan drama and Shakespeareana. Gascoigne's translation of Ariosto's *Suppositi* is mentioned (p. 366), but not as one of the sources of the *Taming of the Shrew*. Contrary to the latest results of Shakespearean scholarship, Mr. Einstein is inclined to believe that the poet was in Italy, citing *Othello* and the *Merchant of Venice* as the plays in which "he showed undeniable knowledge of Italy" (p. 369). That there is good evidence of a pre-Shakespearean *Merchant*, and that a pre-*Othello* has been postulated seems to be unknown to the author.

But, with all its faults, the book is the most important contribution yet made to the subject it deals with. An attempt to cover the whole field, it makes a great advance over earlier contributions, which are studies of the sources of certain works or literary *genres*, and a bibliography of

[51] *Collectanea*, V, p. 141.

[52] R. C. Christie, *Essays*, p. 333.

[53] *Shak. Jahrbuch*, XXVI, pp. 257 ff.

[54] Cf. F. I. Carpenter, *Journ. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, II, pp. 323 ff.

[55] J. B. Fletcher, *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, II, pp. 429 ff.

[56] Arber's *Transcripts*, III, p. 677–8.

[57] Arber, III, p. 311.

translations from the Italian, based on second- and third-hand authorities. With the necessary additions and corrections, in a second edition, the usefulness of the book would be much enhanced, and could be cited as the standard authority.

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NOTE ON *Bartholomew Fair.*

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—My attention has just been accidentally called to Dr. Alden's note (M. L. N., xviii, 128) on the passage in *Bartholomew Fair*, Act V, Sc. iii, where the puppets are charged with being "an abomination ; for the male among you, put on the apparel of the female, and the female of the male." Dr. Alden is doubtless right in referring to Deuteronomy, xxii, 5, as the ultimate inspiration of Busy's attack, and in declaring that Puritan attacks upon the stage up to the date of this play contain no mention of women actors in men's parts. But Puritan attacks upon the abuses of the time had long charged women in general with wearing men's apparel. This fact, and the Biblical passage, and the desire for a balanced sentence, are doubtless responsible for the form of Busy's attack. See Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses* (ed. Furnivall), p. 73 :—

"The Women also there [in Anglia] haue dublets & Ierkins, as men haue heer, buttoned vp the brest, and made with wings, welts, and pinions on the shoulder points, as mans apparel is for all the world ; & though this be a kinde of attire appropriate onely to man, yet they blush not to wear it ; and if they could as wel chaunge their sex, & put on the kinde of man, as they can weare apparel assigned onely to man, I think they would as verely become men indeed, as now they degenerat from godly, sober women, in wearing this wanton lewd kinde of attire, proper onely to man.

It is written in the 22 of *Deuteronomie*, that what man so euer weareth womans apparel is accursed, and what woman weareth mans apparel is accursed also. Now, whether they be within the bands and lymits of that cursse, let them see to it them selues. Our Apparell was giuen vs as a signe distinctiue to discern betwixt sex and sex, & therefore one to weare the Apparel of another sex is to participate with the same, and to adulterate the veritie of his owne kinde. Wherefore these Women may not improperly be called *Hermaphroditi*, that is, Monsters of bothe kindes, half women, half men."

Equally severe and better known is the *Epilogus* of Gascoigne's *Steel Glas.*

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JONSON'S *Volpone.*

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—In *Modern Philology*, II, 289 f., Mr. Joseph Q. Adams, Jr., has published an article on "The Sources of Ben Jonson's *Volpone*," referring them to some of Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead.* A note to the Rev. Thomas Francklin's translation of Lucian (vol. I, p. 237, *Dialogue* III.) should have been inserted in this article, which note reads as follows :

'The practice of legacy-hunting hath been a fruitful and inexhaustible object of ridicule and satire amongst wits, both ancient and modern, from the days of Lucian to those of Ben Jonson, who has, perhaps, treated it more fully and comprehensively than any of them : the plan of his excellent comedy of Volpone seems to have been taken from this dialogue.'

Thomas Francklin's translation of Lucian was printed in London in the year 1781.

A subsequent but less recondite reference to Lucian as the source of the plot is to be found in Thomas Davies' *Dramatic Miscellanies* (ed. 1785, vol. II, p. 97) :

'The Fable of Volpone is chosen with judgement, and is founded upon avarice and luxury. The paying obsequious and constant courtship to childless rich people, with a view to obtain from them bountiful legacies in return, has been a practice of all times, and in all nations. There is in Lucian, the father of true ridicule, an admirable dialogue, on this subject, between Pluto and Mercury. An old man of ninety is assiduously courted by several young fellows, who, in hopes of being his heirs, perform the lowest and meanest offices to him. Pluto orders Mercury to carry off these

rascals, who are dividing, in their minds, the old fellow's riches, to the infernal shades, but commands him to double, nay treble, the age of him who is the object of their obsequiousness. Lucian has no less than five or six dialogues on the same subject.'

I hope this may obtain the proper amount of attention from those interested.

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OLD NORSE *bauni*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Müllenhoff's altn. *bauni*, referred to by Professor Hart in MOD. LANG. NOTES, XVIII, 118 as a "ghost-word," is given in Björn Haldorson's *Lexicon Islandicum* (Havniæ, 1814) as a masc. noun with the meaning "carcharias, Hundefisk, et slags Haj." Grimm, who took the Norse examples for his Grammar from Haldorson, also has the word under the diphthong *au*, with the definition "genus piscis."

Erik Jónsson, in the preface to his *Oldnordisk Ordbog* (Kjöbenhavn, 1863), p. xv, makes the following criticism upon Haldorson's *Lexicon:* "Ved Benyttelsen af denne Ordbog fandt man imidlertid snart, at den tildeels var meget ufuldstændig, men især at den hovedsagelig var grundet paa det daglige Sprog, især i Forfatteren's Egn paa Vesterlandet, men havde derimod ikke lagt Oldskrifterne til Grund, og kun af og til haft Hensyn til disse." This would account for the presence of a word not found in the other dictionaries, as well as for the absence of many of the common poetical words.

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EXORCISM WITH A STOLE.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—The following passage from Scheffel's *Ekkehard*, ninth chapter, would be a contribution from German literature to the subject of Mr. Holbrook's article in the December number of NOTES:

"Ekkehard aber liess sich vom Diakon die Stola umhängen und das Messbuch vortragen, er hielt einen Umgang durch Stube und Kammer, die Wände weihte er mit dem Zeichen des Kreuzes, auf dass das Getriebe böser Geister gebannt sei für immer, dann sprach er unter Gebeten den grossen Exorcismus über die Stätte."

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RABBI BEN EZRA 43–45.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:

Browning's lines,

> What is he but a brute
> Whose flesh has soul to suit,
> Whose spirit works lest arms and legs want play?

appear to be an adaptation of a Stoic sentiment attributed to Chrysippus. Cicero says (*Nat. Deor.* 2. 64. 160): 'Sus vero quid habet præter escam? cui quidem, ne putesceret, animam ipsam pro sale datam dicit esse Chrysippus.' In his note on Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, 4. 1, Whalley quotes this apropos of the sentence: 'Talk of him to have a soul! Heart! if he have any more than a thing given him instead of salt, only to keep him from stinking, I'll be hanged afore my time presently.' Gifford cites *The Devil is an Ass* 1. 3:

> — So much blasted flesh as scarce hath soul,
> Instead of salt, to keep it sweet;

and Beaumont and Fletcher's *Spanish Curate* 5. 1:

> This soul I speak of,
> Or rather salt to keep this heap of flesh
> From being a walking stench.

Perhaps Samuel Johnson had something similar in mind in uttering the famous sentence recorded by Boswell under June 19, 1784: 'Talking of the comedy of *The Rehearsal*, he said: "It has not wit enough to keep it sweet." This was easy; he therefore caught himself, and pronounced a more round sentence: "It has not vitality enough to preserve it from putrefaction."'

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SPANISH.

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Weimar Biography of Goethe.

In the announcement published in the cover of the January number of *Modern Language Notes*, the authoritative Life of Goethe is by an unfortunate misprint referred to as a "*Bibliography.*" An accurate bibliography of each work has been given in the *Lesarten* to each volume of the Weimar edition. The Biography (announced to form three volumes) was to have been written by Gustav von Loeper, who died, however, before beginning it (cf. Erich Schmidt, *Charakteristiken*, II, 210), as did also Herman Grimm, who was thought of as his successor.

LEONARD L. MACKALL.

Johns Hopkins University.

Professor W. Bang, of the University of Louvain, announces that his edition of Jonson's Plays, according to the Folio of 1616, is so far advanced that the first part will be immediately published in the series of *Materialien zur kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas.*

VORLÄUFIGE MITTEILUNG.

Aus Gründen deren Erörterung nicht hierher gehört, sehe ich mich veranlasst, die ersten Bogen meiner Jonson-Ausgabe schon jetzt als "ersten Teil" herauszugeben. Die vorliegenden Bogen A-Z wurden nach einem in meinem Besitz befindlichen Exemplar (**B**) der Folio 1616 hergestellt. Durch die Liebenswürdigkeit des Directors der Königlichen Bibliothek im Haag, des Herrn Dr. W. G. C. Byvanck, war es mir jedoch möglich, das seiner Obhut anvertraute Exemplar (**H**) durchgängig zu vergleichen. Dabei stellte es sich heraus, dass die beiden Exemplare eine Anzahl von Abweichungen aufweisen, deren Discussion auf die Entstehungsgeschichte der Folio 1616 ein helles Licht zu werfen berufen ist.

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DAS ANALOGIEGESETZ DER WESTGERMANISCHEN ABLAUTSREIHEN.[1]

. . . . . .

Hatte man seit J. Grimm dazu geneigt, die Vorgeschichte des Germanischen durch die Brille des Gotischen anzusehen, so setzt etwa um die siebziger Jahre das Bestreben ein, das Gotische an Wert gegenüber dem Urgermanischen und gegenüber den übrigen germanischen Sprachen herabzudrücken. Namentlich gilt dies in Bezug auf den Vokalismus. Dem got. *niman*, "nehmen," ptc. *numan-s* gegenüber galten für Grimm und seine Nachfolger die ahd. Formen *neman* und *gi-noman* als spätere Umwandlungen. Aber Bezzenberger glaubte (in der 2. Aufl. von Fick's Vergl. Wörterbuche) die ahd. Formen für das Urgermanische in Anspruch nehmen zu müssen, und seine Ansicht ist bis auf heute, wenigstens für das *e* in *neman* die herrschende geblieben. Ähnlich bei den auslautenden Vokalen. Westphal hatte bereits in den 50er Jahren in Kuhn's Zeitschr.[2] einen Aufsatz über das Auslautsgesetz des Gotischen veröffentlicht. Seine Ansicht geht—kurz gesagt—dahin, es sei im Gotischen ausl. kurzes *-a-* und *-i-* in letzter Silbe geschwunden, dagegen ausl. *-u-* bewahrt. Also in der *a*-Dekl: Nom. *wulf-s* "Wolf," *dag-s* "Tag" und in der *i*-Dekl. *gast-s* "Gast," aber in der *u*-Dekl. *sunu-s* "Sohn." Dass die übrigen germanischen Sprachen in dieser Beziehung eher jünger denn älter seien, als das Gotische, galt als ausgemacht. Ausdrücklich bekennt sich zu dieser Ansicht z. B. (im J. 1869) Scherer in seinem bekannten Buche "Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache." Dem gegenüber trat nunmehr die Lehre auf, ausl. *i* und *u* sei im Altnordischen und in den westgermanischen Sprachen in weitem Umfange erhalten geblieben, z. B. heisse es auf den nord. Runeninschriften noch *gastir* "Gast," im Einklang mit lat. *hostis*, aber im Gegensatze zu got. *gasts*. Auch diese letztere Ansicht wird heute zu den gesicherten Ergebnissen der german. Philologie gerechnet.

Ich bin der Meinung, dass man in beiden Beziehungen dem Gotischen unrecht tut. Das Gotische steht, glaube ich, sowohl in Bezug auf das stammhafte *i* und *u*, wie in Bezug auf die Behandlung des Auslauts auf einer älteren Stufe als die übrigen germanischen Sprachen. Da es sich hier um Fragen handelt, die für die Rekonstruktion des Urgermanischen und für die Auffassung des gegenseitigen Verhältnisses der germanischen Sprachen von besonderer Wichtigkeit sind, so will ich meine Ansicht in Bezug auf diese beiden Fragen etwas näher begründen. Fassen wir zunächst stammhaftes *i* und *u* ins Auge.

Es handelt sich hier um die Erscheinungen, welche J. Grimm—auf Grund einer uns fremd gewordenen Anschauung—als "Vokalbrechung" bezeichnete, nämlich um die Tatsache, dass gotischem kurzem *i* und *u* in den übrigen germanischen Sprachen vielfach *e* und *o* gegenübersteht,

z. B. got. *niman, nimiþ, nimam,*
ahd. *neman, nimit, nemam;* oder
got. *hulpum, hulpans,*
ahd. *hulfun, gi-holfan.*

Zum Althochdeutschen stimmen, wie ich hier nicht weiter auszuführen brauche, die übrigen germanischen Sprachen. Die Ursache dieses Wandels entging Jacob Grimm. Sie wurde aber richtig erkannt von Ad. Holtzmann,[3] der den Übergang von gotischem *i* und *u* zu ahd. *e* und *o* als *a*-Umlaut erklärte und die Regel aufstellte, dass got. *i* und *u* in den übrigen germanischen Sprachen erhalten bleiben, wenn in der folgenden Silbe *i* oder *u* steht, dagegen zu *e* und *o* "umgelautet" werden, wenn die folgende Silbe ein *a*

[1] Extract from a paper read in September, 1904, at the Congress of Arts and Science in St. Louis.

[2] Vol. 2 (1853), pp. 161–190.

[3] Über den Umlaut. Carlsruhe, 1843. (Zuerst in den Heidelberger Jahrbüchern, 1841).

enthält. Also got. *nimiþ, filu, budun,* "sie boten," *hulpun,* "sie halfen," ahd. *nimit, filu, butun, hulfun* ;

aber got. *niman, budans, hulpans,*
ahd. *neman, gi-botan, gi-holfan.*

Nur vor *n* + Kons. bleiben die gotischen *i* und *u* auch im Althochdeutschen (und in den übrigen germanischen Sprachen) erhalten, z. B. *bindan, bundun, bundans,* ahd. *bintan, buntun, gi-buntan.* Dies ist eine einfache und klare Regel, die den Wechsel zwischen *i* und *e,* sowie *u* und *o* in den Ablautsreihen völlig klarstellt, abgesehen von einer einzigen, später zu erwähnenden Ausnahme. Bei der Deklination geht es nicht ganz ohne die Annahme späterer Vermischung oder Formübertragung ab ; jedoch ist diese Annahme nicht in weiterem Umfange nötig, als bei jeder andern auf die sogenannte "Brechung" bezüglichen Hypothese.

Holtzmann war der Ansicht, dass der von ihm aufgedeckte *a*-Umlaut älter sei, als die sonstigen Umlaute, d. h. der *i*- und *u*-Umlaut. Er bemerkt ferner, dass nach Liquiden eingeschobenes *a* in Endsilben auf den Stammvokal keinen Einfluss hat. Das *o* in ahd. *fogal* erklärt sich nach Holtzmann nicht aus dem nachfolgenden *a* der althochdeutschen Form, sondern es stammt aus Formen, die auch im Gotischen *a* oder *o* in der Endsilbe aufweisen, z. B. *fuglōs* = ahd. *fogala.* Holtzmann's Ansicht hatte eben angefangen, sich in weitern Kreisen Freunde zu erwerben, als gegen Ende der 60er Jahre die Aufdeckung des gemeineuropäischen *e* ihr in den Augen der meisten Germanisten ein jähes Ende bereitete. Holtzmann war mit Grimm—und überhaupt den ältern Sprachforschern—der Meinung gewesen, dass die germanischen Sprachen ursprünglich, wie das Sanskrit, nur die drei kurzen Vokale *a, i* und *u* gekannt hätten, und dass sich dieser Zustand im Gotischen noch im wesentlichen erhalten habe. Jetzt aber stellte sich heraus, dass das *i* in got. *niman* nicht direkt aus dem *a* des altind. *namāmi* hervorgegangen ist, sondern zunächst dem *e* des griechischen *νέμω* entspricht ; dass das *i* in got. *itan* durch das *e* von griechisch *ἔδω,* lat. *edo* hindurchgegangen ist, und so durchweg. Was lag näher, als anzunehmen, dass sich in ahd. *neman, ezzan* die für das Gotische vorauszusetzenden Formen erhalten haben?

Letzteres ist auch heute noch die Ansicht der meisten Fachgenossen, und es wird daher, dem ahd. *e* zu liebe, ziemlich allgemein gelehrt, dass der gotische Vokalismus in dieser Hinsicht erheblich jünger sei, als der der übrigen germanischen Sprachen. Es würde nämlich unter anderm folgen, dass noch das Neuhochdeutsche in Formen wie *nehmen, essen* ältere Vokale bewahrt habe, als das Gotische. Ich will dem gegenüber zu zeigen versuchen, dass Holtzmann's Hypothese—soweit sie das Verhältnis des Gotischen zu den übrigen germanischen Sprachen betrifft—noch heute zu Recht besteht, und ich will zugleich versuchen, die eine Unregelmässigkeit zu erklären, welche Holtzmann unerklärt bestehen lassen musste. Meiner Ansicht nach sind Formen wie got. *itan, niman* allerdings durch die Stufe **etan,* **neman* hindurchgegangen. Aber der Übergang des *e* zu *i* war gemeingermanisch. Auch das Althochdeutsche nebst den übrigen germanischen Sprachen setzt Formen wie *itan, niman* voraus, und dieses *i* hat sich unter günstigen Umständen, d. h., wenn kein Vokal folgte, oder wenn *i* oder *u* folgte, erhalten ; also z. B. in Formen wie ahd. *izzis, izzit* ; nur wenn in der nächsten Silbe einer der Vokale *a* oder *ō* oder einer der Diphthonge *ai* oder *au* stand, ist das *i* durch *a*-Umlaut zu *e* geworden. Da das Verhältnis des *i* zu *e* im Germanischen durchaus dem des *u* zu *o* parallel geht, und da beim *u* und *o* die Sache etwas einfacher liegt, so gehen wir am besten von der Untersuchung des Verhältnisses zwischen *u* und *o* aus.

Das germanische *u* ist doppelten Ursprungs. Es entspricht

1.) dem altindogermanischen *u,* z. B. im Prt. pl. und Ptc. pass. der 2. Ablautsreihe, also in Formen wie *budum, budans.* Ferner in Worten wie *juk* "Joch," *ufar* "über," u. a.

2.) Zweitens hat sich *u* entwickelt aus dem Stimmtone silbebildender Liquiden oder—was im wesentlichen auf dasselbe hinausläuft—es entspricht einem urindogermanischen schwachen Vokale. So in der 3. und 4. Ablautsreihe, wie got. *hulpum, hulpans,* ahd. *wurtun* "wurden," got. *numans* "genommen," und in Wörtern wie *wulfs* "Wolf," *hund* "hundert," *guma* "Mann," u. a.

Beide Arten des *u* werden im Germanischen auf dieselbe Weise behandelt. Im Gotischen

bleiben beide als *u* erhalten, ausser vor *r* und *h*, wo Brechung zu kurzem *o* eintritt, das im Gotischen auffälliger Weise mit *au* geschrieben wird, z. B. *waurþum* "wurden," *tauhum* "zogen." Im Althochdeutschen fügen sich beide gleichmässig der Holtzmannschen Regel, also z. B. *zugum, gi-zogan, wurtun, giwortan.*

Es geht also nicht an, obwohl man dies vorübergehend versucht hat, das ursprüngliche *u* urgermanischem *u* gleichzusetzen und das bei Liquiden auftretende *u* auf urgermanisch *o* zurückzuführen. Denn die beiden *u* sind im Germanischen gleichwertig, und wenn das eine auf altes *u* zurückgeht, so muss dasselbe für das andere angenommen werden. Andrerseits liegt kein Grund vor, etwa das *u* in got. *juk* "Joch" von dem *u* in lat. *jugum*, gr. *ζυγόν*, sk. *yugá-m* loszureissen und es dem ahd. *joch* zu liebe auf urgerm. *o* zurückzuführen. In der Tat gewinnt wohl heute die Ansicht an Boden, dass das Gotische—von der Brechung vor *r* und *h* abgesehen—beim *u* den urgerm. Standpunkt gewahrt hat, dass also—mit anderen Worten—das Urgermanische an Stelle des späteren kurzen *o* überall noch den Vokal *u* hatte. Wenn andere Fachgenossen darauf bestehen, das *u* des urindogermanischen *jugó-m* (sk. *yugá-m*, lat. *jugum*) im Urgermanischen zu *o* werden und dann in got. *juk* sich in *u* zurück wandeln zu lassen, so erklärt sich das wohl daraus, dass man dem vermeintlichen Übergang des *e* zu *i* im Gotischen einen entsprechenden Übergang von *o* zu *u* glaubt an die Seite setzen zu müssen. Wenn got. *niman* jünger ist, als ahd. *neman*, dann kann sich ja das Gotische auch bei *juk* gegenüber ahd. *joch* eine Stellung im Hintergrunde gefallen lassen. Es wird also an der Zeit sein, dass wir uns jetzt zu der Frage nach dem gegenseitigen Verhältnisse der Vokale *i* und *e* auf germanischem Gebiete zurückwenden.

Wie das gotische *u*, ist auch das got. *i* doppelten Ursprungs. Es entspricht

1) Indogermanischem *i* im Präter. pl. und Partic. pass. der 1. Ablautsreihe, z. B. got. *bitum, bit-ans*, und in Wörtern wie *i-s* "er" = lat. *is, fisks* = lat. *piscis, widuwo* = lat. *vidua.*

2) Indogermanischem *e* im Inf. und Präsens der 3. 4. und 5. Ablautsreihe, sowie im Partic. pass. der 5. Ablautsreihe, z. B. got. *bindan, niman, ga-nisan, ga-nisans.* Ferner in *ik* = lat. *ego, fimf* = gr. *πέντε* und vielen andren Wörtern.

Soweit das Gotische allein in Betracht kommt, ist zwischen den beiden Arten des *i* so wenig ein Unterschied zu bemerken wie zwischen den beiden Arten des *u*. Beide *i* unterliegen vor *r* und *h* der Brechung in *ĕ*, die nach Muster des griech. *αι* mit *ai* geschrieben wird (z. B. *taihum, taihans* zu *teihan* "zeihen," *bairan* "tragen," *faihu* "Vieh," u. s. w.). Aber ein Unterschied scheint allerdings im Althochdeutschen wie in den übrigen germanischen Sprachen vorhanden zu sein. Wir kommen damit auf die schon mehrfach im Vorbeigehn berührte Lücke in Holtzmann's Regel. Im Partic. passivi erleidet der auf altes *i* zurückgehende Stammvokal der Verba der 1. Ablautsreihe keine Brechung, während der auf *e* zurückgehende Stammvokal der Verba der 5. Ablautsreihe der Brechung unterliegt. Also z. B. ahd. *gi-bizzan*, got. *bitans*, aber ahd. *gi-nesan*, got. *ganisans.* Das ahd. *i* stimmt zu dem *i* von lat. *findo* und sk. *bhid-*, das *e* von *gi-nesan* zu dem *e* von griech. *νέομαι* und dem *a* des altind. *nás-ate.* Hier also erscheint Holtzmann's Regel durchbrochen und zwar im Einklang mit der altindogerm. Scheidung zwischen *i* und *e*, wie sie sich im Griechischen und Lateinischen erhalten hat.

Wenn das Althochdeutsche—nebst den übrigen westgermanischen Sprachen und dem Nordischen —im Partic. pass. wirklich noch gegen den Unterschied zwischen altem *i* und *e* empfindlich ist, so würde man erwarten, dass sich diese Empfindlichkeit auch sonst zeigte, dass also *i* vor *a* der nächsten Silbe in der Regel erhalten bliebe. Das aber ist keineswegs der Fall. Wir finden zwar, ähnlich wie im Ptc. der 1. Ablautsreihe, in dem Inf. *wizzan* "wissen" das alte *i* erhalten, aber im Präter. *wessa* ist *i* zu *e* geworden. Überhaupt scheint das alte *i* regelrecht sich vor *a* in *e* umzuwandeln, wie z. B. in ahd. *nest* gegenüber lat. *nīdus* oder in ahd. *wer* = lat. *vir.* Wir gewinnen den Eindruck, dass sich der Inf. *wizzan* an den Plural *wizzum* auf analogischem Wege angeschlossen hat. Lässt sich nicht ebenso auch das *i* in *ga-bizzan* als Übertragung aus dem Präter. plur. *bizzum* fassen? Ich glaube nun, dass diese Auffassung nicht nur möglich ist, sondern dass sie sich so gut beweisen lässt, wie überhaupt in der prähistorischen Sprachgeschichte von einem Beweise die Rede sein kann. Und zwar ist der Fall insofern von allgemeinem Interesse, als er zeigt, dass man unter Umständen

ebensowohl von *Analogie*gesetzen wie von *Laut*gesetzen sprechen kann.

Es handelt sich in unserm Falle um ein Gesetz, das ich als das westgermanische (oder genauer nordisch-westgermanische) Gesetz der Ablautsharmonie bezeichnen möchte. Es besagt, kurz gefasst, das die Brechung im Partic. passivi von der Brechung im Präsens abhängt. Hat das Präsens Vokalbrechung, so finden wir sie auch im Partic. passivi; unterbleibt sie im Präsens, so fehlt sie ebenfalls im Participium.

Bei dieser allgemeineren Fassung ergeben sich freilich einige Ausnahmen und zwar bei eigenartigen Präsensbildungen wie z. B. *sitzan*, nhd. *sitzen*. Diese Ausnahmen lassen sich jedoch beseitigen, wenn wir den Plural des Präteritums heranziehen und der Regel die folgende Fassung geben. "Wo im Urgermanischen der Plural des Prateritums und das Participium passivi ein- und denselben brechungsfähigen Vokal hatten, ist im Westgermanischen und Nordischen die Brechung im Participium passivi nur dann eingetreten, wenn sie auch im Präsens vorhanden war. Hatte das Prasens keine Brechung, so bewahrte das Particip im Anschlusse an den Plural präteriti den ungebrochenen Vokal."

Bei dieser Formulierung kommen für uns nur die drei ersten Ablautsreihen der gotischen Grammatik in Betracht, und zwar zerfallen diese im Westgermanischen in 2 Gruppen, die wir als *eintönige* und *bunte* Ablautsreihen unterscheiden können.

Zu der ersteren gehören

1.) die uns zunächst interessierende erste Ablautsreihe, z. B.

ahd. Inf. *bīzzan*, Prs. *bīzzu*, Prt. sg. *beiz*, Prt. pl. *bizzum*, Part. *gibizzan*.

2.) die Verba mit Nasal + Kons. der dritten Ablautsreihe, z. B.

ahd. *bintan bintu bant buntum gibuntan*.

Als bunte Ablautsreihen haben zu gelten

1.) die zweite Ablautsreihe, z. B.

ahd. Inf. *ziohan*, Prs. sg. *ziuhu*, Prs. pl. *zioham*, Prt. sg. *zōch*, Prt. pl. *zugum*, Ptc. *gizogan*.

2.) die Verba mit Liq. + Kons. der dritten Ablautsreihe, z. B.

ahd. *werdan wirdu werdam ward wurtum gi-wortan*.

Ich denke, es ist klar, dass die scheinbare, oder wirkliche Erhaltung des *i* im Partic. pass. der 1. Ablautsreihe nichts mit dem alten Unterschiede zwischen *i* und *e* zu tun hat, sondern sich bei der Annahme erklärt, dass im Urgermanischen altes *i* und *e* zusammengefallen waren, und dass das Gotische wesentlich auf dem Standpunkte des Urgermanischen stehen geblieben ist. Wir brauchen uns also nicht weiter darum zu bemühen, den gotischen Vokalismus durch komplizierte Theorieen dem westgermanischen unterzuordnen, sondern können, im Einklang mit dem gegenseitigen Alter der Überlieferung, den westgermanischen Vokalismus wieder im wesentlichen aus dem gotischen herleiten.

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A SIMILE OF GUIDO GUINICELLI'S.

Guido Guinicelli, or Guinizelli, 'the most illustrious of the Italian poets prior to Dante,' though frequently quoted and referred to by his illustrious successor, and called by him 'il Saggio' and 'maximus Guido,' is perhaps best remembered by his canzone, 'Al cor gentil ripara sempre Amore,' translated by Rossetti in *Dante and his Circle* (p. 291).

It is well known that Guinicelli belonged to a noble family of Bologna, that the University of Bologna was a principal seat of the learning of that time, and that this learning had a marked influence upon the *dolce stil nuovo* (*Purg.* 24. 57) which Dante represented, and of which Guinicelli was the originator[1] (Gaspary, *Early Ital. Lit.*, pp. 99 ff.). The increasing attention now being paid to the *dolce stil nuovo*, of which Vossler's *Die Philosophischen Grundlagen zum 'Süssen Neuen Stil'* may be taken as an indication, renders the question of Guinicelli's possible sources one of present interest.

The first four lines of the fourth stanza of the

[1] Dante thus refers to him in *Purg.* 26. 97–9 (Longfellow's translation):

> The father
> Of me and of my betters, who had ever
> Practised the sweet and gracious rimes of love.

canzone mentioned above run as follows (Ancona and Bacci, *Manuele della Letteratura Italiana* 1. 83) :

> Fere lo Sole il fango tutto 'l giorno
> Vile riman, nè il Sole perde calore.
> Dice uom altier : Gentil per schiatta torno ;
> Lui sembra 'l fango, e 'l Sol gentil valore ;

which Rossetti translates :

> The sun strikes full upon the mud all day ;
> It remains vile, nor the sun's worth is less.
> 'By race I am gentle,' the proud man doth say ;
> He is the mud, the sun is gentleness.

On this Gaspary says (*op. cit.*, p. 101, note) : 'A fourteenth century collection of maxims, the *Fiore di Virtu*, chap. 37, quotes the sentence : "Il sole sta in su lo fango, e non se gliene appicca, e della gentilezza che presta non se n'ha se non lo nome," as a saying of Aristotle, without doubt wrongly.'

This quotation does not help us much, since Guinicelli must have died before 1300, and the figure may easily have been derived from Guinicelli's own canzone. It is more to the point that the simile is to be found in Chrysostom (ca. 345–407), *Homily on the Nativity* 6 (*Patr. Gr.* 2. 359). It runs : 'If therefore the sun, a corruptible body, yet sends out its rays everywhere, giving of itself to mud and dirt, and other things of this nature, without suffering contamination of its purity; and if, again withdrawing his pure beams, he infuses his peculiar virtue into the bodies which receive him, without being in the least defiled by the filthiest and most unsavory of them; how much more should the Sun of righteousness, the Sovran of the unbodied powers, when he took upon Himself unspotted flesh, not only receive no soilure from it, but even render it purer and more holy.'

However, notwithstanding the fact that Chrysostom's works enjoyed a certain currency in the West in the Middle Ages (Alcuin, *De Sanct. Eubor. Eccl.* 1645, mentions him among the authors found in the Library at York), it is likely that the idea reached Guinicelli through, if not directly from, one of two Latin writers, Rufinus of Aquileia (ca. 350–410), or Augustine (354–430).

The energies of Rufinus were devoted, in large part, to translation. Thus he rendered into Latin the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, which was well known in the Middle Ages, as was his more original work, the *Vitæ Patrum*. Rufinus composed a treatise on the Apostles' Creed, and in this we find Chrysostom's thought, whether adapted from him or another (*Comm. in Symb. Apost.* : Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 21. 351) : 'Intuere nunc, si solis radius in cœni alicujus voraginem demittatur, numquidnam aliquid inde pollutionis acquirit? aut obscœnorum illustratio solis dicitur in injuriam?'

Augustine applied the simile to the spiritual value of a sacrament (*In Joh. Evang.* tr. 5, sect. 15 ; *Patr. Lat.* 35. 1422) : 'Spiritualis enim virtus sacramenti ita est ut lux : et ab illuminandis pura excipitur, et si per in mundos transeat, non inquinatur.'

The ultimate source of the idea, so far as I have been able to discover, is to be found in a saying of Diogenes the Cynic (412?–323 B. C.), as reported by Diogenes Laertius (ca. 200 A. D.). The sentence is (6. 63 ; Bohn tr., p. 241) : 'When a man reproached him for going into unclean places, he said : "The sun, too, shines into cesspools, and is not polluted."'

Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations*, 9th ed., p. 169, shows that the following English authors have employed the sentiment : Bacon, *Adv. Learn.*, Bk. 2 [1. 4] ; Lyly, *Euphues, The Anatomy of Wit* (Arber, p. 43) ; Taylor, *Holy Living*, chap. 1, p. 3 ; Milton, *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.* To these we may add Bacon, *Nov. Org.* 1. 120 : 'Neque propterea polluitur naturalis historia ; sol enim æque palatia et cloacas ingreditur, neque tamen polluitur' ; and Chaucer, *Parson's Tale* (*C. T.* 1. 911) : 'Holy writ may nat been defouled, namore than the sonne that shyneth on the mixen.'

2 Henry IV 4. 5. 233–241.

The close of the act is as follows :

> *King.* Doth any name particular belong
> Unto the lodging where I first did swoon?
> *War.* 'Tis called Jerusalem, my noble lord.
> *King.* Laud be to God! even there my life must end.
> It hath been prophesied to me many years
> I should not die but in Jerusalem,
> Which vainly I supposed the Holy Land.
> But bear me to that chamber—there I'll lie;
> In that Jerusalem shall Harry die.

As Stevens points out, this is from Holinshed, and a similar story of Pope Sylvester is in the

Oryginale Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun (1350?–1420?). Boswell remarks that the story of the Pope is utilized by Lodge in *The Divel Conjured* (1596). According to Boswell, too, William Vincent (1739–1815), Dean of Westminster, communicated to Malone under date of February 19, 1806 a passage from Anna Comnena's (b. 1083) *Alexias* (6. 6), where, recounting the death of Robert Guiscard, she relates how, reaching the island of Cephalonia, he resigned himself to death on learning that there was in this island a city called Jerusalem. Vincent, who was a good authority (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*), says in his letter: 'How a Jerusalem came to have been built in Cephallenia I shall not attempt to explain; but the Holy Sepulchre was visited, from devotion or pilgrimage, several centuries before 1085, and temples might consequently have been built in Cephallenia, as well as in other Christian countries. A *city* of Jerusalem seems highly dubious.'

The foregoing is from the Variorum Shakespeare of 1821, vol. 17, pp. 196–8, which however, does not translate the Greek. I render as follows, using the text of Schopen's edition of 1839: 'Remaining at Athera, a promontory of Cephalenia, he was seized with a violent fever. Unable to endure the burning of the fever, he craved cold water. When his attendants were scattered in all directions to search for it, one of the natives exclaimed: "See this island of Ithaca. In it was built of old a city called Jerusalem, though now it is overthrown by time. Here was a spring of water, always good to drink and cold." Robert, hearing this, was seized with mortal terror, for, putting together Athera and the city of Jerusalem, he realized that his death was at hand. For it had been prophesied by certain ones—as flatterers are wont to speak to princes—that he should subdue everything as far as Athera, and that thence proceeding to Jerusalem, he should meet his end. Whether the fever wasted him away, or whether a pleurisy, I have not been able to ascertain, but certain it is that on the sixth day he died.'

The story in course of time reached Giovanni Villani (ca. 1275–1348), and is thus related, as I now find, in his *Croniche Fiorentine*, 4. 19 (tr. Gelfe, pp. 88, 89): 'Thus Robert Guiscard, after having done many and noble things in Apulia, purposed and desired, by way of devotion, to go to Jerusalem on pilgrimage; and it was told him in a vision that he would die in Jerusalem. Therefore, having commended his kingdom to Roger, his son, he embarked by sea for the voyage to Jerusalem, and arriving in Greece, at the port which was afterwards called after him, Port Guiscard, he began to sicken of his malady; and trusting in the revelation which had been made to him, he in no wise feared to die. There was over against the said port an island, to the which, that he might repose and recover his strength, he caused himself to be carried, and after being carried there he grew no better, but rather grievously worse. Then he asked what this island was called, and the mariners answered that of old it was called Jerusalem. Which they having heard, straightway, certified of his death, devoutly he fulfilled all those things which appertain to the salvation of the soul, and died in the grace of God.'

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A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SATIRICAL DIALOGUE,

Seemingly akin to the Species known as *fatras* or *fatrasie*, and Dealing with Fools called *Coquars*.

In the summer of 1904, while seeking in the British Museum material bearing on the farce of *Pathelin*, the present writer happened upon a MS.[1] which can hardly fail to interest various Romance scholars, but particularly those who have acquainted themselves with the history of dramatic literature in France.

This MS., catalogued under "Additional Manu-

[1] The MS. is of paper and measures approximately ten inches in height by eight in breadth. It is in excellent condition. Black ink was employed except for the *Explicit* of Pierre de Nesson's *Testament*. There are no decorations or miniatures.

Perhaps this MS. is known to more scholars than one,—it may even have been printed, but this latter possibility constitutes a risk which has often to be run, and, should the possibility be a fact, I shall be grateful if whoever is in a position to increase my information will do so.

scripts," and bearing the number 28790, contains four short poems, copied about the middle of the fifteenth century by a scribe whose handwriting is of the cursive type known as debased Gothic. In his valuable *Recueil de Fac-similés d'Écritures du V^e^ au XVII^e^ Siècle*, Paris, 1904, Mr. Maurice Prou offers a specimen closely resembling the MS. in question. See Pl. XXXVII, upper document, dated 1446. Another specimen of the same style is to be found in N. de Wailly's *Éléments de Paléographie*, II, 262, Pl. x. Yet, though the handwriting of medieval scribes is far more uniform than modern handwriting, identity of style is not implied in the present case. We may safely surmise that this MS. originated between 1430 and 1470. Furthermore the writer's language and style belong to this period rather than to the very beginning or end of the century. The MS. seems to contain no allusion definite enough to afford another means of dating the poems in it. That they all originated at the same time is most unlikely; indeed it is possible that the poem with which we are about to deal came into being before 1430, rather than later, and that it may have undergone certain alterations; or, again, it may be merely a belated specimen of the particular form of literature to which it seems to belong. In short, various conjectures are allowable. But we should record a remarkable feature.

There are, as has been said, four poems. First comes the *Testament de Maitre Pierre de Nesson*, a thing of very slight literary merit. It covers nearly 15 pages, with about 20 verses to the page, divided into irregular strophes which are composed of octosyllabic lines, riming a a, b b, etc. This *Testament*, like several others of the fifteenth century, is pious in tone. It in no wise resembles Villon's two masterpieces. Under the last verse are these words: "Explicit le testament de maistre pierre de nesson."[2]

Next comes a pious ballade, which is followed by a dialogue entitled, "Bourgogne au bastard et Bouton." 13 uninteresting decasyllabic strophes, riming a a b c c b. Fourth and last comes the *sottie*, if such it is, with which we are concerned. Now the remarkable feature about the MS. is this: Scrawled on the first page of the ballade are these words,—

"Vostre fol
J D cleves."

Again, beneath the *Envoi*, and in the same handwriting, we read the motto—

"Tout ce que vous vouldrez
Jean De Cleves."

No doubt this man was the court fool of the high noble, prince, or king to whom this MS. seems once to have belonged,[3] and as the handwriting indicates, Jean de Clèves scribbled in his master's book not long before, or after, the year 1500. The jester's whim, fulfilling the old saw as to fools' names and fools' faces, lends extraordinary interest to this MS. and makes of it one of the most rare and curious documents. For there is no good reason to suppose that the signature is a humbug or a forgery; but there is, on the other hand, excellent ground for believing that this is one of the few examples, if not the only example extant of the signature of a court fool. But who was this Jean de Clèves? Had he any interest in our piece? Or did he merely avail himself of his special privilege as a fool, like many fools before and since his time, to mar the MS.? Again, did this MS. belong to the fool's employer, or to the fool? These are hard nuts to crack,—at all events they are hardly to be answered by any one whom an ocean separates from the Bibliothèque Nationale and the British Museum. There exist, it is true, several histories of court fools,[4] but they are so similar that one would only have to skip the title-page to imagine that they were but various editions of one book, so faithfully does each author cling to the facts and methods of his predecessor.

Whatever the truth may be as to Jean de Clèves, the document before us deserves consideration; for not only does it contain many phenomena of linguistic interest, but it plainly is a type of what we may broadly designate as "dramatic

[2] A friend writes from Paris that the Bibliothèque Nationale has a MS. catalogued thus: "Pierre de Nesson —Testament en vers. MS. f. f. 3887, fols. 219^ro^–223^vo^, fol. 219: 220 x 302 mm. XV^e^ S."

[3] And not a public mountebank or member of a band of *sots;* for in that case he would hardly have signed himself "Vostre fol." Another Jean de Clèves, to wit, Jean I, duc de Clèves (1419–1481), is several times mentioned by Philippe de Commynes.

[4] The best is that by A. Gazeau, entitled *Les Bouffons* (1882).

literature."[5] The absence of any title is to be regretted; for had we a title, we might at least know to what kind of literature the piece was supposed to belong by the scribe or by its author. Having no such indication we are bound to rely wholly upon the authority of modern scholars, and especially upon that of Mr. Émile Picot, in whose scientific study of "La sottie en France" (*Romania*, 1878) we find the following statements: "La sottie n'est d'abord qu'un dialogue, presque entièrement dénué d'action; c'est la parade proprement dite, dont les *Menus Propos* sont le type; mais peu à peu on y introduit une action, qui tient tantôt de la moralité, tantôt de la farce." (See page 248.) "La seconde espèce de sottie, appelée aussi *jeu de pois pilés*, était un poême dramatique; c'était, dans le principe du moins, une simple fatrasie divisée en couplets et récitée en public par des sots ou des badins; les mêmes règles étaient applicables aux deux compositions." (See page 237.)

How closely our poem fulfills these conditions, will be seen. Of the *fatrasie*, or *fatras*, Mr. Picot has this to say: "c'est une série de traits et de mots disparates qui n'ont d'autre liaison que la rime. L'extrême diversité des vers qui se suivent, le brusque passage d'une idée à une autre, l'amoncellement des proverbes et des allusions satiriques sont les principaux mérites du genre. La fatrasie donna naissance à deux espèces de sottie: l'une destinée à être récitée dans des concours de rhétorique; l'autre, au contraire, ayant un caractère dramatique." (See pages 236–237.)

These three statements constitute an admirably clear introduction to the text with which we are concerned, and of which we shall cite all but a few strophes or verses which are so barren of interest, in the opinion of the present writer, that they are hardly worth knowing.

Mr. Picot draws no hard and fast line between the *fatrasie* and the early *sottie*. Nor would a sharp distinction be possible; for had the "play" not grown gradually out of the *fatrasie*, the laws according to which a given literary form develops out of one or several earlier forms would be broken. Although the documents that illustrate the history of the development of literature are not characterised by the smoothness and barely perceptible transitions observable in the evolution of purely physical things, it would be rash to declare that literary development is ever marked by leaps from one form to another of an essentially different character.

In considering literary development, two important facts are to be borne in mind: First, that men express only a small part of their current knowledge or individual ideas at any given moment; secondly, that they always borrow from one another or from the works of earlier men, and finally that an immense number of medieval documents have been lost. This is specially true of dramatic, and more still of truly popular dramatic literature throughout the Middle Ages. Theatrical folk enjoyed no copyright then, and endeavoured therefore to keep their stock and store from becoming public property. Again, the few copies of farces, *sotties*, etc., in the hands of players, whether belonging to some guild or owned by random minstrels, whose life was hardly such as to preserve their literary possessions from destruction, were mostly thumbed out of existence, and when a play or dialogue, or other piece, had served its purpose, its natural and all too common fate was to disappear for good and all. We must thus account for the fact that only three (or, rather, four) MSS. of *Pathelin* have survived; yet *Pathelin* enjoyed a vogue not paralleled by any other piece in the Middle Ages. Of these MSS. one, at least, namely the Harvard MS., was copied from a printed text belonging to the group catalogued by Messrs. Piaget and Picot in their edition of Guillaume Alexis, vol. I, pp. 179–182.

In his comprehensive essay on the *sottie*, Mr. Picot enumerates only twenty-six specimens in all. It is not rash to believe that these, along with the few specimens added by Mr. Picot in the *Recueil général des Sotties* which he has lately edited[6] for the *Société des Anciens Textes*, do not constitute a hundredth of those that came into being. The earliest *sottie* in his *Recueil* came into being prob-

[5] Of course our piece is itself essentially undramatic, at all events according to modern conceptions; but so, for instance, are not a few of the early farces, notwithstanding their original titles; for they are often mere dialogues without the shred of a plot, or even a leading thought, and nothing "happens."

[6] Only the first volume is at hand.

ably between 1410 and 1435. The verses presently to be quoted belong, as we have seen, to approximately that time. Before quoting them, however, it is necessary to make various observations.

Our poem, though sprightly in style and interesting in matter, is not really poetry. The author was fairly clever, but his verses are prose, after all. Nor can he be said to have original ideas. His vague notions as to right and wrong, as to wisdom and folly, are a part of the feelings that almost every thinking man had before the Reformation. There is scarce a strophe in his poem that does not remind one of something quite like it in Brant's *Narrenschiff*. There is no ship, to be sure, but the idea that folly holds sway is there. And, needless to say, this belief, sanctioned in part by passages in the Bible, and invigorated further by the Feast of Fools, to which custom, it gave in turn ample suggestion of drollery, was common a good while before Brant compiled his *Narrenschiff*. In this particular poem the word *coquard* is employed for *sot*, but this feature is due no doubt to a fancy of the author rather than to any intention to distinguish *sottie* from *coquardie* or *sot* from *coquard*. Coquard is merely another word, once figurative, but soon rubbed bare of its colour, used to describe a *sot* or fool. When Guillaume Joceaume begins to dun Guillemette for the money that Pathelin owes him, Guillemette mockingly replies :

> "Ha, Guillaume,
> Il ne fault point couvrir de chaume
> Ici, ne bailler ces brocars.
> Alés sorner à vos cocars,
> A qui vous vouldriez jouer."
> (vv. 531–534).

And further on (vv. 858-859) the bewildered draper demands of Guillemette,—

> Mais comment parle il proprement
> Picard? Dont vient tel cocardie?

Examples of *cocardie* are rare enough in the fifteenth century, but *coquard* occurs times without number. Whatever special meaning this word may have had at the outset, it came in time to signify "fool" and little else, though "fool" is a pretty comprehensive word, as the good Sebastian Brant opined. In 1611 Cotgrave defines the expression thus : "*Coquard* : m. *A proud gull, peart goose, quaint fop, saucie doult, malapert coxcombe, rash or forward cokes.*" And he adds this saying, "Mieux vaut l'ombre d'un sage vieillard que les armes d'un jeune coquard : Prov. *The shadow of an aduised grandsire is better than the sword of an adventurous goosecap.*" What this delightful old lexicographer has to say of *coquarde* is equally amusing : "COQUARDE. *bonnet à la coquarde. A Spanish cap, or fashion of bonnet used by the most substantiall men of yore; Tearmed so (perhaps) because those that wore of them grew thereby the prouder, & presumed the more of themselues, also, any bonnet, or cap, worne proudly, or peartly on th' one side.*" Cotgrave does not quote *cocardie*, which had probably become obsolete, but he has *cocardise*: "*Cocardise*: f. *Fond pride, sauciness, presumption, malapertness, unaduised peartnesse, iollitie, chearfulnesse, cocketnesse.*" About 1530 Palsgrave offered *cocard* as a French equivalent of "malapert." See *L'Esclaircissement*, etc., p. 918. The context of our piece makes it pretty clear, furthermore, that a *cocard* (or *coquard*) was not really a dunce, but a silly snob, an upstart, a blunderer, a blackguard, a conceited ass, a prattler, a rascally good-for-nothing, a spendthrift, etc., etc.; in short, he was a fool. In the fifteenth century this word had become a fad : by the middle of the seventeenth century it was perhaps forgotten.

In form alone is our poem dramatic. It has not even an embryonic plot, nor is there anything about it suggestive of "stage business." Doubtless it was spoken by two performers, who may have executed a few gestures ; but that they frolicked or went through acrobatic feats (a common feature of the true *sottie*) is most improbable. What we have is a mere dialogue, devoid of action. There is no consistent differentiation of the two speakers, whose character, furthermore, does not enter into the piece. They satirize, but their satire does not really strike home. No definite individual is attacked, nor is any recognizable government under fire, save that of the Pope. But here the taunts are so vague that they would apply to the papal court long before the Reformation. In short, the satire is much like that which Brant later brought to bear in his *Narrenschiff*.

Not only is our dialogue characterized by satire,

but it also contains numerous proverbs or proverbial locutions (See verses 12, 13, 27, 74, 100, 146, 150, 180, 201, 204, 228, 230, 231, 232, 233–234,[7] 258, 260). The heaping up of proverbs marks, as Mr. Picot has said, the primitive form of the *sottie* known as a *fatrasie*.

In one significant characteristic our dialogue differs especially from the twenty-six specimens described and quoted from by Mr. Picot. With the exception of the first two strophes, which are octosyllabic, all the verses contain ten syllables. There are several examples of decasyllabic verse in the *sotties* catalogued by Mr. Picot, but they are of no great length. Perhaps the writer of the piece before us found that he was hampered by the shorter line; or it may be that our dialogue was originally octosyllabic and that whoever revamped it preferred the decasyllabic line, to which measure he changed all but the two stanzas mentioned.

As to the rime, we may call attention to *tromper* and *enfer* (vv. 195 and 198). The rime order is a a b c c b throughout.

The text, which now follows the introduction, differs from that of the MS. only in that certain tediously irrelevant strophes or verses have been omitted, that capitals have been more liberally used, and that the whole piece has been punctuated so as to bring out what each sentence seemed to mean. Abbreviations in the MS. are indicated by italics. All numbers and diacritical marks are mine.

THE TEXT.

L'acteur (*i. e.*, l'auteur).[1]

Après les princes et les dames,[2]
Et les gouges de maintes games,[3]
Demande[4] tour de prothocolle,[5]
Qui de cocquarts fait mension,
Escript à la correction
De ceulx qui sont de telle escole.

Responce.

Tant qu'est à moy, Je suis content
Que me desclairez plainnement
Des coquars la forme[6] é maniere,
Sans faire à quelqung blasme ou tort,
Et aussi par vostre rapport
Lequel[7] doit porter la baniere.

L'acteur.

Cocquart mignot[8] qui descongnoit[9] la gâche,[10]
Ja soit venu[11] de basse et humble place,
Qui aux plus grans se veult comparer,
Meismes leur est en son tort leur desplaire,[12]
Doit pou durer et fin obscure faire,—
Voire et eust il Roy vueillant le porter!

Responce.

Se ung compains est de petit lieu venu,
Et de poure[13] tant plus est il tenu

---

[7] "Baillez lui la massue
A cellui qui cuide estre
Plus subtil que son maistre,
Et sans raison l'argue."
—*Charles d' Orléans*, II, 99.

[1] "A vous seul, comme a nostre acteur, devons louange," etc.—Words of the seraphim in A. Greban's *Mistere de la passion*, 334–5.

[2] "After hearing about," etc.; or, "Now that the princes, etc., have had their turn."

[3] Cf. Charles d'Orléans, Héricault's ed., Paris, 1896, Vol. II, p. 32, Chan. LI:

Trop entré en la haulte game,
Mon cueur, d'ut, ré, mi, fa, sol, la,
Fut jà pieça, quant l'afola
Le trait du regart de ma Dame.

Cf., also, this from the *Blason de faulses amours* by Guillaume Alexis (ed. by Piaget and Picot, vol. I, p. 209):

Mais, quant de femme
Congnoit la game,
Lors devient melancolieux.

[4] First pers. sing.

[5] *Protocolle* scarcely seems to have here precisely any of the meanings recorded by Du Cange; nor does it seem to signify "prompter," as it so often did during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and even at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Verse 5 indicates pretty clearly that *protocolle* is at least an imaginary list of a satirical character. In a poem entitled "*Chambrière à louer*," Crestofle de Bordeaux (fl. c. 1550) distinctly uses *protocolle* to mean "prompter."

"Point ne me faut de protocolle,
[says the chambrière à louer]
Car je scay mon roolle par coeur."
Anciennes Poésies Françoises, I, 99.

[6] In the scholastic sense of *forma*, the essential nature of anything.

[7] *Quel coquard.* [8] "Fop," "swell."

[9] "Does not know," "has never tasted."

[10] Seems to be a figurative expression meaning "hard work." See Littré, *s. v. Gâche*, No. 1.

[11] "Even though," etc.

[12] This awkward verse seems to mean that the *coquard* displeases the great by his bungling.

[13] "Then, being poor," etc. From *Yvain* (Foerster's ed., Halle, 1902, v. 61 ff.) another somewhat similar *et* may be cited:

De poursievir[14] pour avoir quelquechóse,
Faire[15] son fait en publicque ou à part ;
S'il s'oublie, je le tiens pour cocquart,
Et pour meschant[16] (ainsi me dit ma glose).

L'acteur.

Cocquart,[17] vanteur de femmes où n'a[18] rien(z),
D'autres aussy dont a cu quelque bien,
Et est herault meismes de sa vaillance.
Quiert jeu de dés, et fait mestier d'estre yvre ;
Vit souffreteux, quelque argent qu'on ly lyvre,
Et souvent meurt par ung coup de meschance.[19]

Responce.

Aucunesfois, pour faire seigneur rire,
N'a point de mal d'aucune chose dire,
Prenonz que soit mensonge ou vérité.
Baveurs,[20] menteurs, joueurs de dés, yvrongnes,
Font à la foiz sy trèsbien leur besongnes
Qu'ilz s'en treuvent en grand auctorité.

Responce (*sic*).

Cocquart,[21] pompeux, qui tout vent et engaige,
Pour maintenir ung triumphant barnaige.
Et ne ly chault d'apovrir filz ne filles.
Pert l'amitié des bons et vertueux,
Et n'est hantez que de gens vicieux,
Et est digne qu'on le rue à faucille.

(5 strophes omitted.)

L'acteur.

Cocquart,[22] le clerc qui tant cuide saige estre
Que sanz son sens ne puist vivre son mestre,
Ne riens sans ly ne se peult bien conclure ;
Fait passer temps aux compaignonz de sorte
Qui [*i. e.* que], se sa mule ou sa hague[23] fût morte,

Le charient plus souef que l'amblure.

(3 strophes omitted.)

(The gist of them is that a *coquart* excites quarrels and is a trickster.)

L'acteur.

Cocquart,[24] qui scet parler latin congru,
Jouer d'orguez[25] et chanter sur le leü,
Et à musicque on ne scet gaire tel ;
Mais inconstant est comme un cocq au vent.

101–2 (Of little interest and irrelevant).

Verses 103–126 are to the effect that a clerk who knows how to play "orguez," lute and harp, will always be more welcome than a master of theology, even though the clerk be in rags or naked. A *coquart* who expects to get a benefice from the Roman Court without influence, will catch a fever for his pains and die, or come home all torn like a cur.

Verses 127–144 are too dull and pointless to be worth citing.

(Here the MS. gives no indication as to who is speaking)

Cocquart est bien cely qui va si loingz
Pour plonc bailler son or qu'il a ès poings,[26]
Et pour vendre sa robbe et son mantel.
Mourir de fain, de soif, et de froidure,
Mettant son corps en sy grant aventure !
— Mieulx ly vaudroit demourer à l'ostel.[27]

Verses 151–168 are not only thoroughly dull, but they shed no light on the interesting question as to the various kinds of persons known as *coquars*.

(No heading.)

169–174. A *coquart* who sells law and justice will go to hell, leaving behind him the money that he has unrighteously amassed.

Que que il son conte contoit,
Et la reïne l'escoutoit,
Si s'est de lez le roi levee
Et vint sor aus si a amblee, etc.

Compare also the *et* in a sentence such as, "Plus je le vois, *et* plus je le hais."

[14] Dialectal, no doubt, but to what region does the form belong?

[15] "Tenu de faire." [16] Here in the modern sense.

[17] Here, as further on, the definition assumes a dictionary style.

[18] May be either personal or impersonal, but see v. 26.

[19] This whole strophe fits François Villon.

[20] "Hé dieu, que vous avez de bave !" cries Guillemette to the draper, meaning "Goodness ! what a prattler you are !" See *Pathelin*, 554. Palsgrave defines *baver*, as meaning "to mocke." See *L'Esclaircissement*, p. 938.

[21] See note 17. [22] See note 17.

[23] *Hague*. Neither Littré nor Godefroy gives this word. It is simply a dialectal, and probably a Picard, form derived perhaps from a Germanic word not yet discovered. See Murray's *New Eng. Dict.*, *s. v. Hack*, also *Hackney*.

[24] See note 17.

[25] The zed is merely graphic. Very common after mute *e* in fifteenth century documents. Cf. *e. g.*, *beneficez*, v. 181.

[26] This verse contains a curious bit of syntax. Doubtless it should be thus construed : Cocquart . . . va si loings (pour) bailler pour plonc son or (*i. e.* l'or) qu'il a ès poings. The single *pour* contains two meanings and serves two purposes syntactically ; for *pour* goes with *bailler*, denoting the end or aim, but also with *son or*, denoting an exchange. For interesting remarks on "Präpositionen gleichzeitig in zweierlei Funktion," see Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, I, 181 ff., Leipzig, 1886. That we need *pour* to introduce *bailler* is indicated by its presence before *vendre*, v. 147.

[27] "At home."

"I am not shocked," says the *coquart;* "this is the common thing."

Responce.

De vendre droit je ne m'esbahis mie :[28]
Les artilleurs[29] y gaignent bien leur vie.
Se ung juge vent pour or ne pour monnoye[30]
Le droit d'autruy, c'est chose constumiere.
Quant on respand justice en tele maniere,
C'est d'autruy cuir taille[r] large coroye.[31]

L'acteur.

Cocquart,[32] qui est vendeur de beneficez,
Et en ses faiz tout plain de mauvaiz vices,—
Faulx notaires, procureurs, advocas,
Tous courtisains[33] usans de symonye. . . .
Que fera Dieu d'une telle dragie?[34]
Il pugnira chascun selon son cas.

Verses 187–192 are devoid of interest.

L'acteur.

Cocquart[35] qui va mengeant les crucefiz,
En barbetant par ces[36] monstiers toudiz.
Il cuide bien nostre bon dieu tromper,
Par mauvaise et faulse ypocrisie.
Où ira[37] il quant il perdra la vie?
Il s'en yra tout droit au puis d'enfer.

Responce

Tel ne fait[38] point tant qu'à nous à reprendre.[39]
Dieu scet trop bien à quel fin il veult[40] tendre.
Aucunz le font pour abattre le pain.[41]
Et à la fois il donne bonne exemple
Aux iguoranz d'aourer dieu en son temple,—
Posé[42] qu'ils font à dieu barbe d'estrain.[43]

L'acteur

205–210 Not to the point.

Responce

211–216 Not to the point.

L'acteur

Cocquart congnoiz qui en parlant s'escoute.

[28] This seems to mean, "At the selling of justice I am not aghast," rather than "I am not aghast over selling justice."

[29] According to Godefroy, "celui qui fabriquait des armes." The present example, however, certainly offers another meaning, but what it may have been would be hard to say till the word turns up in a more illuminating context.

[30] An extremely common locution, meaning simply "for money."

[31] Littré cites *Le Petit Jehan de Saintré*, 24. Cotgrave (1611) cites this proverb and translates, "To spend liberally on another man's purse." In a collection of proverbs made about 1450 by Estienne Legris, and published by E. Langlois in the *Bibl. de l'École des Ch.*, vol. 60, p. 579, this proverb appears thus : "D'autruy cuir large coroie." In a footnote Langlois cites this Latin version :

"In propriis rebus laus est si largus haberis
Dedecus alterius res large donando mereris."

The oldest example of this proverb known to me occurs in the fabliau *Du Prestre Qu'on Porte* (See the *Recueil général et complet des Fabliaux*, Vol. IV, p. 26) :—

Et on voit avenir tous tans
C'on fait d'autrui larges corroies.

The omission of the word *cuir* shows that this proverb must have been familiarly known for a good while before it got into this version of the fabliau *Du Prestre Qu'on Porte;* but what is the approximate date of the oldest MS. containing it? Unfortunately we are left in the dark on that point; yet it is highly probably that the oldest MS. belongs to the thirteenth, rather than to the fourteenth century.

In Charles d'Orléans we find two other locutions worth citing here :

Et quant tenez le bout de la courroye,
Ung estrangier si le vous vient oster.
I, 145.

Cuident ilz du monde tenir
Tous les deux boutz de la courroye?
I, 139.

See Héricault's ed., Paris, 1896.

[32] See note 17.

[33] This form differs slightly from any hitherto cited. Modern French has borrowed from the Italian. By *courtisains* the author seems to be alluding to men at the papal court.

[34] "Gang," "crew." [35] See note 17.

[36] Here, as often in Old French, not more demonstrative than the modern definite article.

[37] A common hiatus, regular in the older verse.

[38] This locution, so frequent in Old French, is often equivalent to our English "It does not do to . . . ." Our English locution, however, is generally negative, whereas the Old French may be either negative or positive.

[39] This verse seems to mean, "Such and such a one it does not do so well for any one else to chide as for us," but the sense is obscure.

[40] *Il* refers to *Dieu.*

[41] A violent metaphor, on the analogy of *Abattre du bois, abattre de la besogne,* etc.

[42] "Granted that," "even though."

[43] "Semblablement ceux qui disent faire *barbe de fouerre a Dieu* en vsent abusivement au lieu de *gerbe de fouerre:* Qui est vn prouerbe tiré de la Bible, & usurpé contre ceux qui offroient seulement à Dieu des *gerbes de paille,* faignans offrir *gerbes de bled,* pensans appaiser Dieu par vne tromperie, lequel toutesfois cognoist le fonds, & interieur de nos pensées." Pasquier, *Les Recherches de la France,* ed. of 1633, Liure Huictiesme, Chapitre LXII, p. 787.

S'on parle à lui, fait semblant qu'il n'oist [44] goucte,
Et ne lui chault s'on le gabbe ou mocque,
Mais qu'on [45] vuelle ses bourdes escouter.
Tel sot doit on vray cocquart nommer,
Et publier partout à son de clocque.[46]

Responce

Ilz sont aucunz qui vont aucunesfois
Par les rues, parlant, preschant des doiz,
Qui ne pensent point à tromper autruy.
Ils sont d'autres qui ne font que mentir,
Et en mentant prendent tout leur plaisir.
Qui menteur oist,[47] il fait beaucop [48] pour luy.

L'acteur

Cocquart goutteux, lequel cuide estre amé,
Du josne [49] cuir est bien souvent armé.
On ne l'ayme se n'est pour Dan Denier,
Et l'affule [50] on de la houche [51] Gillet.

[44] The *s* is purely graphic. Fifteenth-century scribes and printers had a craze for so-called etymological letters, and they strewed them at random. *Scavoir* is the most common example. In Le Roy's *Pathelin* (about 1486) we find at v. 619 *moisne* for *moine*? This etymologizing tendency had begun long before the fifteenth century.

[45] "Provided that."

[46] *Cloque* for *cloche* does not necessarily imply that the author came from Picardy or Berry. He needed a word to rime with *mocque* and borrowed his form from a familiar dialect, precisely as poets and rimesters do nowadays. As to the expression, compare Charles d'Orléans, Héricault's ed., II, 202:

Crié soit à la clochete,
Par les rues, sus et jus, etc.

[47] See note 44.

[48] *Beaucoup* is common in the fifteenth century.

[49] *Josne*, with its spurious *s* is a frequent representative of *juvenis*, but the *josne* found here means "yellow." The line seems to contain an allusion to the yellow, leathern hue of gouty skin.

[50] Cf. *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Suchier's edition, Paderborn, 1903, p. 28:—"Et estoit afulés d'une cape," etc.

[51] *Houche* is perhaps a Norman form of the modern *housse* (Old French *houce* and *housse*). In their edition of Guillaume Alexis, Messrs. Piaget and Picot comment that *roche* in the saying,

"Tel cuide avoir jeune cheval
Qui achate une vieille roche"—

Vol. I, p. 85, is a "forme normande pour *rosse*."

That Gaston Paris was right in believing the word *gilet* to be the diminutive of the name Gil(l)e (< Aegidius) seems to me to be proved beyond the shadow of a doubt, not only by the example in the text with which we are dealing, but also by another far more interesting and corroborative example to be found in the fabliau *Des Vins D'Ouan* (XLI in the *Recueil général et complet des Fabliaux*). Here it is:

A tel cocquart baillez lui le fouet,[52]
Pour chasser hors tous les chiens du monstier.

Verses 235–252 do not enlighten the reader as to the nature of *coquarts*, and, as they are otherwise uninteresting, they may well be omitted.

[L'acteur.]

Tous ces cocquars cy nommez en commun,
En leur malfaiz ne veul porter quelqun,
Maiz je vous dy, et de ce vous souviengne,
Qu'on ne doit point un malfaiteur reprendre
Vilainnement, sans son cas bien entendre;
Car il n'est mal dont quelque bien ne viengne.

[Responce]

Sy vous respons, et en ce point conclu,
Que il n'est vice qu'il n'ait quelque vertu,
Tant soit meschant nes (*sic*) de petitte estoffe.
Il est ainsi, et tousjours a esté,
Et se en voulez savoir la vérité,
Demandés le (*sic*) à ung bon philosophe.

Explicit.

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MS. LONGLEAT 258—A CHAUCERIAN CODEX.

Among the manuscripts of interest to students of Chaucer and his followers there are a number in private possession, to which, in spite of the

Ne sai quels sont [les vins] à la Rocele.
Menesterels, qui de vièle
Soloient les gens solacier,
Ne se savent où porchacier.
Que la bone gent est troublée
Por ce que l'en lor a emblée
La très bone *houce Gilet*,
Qui les marchiez fere fesoit
Et les bones gens assambler;
Cil n'avoit pooir de trambler
Qui l'avoit en son dos vestue;
Or s'est en tel leu embatue
Que il covient trop grant avoir
Qui la veut en pou d'eure avoir;
Les povres genz s'en souferront
Qu'en cest an ne l'afubleront,
Que trop avons mauvese anée.

[52] Ordinarily the phrase is "bailler la massue," and *massue* means the *marotte*, or "bauble," carried by jesters. See the citation above from Charles d'Orléans, and note 1 in Piaget and Picot's edition of Guillaume Alexis, vol. I, p. 138.

liberality of their owners, access must always be somewhat more difficult than to those reposing in national or academic collections. Such a codex is the manuscript known as "Longleat 258," in the library of the Marquess of Bath, usually deposited at Longleat House, Warminster, Wiltshire, but by the courtesy of its owner placed at the British Museum for my use in the summer of 1903.

Although this manuscript possesses no high degree of intrinsic excellence, its relation to the interesting Bodleian group Fairfax 16—Bodley 638—Tanner 346—Digby 181 in the Chaucerian texts, and its kinship to them and to the prints of Lydgate's *Temple of Glass* in its copy of that poem (see Schick's edition for the E. E. T. S.) give it a good deal of significance, and also render it something of a puzzle to Chaucer-students.

The codex is a small volume,[1] in modern binding, with the bookplate of Thomas Baron Thynne of Warminster, 1704. Of 147 leaves, paper quires in vellum covers. The paper folios are 8⅝ by 5½ inches, the vellum a trifle smaller, and irregularly cut. With modern pagination. At the top of 1a is written "Constat John Thynne"; —John Thynne died 1580. The first leaf is vellum, the next six paper, 8 and 9 vellum, 10–15 paper, 16, 17 vellum, 18–23 paper, 24, 25 vellum, 26–31 paper, 32 vellum. According to a note by Henry Bradshaw, inserted loose at this point, "a quire, here missing, consisted of 16 leaves, 3 stanzas to the page. *The Flower and the Leaf* would begin on the first page, and end on the last leaf but one with one stanza only on the page, the rest of the page and the back of the leaf being blank. The last leaf of the quire contained the first six stanzas of the *Complaint of Mars.*"

The verso of 32 is blank. Folio 49, now the next after 32, is vellum, 50–55 are paper, 56, 57 vellum, 58–63 paper, 64, 65 vellum, 66–71 paper, 72, 73 vellum, 74–79 paper, 80, 81 vellum, 82–87 paper, 88, 89 vellum, 90–95 paper, 96, 97 vellum, 98–103 paper, 104, 105 vellum, 106–110 paper, 111, 112 vellum, 113–118 paper, 119, 120 vellum, 121–126 paper, 127, 128 vellum, 129–135 paper, 136, 137 vellum, 138–146 paper, 147 vellum. Written almost entirely in one hand, of late XV or early XVI century, three stanzas to the page, with certain tricks of spelling or dialect noticeable throughout, *e. g.*, *dud* for *did*, *theim* for *them*. (See Schick as cited.) Other writing in the MS. is as follows :—Running titles frequently at top of versos in a slovenly hand later than that of the scribe ; three stanzas entered on fol. 32a, according to Schick by John Thynne ; a gap in the last poem of the codex filled in by a still later hand ; a few corrections and supplied lines apparently by the same scribe who entered the running titles. The original writing is faded in portions, especially on the vellum leaves. No formal headings, colored capitals, catchwords, or notes of authorship ; the stanzas are well spaced and evenly written in a small legible current hand, but no excellence or pains in execution is anywhere evident. Most of the poems have brief colophons. On the verso of 147 is a table of contents in Latin, apparently by the scribe, from which we see that two entries at the beginning of the codex, as well as *The Flower and the Leaf*, have been lost. This table of contents (printed Chaucer Society, *Odd Texts*, p. 251) is as follows :

Littera directa cupidinis amatoribus
Vnum carmen
Templum vitreum
De folio et flore
Exclamacio Martis
Exclamacio de morte pietatis
Congregacio dominarum
Exclamacio Annelide *contra* Arcite
Parliamentum auium
De oculo & corde
La bele dame sans mercy
De rustico & aue

On the flyleaf facing this a modern hand has repeated the items in pencil ; but the first is misread and the second left blank as undecipherable.

The present contents of the MS. are :

(1) Lydgate's *Temple of Glass*. foll. 1a–32a. Colophon and last two lines at top of 32a. The poem was edited by Dr. Schick in 1891 for the E. E. T. S. Other MSS. are Univ. Libr. Cambr. Gg 4, 27, Brit. Mus. Adds. 16165, Magdalen Coll. Cambr. Pepys 2006, Bodl. Libr. Fairfax 16, Bodley 638, and Tanner 346.

[1] It may be remarked here that the MS. is briefly and erroneously described in the Third Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, pp. 188–89 ; *cp.* Schick, *loc. cit.*, pp. xxiv–xxv.

(2) Three stanzas by "Rycharde Hattfeld" inserted on 32a; Flügel, *Neuengl. Lesebuch*, p. 39, prints another text from MS. Adds. 17492. 32b is blank; gap in the MS. at this point as described.

(3) Chaucer's *Complaint of Mars*. foll. 49a–54b. Imperfect at beginning as noted. Printed by the Chaucer Society, *Suppl. Par. Texts*, p. 141.

(4) Chaucer's *Pity*. foll. 55a–57b. Printed by the Chaucer Society, *Odd Texts*, p. 251.

(5) *The Assembly of Ladies*. foll. 58a–75b. Printed by Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 380, from the text in Thynne's 1532 Chaucer, with mention of copies in MSS. Adds. 34360 and Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 19, but no mention of this MS. Some of his textual notes, *e. g.*, that on line 61, become more complete if one observes that the mistakes of the (William) Thynne print of 1532 reflect those of the Thynne manuscript here described, which belonged to William Thynne's nephew, Sir John Thynne, the builder of Longleat and one of the "overseers" of his uncle's will. Sir John was the direct ancestor of the Marquesses of Bath.

(6) Chaucer's *Anelida and Arcite*. foll. 76a–84a. Printed by the Chaucer Society, *Suppl. Par. Texts*, pp. 37 ff. 84b is blank.

(7) Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*. foll. 85a–101a. Printed by the Chaucer Society, *Suppl. Par. Texts*, pp. 1 ff. 101b is blank.

(8) *The Eye and the Heart*. foll. 102a–119a. Without colophon. 103 stanzas of eight lines; a dispute between the eye and the heart as to which is to blame for a hopeless love. See the *Disputatio inter Cor et Oculum*, in Wright's Latin Poems of Walter Mapes, Camden Society, 1841. The last stanza of the poem is on fol. 119a; the rest of that leaf is blank.

(9) *La Belle Dame sans Mercy*, by Sir Richard Ros. foll. 120a–136b. Printed by Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 299, from the Thynne Chaucer of 1532; the copies in Fairfax 16, Harley 372, Univ. Libr. Cambr. Ff. 1, 6, Trin. Col. Cambr. R 3, 19 are there mentioned, but not the Longleat. The Harley copy was printed by Furnivall in *Polit., Relig., and Love Poems*. E. E. T. S. 1886, p. 52 ff. Gröhler's dissertation, Breslau, 1886, was based only on the Harley MS. The transposition of stanzas in some of the MSS. is noted by Skeat, *loc. cit.*, p. liv, and affords a first clue to their relations.

(10) Lydgate's *Churl and Bird*. foll. 137a–147a. Other copies are in MSS. Lansdowne 699, its sister Leyden Voss. 9 (see Robinson in *Harvard Studies*, v: 187), Harley 116, Cotton Caligula A ii, Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 19, Univ. Libr. Cambr. Hh 4, 12, and Kk 1, 6. A fragment is in Ch. Ch. Coll. Oxford 152. Printed twice by Caxton, by Pynson, by de Worde, by Mychell, by Copland, by Ashmole in his *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, 1652, by Sir M. M. Sykes for the Roxburghe Club, 1818, from Caxton's second edition, by Halliwell in his edition of Lydgate's minor poems for the Percy Society, 1840, from the Harley MS. Three stanzas of this poem, on fol. 145a, are a later insertion, as above described; fol. 145b and all of fol. 146 are blank, but the single (final) stanza 51 and the colophon, on fol. 147a, are again in the writing of the usual scribe. Stanzas 49 and 50 of the poem are wanting, not supplied by the copyist who repaired the mutilation.

It will be observed that the poems of this codex are of much the same tone, allegorical and rhetorical complaints or "strifes" filling most of the volume. The compiler thus seems to have exercised some selection among the material accessible to him; and this uniformity of taste suggests the possibility that the copyist was also the owner. The relation between this Thynne MS. and the Thynne edition of Chaucer in 1532 can perhaps be determined when the reissue of the latter, soon to appear from the Clarendon Press, is before students; and the relation between Longleat 258 and the Bodleian group of MSS. already mentioned I hope to treat in a detailed analysis of that valuable set of Chaucer codices. To these ends I have transcribed numbers 5, 8, 9, and 10 of the Longleat.

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"SUPERCILIA JUNCTA."

Mr. G. P. Krapp in a recent number of MOD. LANG. NOTES (vol. XIX, p. 235) has a note on the lines :

> "And, save hir browes joyneden y-fere,
> Ther nas no lak, in ought I can espyen,"

in Chaucer's description of Criseyde (*T. & C.* Bk. v, 813–814). He cites the sources of this detail in Dares, Benoit de Sainte-More, and Guido delle Colonne from my *Chaucer's Indebtedness to Guido delle Colonne*, p. 81, although he omits an important variant of the *Roman de Troie*, 5261,

> "Mais ces sorcilles li joigneient"

I have cited elsewhere *l. c.*, p. 156. He further points out that the "supercilia juncta" were not noted as a defect by Dares, and that the Greek equivalent σύνοφρυς denoted an embellishment. But the statement "who it was—whether Isaac Porphyrogenitus, or Johannes Malalas, Manasses, or Tzetzes—first turned this grace with which Criseyde started on her career, into a defect, I am unable to say," needs comment for more than one reason.

In Malalas the description of Briseis is found, not among the "Portraits" (ed. Bonn, 103, 11 ff.) as in Dares but in the account of the capture of Legopolis by Achilles, and here (101, 17, cf. ἐκλογή ἱστοριῶν in Cramer, *Anecdota*, II, p. 203, 8) σύνοφρυς no more denotes a defect than it does in the description of Philoctetes (104, 3), Priam (105, 8) and Ulysses (Is. Porph. in *Polemonis Declamationes*, ed. Hinck, 81, 18). The work of Isaac, which is based upon that of Malalas (cf. Noack, *Philol. Suppl.*, VI, p. 409 ; Fürst, *Philol.* LX, p. 240) omits this episode (Cf. 60, 2 ; 69, 6 ff.). The episode, but not the description of Briseis is found in Johannes Antiochensis (ed. Heinrich, 7, 5 : cf. Fürst, *Philol.* LX, p. 254, n. 53 ; LXI, p. 595) and in Cedrenus (ed. Bonn, 221, 22 ; 222, 6). Her name is not even mentioned by Manasses, according to whom the cause of Achilles's wrath was the unjust condemnation of Palamedes (ed. Bonn, 1277–1283 ; cf. Fürst, *Philol.* LX, p. 337). Finally Tzetzes (*c.* 1150) who is indebted to Malalas for details in his description of Briseis (*Antehomerica*, 355 ff. ; cf. Fürst, *l. c.*, p. 343) qualifies this facial characteristic as a defect with the same emphasis as the contemporary French writer ;

> "φαιδρὸν μειδιόωσα, σύνοφρυς δ' εἶδετο ἔμπης."

But this similarity of opinion in Tzetzes and Benoit is not due to the indebtedness of one to the other, or of both to a common source, but to a common standard of beauty, according to which they interpreted the statement they found in their several authorities, whose ultimate source was the Greek Dictys. That joined eyebrows were considered a mark of beauty by both the Greeks and Romans—as it has always been so considered by the Oriental peoples—has been fully set forth by Fürst (*Philol.* LXI, pp. 385–388). He, however, does not fail to note the exceptional unfavorable opinion of this feature, given by writers on physiognomy. A study of the influence of physiognomical treatises on popular conceptions of beauty has still to be written, but a specific instance of the physiognomists' conception that this facial characteristic was the mark of a gloomy and soured person (Fürst, *l. c.*, p. 387) is to be found in the cited verse of Tzetzes, where σύνοφρυς denotes a moral as well as a physical characteristic.

The same unfavorable moral characterization is found in Mediæval Occidental versions of a treatise on physiognomy (cf. e. g. R. Steele, *Lydgate's and Burgh's Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, 2612 ff. ; *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, pp. 115, 230, 233 ; *Hist. litt.*, XXI, 216, 224) outside of the fact that it was considered a great physical defect. Slightly marked eyebrows was one of the attributes of the ideal feminine beauty of French poets from the twelfth to the fourteenth century (Cf. *Oeuvres de Eustache Deschamps*, vol. XI, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 272–273 ; *Gui de Bourgogne*, ed. Guessard et Michelant, p. 54), and nowhere is this characteristic more emphasized than in Chaucer's description in the *Miller's Tale* of the carpenter's wife,

> "Ful smale y-pulled were hir browes two."
> (*C. T.* B. 59 ; cf. *Rom. of the Rose*, 529).

Assuredly in this respect Alison is the antithesis of Criseyde.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

The Meistersinger of Nürnberg von *Richard Wagner*. With Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary by W. P. Bigelow, Associate Professor of German and Music, Amherst College. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Amer. Book Co., 1904.

The ever-growing demand for texts for parallel reading in advanced classes in German is by no means met by our energetic publishers. Each year brings new editions from Goethe and Schiller and adds to the pile of short stories by modern writers, already accessible in sufficiently good editions, while few of the chief works of Romantic or Post-Classical authors are to be had in American dress. So long as little of Tieck, Stifter, Auerbach, Ludwig, Keller and C. F. Meyer and nothing whatever from Brentano, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Mörike, Hebbel, Fontane and Wagner, appears in our American book catalogues, the publishers could well afford to let the dust settle a bit before bringing out with English apparatus the latest works of present-day realists and neo-romanticists.

Gratitude is therefore due to Professor Bigelow for presenting us with so neat and attractive an edition of Wagner's *Meistersinger*. Though there are perhaps few who are willing to call this "the one German opera," as the editor does in his preface, there is hardly one who will deny its title as the *most German* of Wagner's works. It is likewise the most difficult work, both from the standpoint of the philologist and the musical critic, not to speak of the biographical problems which are involved. Wagner's language, always difficult for undergraduates, becomes in the *Meistersinger*, with its aroma of *Altdeutschland*, almost hopeless; and the technique of the *Meistergesang* requires very careful handling, if the work is to be really available for high-schools and colleges. We fear that the present work will make the impression that the difficulties of the task have been somewhat underestimated. Assuredly one who has "collected and carefully sifted the large body of literature on the subject," as the editor has done, should be impressed with the absolute necessity for a somewhat larger frame than has been here given to Wagner's text.

After an effective characterization of the work in the Preface, the editor devotes an Introduction of sixteen pages to the art of the Meistersinger and the genesis of Wagner's opera-drama. What is said regarding the origin of the Meistergesang (pp. 7–9), otherwise good, omits the important fact that the latter was a direct development out of the *Minnesang* through such transitional phases as are represented by Frauenlob and Regenbogen;[1] nor is any mention made of the growth of the *holdseligen Kunst* on the Rhine and its subsequent wanderings toward Middle and South Germany, although this statement may also be regarded as axiomatic.[2] The list of twelve old Masters can hardly be dismissed as needing "no comment" (p. 9), even for parallel reading in undergraduate courses; and the statement that "these men" spread the blissful art surely needs to be cleared up. Further, it should be made clear (p. 10) that the *Tabulatur* was in no sense a code of general application. The Strassburg Tabulatur of 1493 is the first of a long list, of which the "Schuelzettel zw Nürnberg" of 1540 is the oldest living survivor, all of them more or less independent in origin and varying widely in content.[3]

The fact is, it is impossible to give a lucid and accurate statement of Wagner's conception of the Meistersinger and their technique without mention of Johann Christoph Wagenseil, whose Buch von der Meistersänger holdseliger Kunst[4] was the Bayreuth master's sole authority on this subject. Wagner's deviations from his source have been noted in part by Mey and others: that no mention of what is traditional and what is Wagnerian finds a place in the present edition is assuredly sacrificing too much to brevity.

The editor's statement that Wagner's twelve Meistersinger lived in the seventeenth century (p.

[1] Gervinus, *Geschichte d. d. Dichtung*, 5. Aufl., II, 156 ff.

[2] Gervinus, II, 451, 454. Scherer, *Geschichte d. d. Litt.*, 8. Aufl., 252. Mey, *Der Meistergesang in Geschichte und Kunst*, Lpzg., 1901, p. 11. Genée, *Hans Sachs und seine Zeit*, Lpzg., 1894, p. 254.

[3] Martin, *Die Meistersänger von Strassburg*, Strassb., 1882, p. 1. Plate, *Kunstausdrücke der Meistersinger*, Strassburger Diss., 1887, p. 2 ff.

[4] Printed as Anhang to the author's *De civitate Noribergensi commentatio*, Altdorfi Noricorum 1697, pp. 433–576, a book which has become quite rare. So far as is known to the reviewer, the only copy accessible in the East is in the Astor Library.

10), is probably an oversight for sixteenth century. Wagner follows Wagenseil here very closely ;[5] and although it has been shown that the latter jumbles together men from different times, it is certain that Wagner means to give a picture from the classic period of the Meistergesang, the period of Hans Sachs.[6]

Wagner follows Wagenseil in locating the *Freiung* (Act I.) in the Katharinenkirche, he follows his own artistic intuition in making the setting of the final scene, which may be described as a *Freisingen*, a meadow on the Pegnitz. The editor's statement (p. 10) that the meetings were held in St. Catharine's church was true for the seventeenth century, not for Hans Sachs' day.[7]

Again, Professor Bigelow follows Wagner rather than Wagner's authority with regard to the *Meisterkrönung*. Walther is crowned for his successful *Preislied*, and is decorated with the "David" as a badge of admission into the guild (pp. 132, 133),[8] a reversal of the actual procedure of the Meistersinger, dictated by artistic considerations.[9]

On the other hand, the editor's analysis of the form of the Mastersong (p. 11) finds warrant neither in Wagner nor in tradition. *Bar* was the name generally given to the whole song, *Gesätz* to the single strophe.[10] Wagenseil is clear on this point,[11] as is Wagner also in the first act:

"Ein 'Bar' hat manch' Gesätz' und Gebänd' ! 28, 24.[12]
"Ein jedes Meistergesanges Bar
stell ordentlich ein Gemässe dar
aus unterschiedlichen Gesätzen." 47, 10–12.

In Act III, however, Bar and Gesätz appear as one and the same :

"Seht, wie der ganze Bar gelang !" 104, 32.
"Jetzt richtet mir noch einen zweiten Bar,
damit man merk' welch' der erste war." 105, 6.

and when Walther has concluded the third stanza (Gesätz) Sachs says, "Lausch' Kind ! das ist ein Meisterlied." 116, 12. Wagner's confusion of *termina* here does not justify the editor's statement that the "complete Mastersong usually consisted of three 'Bars' or staves."[13] That "a 'Bar' was made up of three 'Gesätze' or stanzas happens to be true of Walther's *Preislied*, although far from being a general rule."[14] The statement that "the first Gesatz (read Gesätz) was immediately followed by an 'Abgesang'" indicates a misunderstanding of the traditional nomenclature, the Abgesang being as much a part of the Gesätz as the Stollen.[15]

In the passage regarding the "Merker" (p. 10), it should have been noted that here again Wagner avails himself of the artist's privilege in reducing the number from three or four to one.[16]

It is also a fact worthy of note that the various *Tabulaturs* differ widely as regards the number of faults specified, Wagenseil naming thirty-four.

Enough has been said to show the importance of a clear statement of Wagner's relation to Meistersinger tradition, notably to Wagenseil. It may also be said without incurring the charge of pedantry that an edition like the present is manifestly incomplete without some notice of the origin of the story which Wagner has here forged into such masterly form. In view of the mass of Wagner literature, the sources of his stories have hardly had the attention they deserve. The Bayreuth circle of hyper-enthusiasts is prone to look on any serious hint of borrowing themes on the part of the "Master" in about the same way as ultra-orthodox theologians view the higher criticism of Holy Writ, an attitude which has to some

[5] The names appear in part in Hans Sachs' second *Schulkunst*, Cf. Genée, pp. 74, 102 and 574, where minor variations on Wagner's part are noted.

[6] Goetze, *Archiv f. Litt. V*, 281, raises doubts as to a number of Wagenseil's statements. Cf. Plate, p. 5, for one of the latter sources, Morhof's *Unterricht von d. d. Sprache und Poesie*, 1682.

[7] Mummenhoff — "Die Singschulordnung vom Jahre 1616/35 und die Singstätten der Meistersinger" in *Hans Sachs Forschungen*, Nürnberg, 1894, p. 282, 3—shows that the Meistersinger used a number of meeting-places, the Spital, Lorenzkirche, Allerwiese, Marthenkirche, etc., before they finally, about 1620, found a permanent centre in the Katharinenkirche.

[8] Mey, p. 339. [9] Wagenseil, p. 554. Plate, p. 30.
[10] Plate, p. 34. [11] Mey, p. 38.
[12] All references are to Professor Bigelow's edition.

[13] Wagner's inconsistency in the use of the terminology in Acts I. and III. seems to have escaped the sharp-eyed Mey, who notes only the variations from Wagenseil (p. 340 ff.).

[14] Plate, p. 45.

[15] Plate, p. 46. Wagenseil (Mey, p. 37) and Wagner (47, 10 ff.) after him are somewhat unclear. However, a glance at the bracketing of the "Proben aus der Meistersingerkunst" in Mey, pp. 111 ff., who appears in the Preface as one of the editor's authorities, should make this point clear.

[16] Mey, p. 337 ; cf. Plate, p. 25.

extent warped the results of even so clear a head as Chamberlain and so ripe a scholar as Muncker. Wagner's debt to Deinhardstein and Lortzing has been often referred to; Egon von Komorzynski (*Euphorion*, VIII, 340–350) was the first to trace the development of the principal *motif* in the Meistersinger from F. W. Ziegler's *Liebhaber und Nebenbuhler im einer Person* through Hensler's *Waffenschmied*, E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Meister Martin der Küfner*, and the Hans Sachs operas of Deinhardstein and Lortzing down to Wagner's genial adaptation. Particularly Hoffmann's influence is of importance, as it is probable that Wagner not only borrowed the local color from him, but that it was through the great *Geisterseher* that his attention was first called to the *motif* of the story and to the common source of both for the *Meistergesang*, Wagenseil.[17]

Professor Bigelow's translation of the stage directions into English is a good idea, increasing considerably the usefulness of the work. A comparison with the Schott edition shows that the obscure "Wagnerian" German has been carefully and cleverly rendered. The following are inexactly given: *bang* (22, 12) should read "anxiously," not "timidly" (timidy !), with *drängt fort* (25, 2) Eva is understood as object, *fernere* (26, 10) has a local significance, *unmutige* (48, 23) should read "vexed," *ist gekommen* (70, 2) is incorrectly rendered as "comes," *gewehrend* (78, 11) as "watching." In view of the elliptical and archaic nature of the language, the notes appear insufficient, even for college students. David's recital of the *Weisen* (p. 29) and Beckmesser's list of Walther's errors (p. 53) contain much that calls loudly for explanation not given in introduction or vocabulary. The *Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg* is referred to as (p. 44) an historical occurrence ! The singing by the crowd of the "Wittembergisch Nachtigall" (p. 124), a powerful stroke of Wagner's, calls forth no note of comment.

The vocabulary seems for the most part good and sufficient, although users of the book will find that here also too much has been sacrificed to brevity. *Gebänd* appears as *Geband*, *Färbertunke* as *Farbetunke*, *Blum'* is inexactly glossarized as "ornament," *Differenz* finds no explanation in the technical sense, nor does *Spruchsprecher* (124, 21), with its rich connotation of Old Nuremberg; missing altogether are *Anhang*, (blinde) *Meinung*, *Singstuhl*, *Vor- und Nachklang*..

In conclusion, in the first Wagner opera to appear as an American school-text, space might well have been found for a brief biographical note. It is to be hoped that others will follow Professor Bigelow in making such masterpieces of Romanticism accessible for class use.

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[17] Mey, 305. Hans von Wolzogen, *Bayreuther Bll.* XVI, gives a rather one-sided account of Hoffmann's influence on Wagner. Twice in the *Serapions-Brüder* Hoffmann calls attention to Wagenseil's work. Grisebach's edition, VII. 22; VIII. 200.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

Das Beowulflied. Als Anhang das Finn-Bruchstück und die Waldhere-Bruchstücke. Bearbeiteter Text und deutsche Übersetzung von MORITZ TRAUTMANN. [Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. M. Trautmann. Heft XVI]. Bonn: P. Hanstein's Verlag, 1904.

From Trautmann's previous treatment of the venerable poem of *Beowulf* (*Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, vols. II, VII), we were led to expect something unusual in the way of an edition. And now his complete text has appeared, one feels like saying, with a Beowulfian phrase, *he beot ne aleh!* It is distinctly 'Trautmann's Beowulf.' The text has been modified by an enormous number of original emendations (roughly estimated, between four and five hundred), some of them indeed splendid, but most of them either impossible or though within the limits of possibility, yet entirely unwarranted by the context or unsupported by analogy. A particularly provoking feature of many of the changes is the resultant deterioration of sense, dilution of style, or impoverishment of phrase. Indeed, if this version were a truer representative of the original poem than the texts of the current editions, our estimate of the celebrated epic would have to be considerably lowered.

What principles the editor has followed in cor-

recting the MS., it is not quite easy to see. When he says in the Preface: "Das aber kann ich sagen, dass ich nie ohne zwingenden grund, wenigstens für mich zwingenden grund, geändert habe," the bewildered reader of this recension will be inclined to regard the limitation conscientiously added to the statement as its most important part. Again the editor remarks: "Der Beowulf ist ein klassisches werk, ein gipfel der kunst seiner art; daher sind wir, wo wir auf schiefen ausdruck, unklarheit des gedankens, widersprüche, stilwidrige wendungen, unbelegbare satzfügungen stossen, berechtigt und verpflichtet, fehlerhafte überlieferung zu vermuten und auf besserung zu denken." Yet it should not be forgotten that an ancient poem is not to be measured by modern standards. The style of the old Germanic poetry does not follow modern German rules, and what seems awkward or illogical to us, may be in perfect accordance with the literary ways of our forefathers. Hence all attempts to alter the text which do not proceed from a careful consideration of its inherent characteristics, or in other words, from a fine stylistic feeling with regard to Old English poetry, are liable to turn out failures. Certain it is that in a great many instances an emendation is nothing but a confession of weakness.

It would require dozens of pages to discuss satisfactorily an adequate number of Trautmann's innovations. But this is hardly desirable. About many changes it is not possible to argue at all. In some instances again I might find myself fighting against windmills, for it may easily happen that an emendation proposed in this text will be retracted or exchanged for a new one in a subsequent volume. (Thus we note, *e. g.*, in l. 752 of the edition the reading *on ōþrum men*, 262 *wæs mīn fæder* [*foldan*] *folcum gecȳþed*, 281 *broc eft cuman*, 357 *anhār*, 457 *for gewyrhtum þū, wine mīn Bēowulf*, 850 *dēah-fāge dēop*, 49 (*lēton hold beran*) *gearo on gār-secg*, whereas in *Bonner Beiträge* II the emendations *on ēngan men, wæs mīn fæder* [*monegum*] *folcum gecȳðed, bona eft cuman, unhrōr, fore fyhtum þū frēond mīn Bēowulf, dēaðfæge dēof, geofon on gār-secg* had been pleaded for). But I will take up certain groups of emendations arranged according to the nature of the objections which immediately present themselves.[1]

1. Unrecorded words have been introduced in goodly numbers: *sweorc* 161, *eoset* 224, *dēaðscaþa* 275, 479, *bewēdīan* 331, *grand-grama* 424, *mīst-hlēow* 710, *fen-hlēow* 820, *glīw-hlæden* 868, *wræð-rāden* 1142, *gēo-sceaft-gerȳne* 1234, (*æfter*) *nēd-late* 1320, *ecg-hwæs* 1459, *gèferda* 1691, *forsīgan* 1767, *and-weges* 1935, *dēað-fruma* 2090, *bū-folc* 2220, *hyge-mēððo* 2442, *lāð-fordǣdla* 2467, (*tō*) *gescīo* 'zum zusammenstoss' 2570, *anlengne* (*eorl*) 2695, *ofer-hwīlīan* 2766, *holgum* (*geheaðerod*) 'in den kerker eingeschlossen' 3072, *gifel* 'reiz' 3085. Some of these *may* have existed in Old English, but there is no proof of the fact, and it is bad policy to coin words when the context does not call for a desperate remedy.

2. Violation of syntax is involved in cases like the following: *siþðan hine* (MS. *him*) *scyppend forscrifen hæfde* 106 (cf. Sievers, *Beitr.* XXIX, 311). *eoton weard ābād* 668 (in place of *eotenes*). *bēaga bryttan brēac þone māstan* '[ich] mich erfreute des grössten ringespenders' 1487; certainly in the *Beowulf* no other case than the genitive can be tolerated after *brūcan*. *nē bið þē nǣnige gād | worolde wilna* 'nicht wird dir irgendwie mangel sein an der welt freuden' 949, similarly *nǣige* 1502; (*n*)*ǣnige* cannot take the place of (*n*)*ǣnige þinga*. *hē þæt wyrpe* (MS. *wyrse*) *nē con* 'er weiss nicht den umschwung' 1739; *wyrpe* is never neuter. Also the ungrammatical use of *mā* ('plus, magis') in 69: *medo-ærn micel, mā* ('ein grösseres') *gewyrcean* may be mentioned. (That in Harrison-Sharp's edition *medo-ærn micle mā gewyrcean* had been suggested, seems to have been overlooked by Trautmann).

3. Unauthorized meanings or applications of words, objectionable or doubtful phrases have been forced upon the text in numerous places.

[1] Several emendations, which seem to be original with Trautmann, should be labeled with the names of other scholars by reason of chronological priority. Thus 63: Thorpe (Grein 1, Heyne, Wülker), 762: Ettmüller (Grein 2, Heyne 2–5, Wülker), 424: Kemble (Ettmüller, Krüger), 443: Rieger, 926: Rask (Bugge), 1015: Hornburg, 1304: Sievers (Holthausen), 1454: Cosijn, 1658: Grundtvig (Bugge), 2150: Holthausen, 2421: Grundtvig (Grein, Rieger, Heyne 1, Wülker), 2453: Thorpe (Heyne, Wülker), 2457 (*swefeð*): Grein (Rieger, Wülker), 2581: Sievers (Holthausen), 2685: Thorpe (Grein 1, Heyne 1), 2990: Wyatt (*for*), or: Heyne 4 (*fore*), 3041: Bugge, 3084 (*gecēapod*): Sarrazin, 3145 (*lēc*): Bugge. In the note on l. 60, Kemble (Thorpe, Grein, Heyne) should be substituted for Kluge.

Thus *hæle scearpōdon* 204 'sie schärften den mann' is hardly compatible with the only warranted sense of *scearpian*, 'scarify.' *scyrtan* 'shorten' appears unreasonably extended, as to meaning, in *þæt hit scēaðend-mǣl* (read *scēadend-mǣl*?) *scyrtan* [*nē*] *mōste* 1939 'dass es ein richterspruch (?) mindern nicht konnte.' The signification of *æfst* (a favorite word of Trautmann's) 'malice, envy, zeal,' does not justify the conjecture *þā wæs æfst boden Swēona lēodum* 2957 'darauf ward unheil geboten den leuten der Schweden.' The emendation *þæt hē gēnunga gūð-gewādu,* | *wrāene* (MS. *wraðe*) *forwurpe* 2871 'dass er gänzlich die kamprüstungen, leichtfertig, verschleudert hat' derives no support from the fact that in modern German 'leichtfertig' *may* imply the sense of OE. *wrāene* 'lecherous.' *þā sē ðēoden mec ðiccelīce* (MS. *ðine life*) *healsode hrēoh-mōd* 2131 'da beschwor mich der fürst viele male, der kummermütige' sounds like continental German (see also *Gen. B* 684, 705). *feorh-ēacen mon* 1701 'der wolbetagte mann' rests on no safer foundation than *feorh-ēaceno cynn* ('omnia animantia'), *Gen.* 204. *land-gewyrpu* 209 (MS. *gemyrcu*) in the sense of 'land-[schutz]-dämme' and *searo-nīð(a)* 3067 as adjective 'grimm' are very doubtful, still more so *hord* 'bahre' (??) 1108.

þǣr mæg nihta gehwām nið wundor sēon 'da kann der mensch in jeder nacht ein wunder schauen' 1365 is precluded by the stereotyped plural use of *niþþas.*

swā begȳman (MS. *be gylpan*, Edd. *begylpan ne* or *ne gylpan*) *þearf Grendeles māga* | *ǣfre* (MS. *en . . ?*, Edd. *ǣnig*) *ofer eorðan ūht-hlem þone* 2006 invites criticism because 1, *þurfan* with infinitive appears regularly in negative or interrogative clauses (or in clauses preceded by a negation), and 2, *begȳman* (generally with genitive, by the way), is known in no other sense than 'take care of, attend to.'

fæder ēþel hwearf, | *aldres, on eaforan* 'des vaters erbsitz ging, des fürsten, an den sohn' 55 cannot be admitted, since of the very numerous instances in which *hweorfan* occurs (according to Grein), not a single one exhibits an analogous phraseological use. Phrases that would suit Trautmann's meaning are found in ll. 2207: *syððan Bēowulfe brāde rīce* | *on hand gehwearf,* 1679: *hit on ǣht gehwearf . . . Denigea frēan,* 1684: *on geweald gehwearf woroldcyninga* | *ðǣm sēlestan*, cf. 1210.

Other obnoxious combinations may briefly be pointed out. *frēondum bī fēolan* 'zu den freunden sich zu begeben' 1126, *ferþ-ellen wræc* 'vollbrachte heldenthat (??)' 2706, *þæt ic his eorneste ēst gesægde* 'dass ich ernsthaften dank dafür sagte (??)' 2157, *þē on land Dena lāðra nǣnig* | *mid scip-herge scrīþan* (MS. *sceðþan*) *nē meahte* 242.

4. Style and tone have seriously suffered in the process of 'improving' the poem. In the nature of the case, it is impossible to prove mathematically the lowering of the poetic standard, but I expect little difference of opinion on the subjoined illustrations. Of course, the emended passages are not attacked on the ground that they impress the modern reader as being of a lower (or for that matter, higher) order of poetry, but because they run counter to the literary spirit of the Old English poetry, and in particular of the *Beowulf* itself.

Shallow triviality results from the editorial change in instances like the following. *ofer þǣm hongiað hlinende* (MS. *hrinde*) *bearwas* 1363. *þǣr him wǣte wæter wihte nē sceþede* 'wo ihm das nasse wasser (!) gar nicht schadete' 1514. *wæs mīn fæder* [*foldan*] *folcum gecȳþed* 262. *wæs sē īren-þrēat* | *wǣpnum bewǣdad* 'der waffen entkleidet' 330,—indeed a fall from the fine picture of the original *wǣpnum gewurðad.* In the same category belongs the suggestion (fortunately relegated to the foot-notes) to substitute *fersum reccan* for *feorran reccan* in ll. 91 and 2106.

It is a pity to see some of the most characteristic tropes sacrificed. The magnificent phrase *mid gryrum ecga* 483 has been sobered down to *mid gripum ecga* 'mit streichen der schwerter.' *dēaþscūa* 160 has given way to *dēaþ-scaþa.* The well-known *hildegicelum* 1607 has disappeared (Trautmann: *hilde-gīfrum*), and the bold *hioro-dryncum* (*swealt*) 2358 is looked for in vain (Trautmann: *hioro-dyntum*).

Concrete, graphic traits have been destroyed also in ll. 1041: *nǣfre on ōre læg* (*wīdcūþes wīg*) (Tr.: *nǣfre ellen ālæg*), 2695: (*ðā ic æt þearfe* [*gefrægn*] *þēod-cyninges*) *andlongne eorl ellen cȳðan* (Tr.: *anlengne eorl* 'der anverwandte Held'), 1637: *fēower* (Tr.: *fēþan*) *scoldon . . .*

weorcum geferian . . . Grendles hēafod, 801 : *sāwle sēcan* (Tr. : *-sāwle sēocan*).

Intolerably abstract and suspiciously modern are the ideas introduced by the following emendations. *sōðe gebunden* 871 (which by changing the preceding words is made the beginning of a sentence) 'durch die wirklichkeit gebunden begann der mann darauf die fahrt Beowulfs klug anzustimmen.' *þonne cwið æt bēore, sē ðē bālc* (MS. *beah*) *gesyhð* 2041 'der den hochmut sieht.' *sōna hē þrydode, | þæt him fram ðām gyste gryrebrōga stōd* 2226 'bald überlegte er (!) dass ihm von dem gaste grauser schrecken drohte.' Instances of similar interpretational leanings are the translation of *bearhtm ongēaton, | gūðhorn galan* 1431 'sie hatten das kampfhorn gehört die töne geben,' and the mention of *flet-ræste geþeah* 1241 as a possibility in place of *flet-ræste gebēag*.

An ill-chosen epithet for the Danish king (in spite of his advanced age) is *gūð-rōw* 608 'der kampfstille'; he is properly named *guðrof* in the MS., just as *sigerōf kyning* 619.

Cases of unconscious humor may be found in ll. 600 and 1892.

(*hwīlum cyninges þegn . . . .*) *word-hlēoþer fand* 870 is a bald, heavy close of a sentence which requires relief by variation.

The substitution of grammatical subordination for coordination (*e. g.*, 852, 925, 1274) is a move in the wrong direction. The same is true of the introduction of relative clauses, which clearly serves to weaken the style, *e. g.* 201 (MS. *þa*, cf. 1835 !), 2038 (MS. *þenden hie*), 1113 (MS. *sume*). Of a still more serious nature is the free and easy interchanging of conjunctions, as 574 *hwæþere* > *þēah þē*, 587 *þēah* > *ah*, 733 *þā* > *þēh*, 1576 *ac* > *swā*, 1585 *tō ðæs þe* > *þā*, 1598 *þā* > *ac*, 2181 *ac* > *þēah*, 2577 *þæt* > *ac*, 2727 *ðā* > *ðæt*, 3038 *ār* > *ēac*.

5. In most of the cases cited, it should be understood, there is no good reason for altering the transmitted text. To show still further the groundlessness of the majority of emendations, I beg to point out some miscellaneous passages which are entirely satisfactory in the original, but have been made to feel the weight of Trautmann's subjective criticism. The genuineness of *dādhata* 275, *hatian . . . lāðum dādum* 2466, *lufode ðā lēode* 1982 admits of no doubt (cf. *H. Archiv* CIX, 305 f.), yet in this edition we find *dēað-scaþa, hatian . . . lāð-fordādlan, laþode* instead. *dādfruma* 2090 is irreproachable (Bugge, *Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik*, VIII, 67 f.), yet it has been 'corrected' to *dēað-fruma*. *him ðæs gūð-kyning . . . wræce leornode* 2335 is far more to the point than . . . . *lēanōde* (cf. Sweet, *Ags. Dict.*, and note on *Cur. P.* 435. 22). *līg-ȳðum forborn | bord wið rond* 2672 (which may, however, have to be changed to *ronde*, as has been done by Kemble, Ettmüller, Heyne, and others) does not look at all improbable by the side of *wið heofenas* (= usque ad cœlos), *wið wolcnum* (= usque ad nubes), (*Par.*) *Ps.* LVI, 12, and similar passages that may be found in Grein and Bosw.-Toller ; yet Trautmann writes : *bord, mid bronde*.

That the personal pronoun as subject may be omitted in certain cases has been fully shown by Pogatscher (*Anglia* XXIII, 261–301); nevertheless pronominal forms have been inserted again in ll. 68, 470, 567, 2519, likewise in l. 1365 a more than superfluous *nið* has been printed (cf. *Anglia* XXVII, 428).

The phrases *sume worde hēt* 2156, *fēa worda cwæð* 2246, *fēa worda cwæð* 2662 are above suspicion, but in the first place Tr. writes *sylf*, in the second *frēa* (*word ācwæð*), though he leaves the third undisturbed. Why? *þonne hniton* (*hnitan*) *fēþan*, which occurs in ll. 1327 and 2544, is in the former instance, emended to *here-fēþan*. Why?

brēac þonne mᵒste 1487 is a faultless epic phrase (see Rieger, *Germ.* IX, 310; Sievers, note on *Heliand* 224), why must it be broken up? *hwanan ēowre cyme syndon* 257 appears in Trautmann's version as *hwanan ēow cyme syndon*. Would the editor change also *Jul.* 259 *hwonan his cyme wēre, Guðl.* 1196 *hwonan his cyme sindon?*

A feature of 'variation' by no means uncommon, namely, the coupling of apparently incongruous terms, has been smoothed away by tampering with ll. 1462 f., 3066 f., 1687 f.

Merewīoingas (*milts*) 2921 has been emended, after the example of other editors and commentators, to *Merewīoinga*, but it is evident that to show *miltse* is the business of the king, not the people.

That a number of changes have been made for metrical reasons, may be taken as a matter of course. But it is again Trautmann's individual views on the subject of Old English versification that have dictated the metrical emendations.

To be fair, it is to be acknowledged that throughout the work the editor displays a great deal of ingenuity as well as honest scholarly perseverance. He never shirks a difficulty. He is actuated by a sincere spirit of research and leaves no stone unturned to satisfy his scientific conscience. Many of his suggestions are remarkably acute, and some of the emendations are without question plausible. Among these I count 420 : *þēr ic fīfla gebann | ȳðde, eotena cyn*, 1515 : *for hrōf-þele* (MS. *hrof sele*), 1733 : *þæt hē his sēlþa* (MS. *selfa*) *nē mæg | for his un-snyttrum ende geþencean*, 2395 : *hē gewræc syððan | cwealm* (MS. *cealdū*) *cear-sīðum*, 2697 : *ac sīo hand gebēah* (MS. *gebarn*). But specimens of this kind are bought at a very heavy price.

The text is accompanied by a literal line-for-line translation, which is very useful, since it removes all possible doubt about the editor's interpretation of debatable passages. The work has been executed with evident care. Still, I am bound to dissent from his rendering oftener than I anticipated. Thus, to mention instances from the first half of the poem, in ll. 83, 87, 280, 387, 423, 462, 488, 514, 600, 603, 632, 933, 1022 f., 1089 f., 1206, 1431 f., 1436. The mistranslation of *þē ūs sēceað tō Swēona lēoda* 3001 '(der tödliche hass . . .) der uns heimsuchen wird, der Schwedenleute' could certainly have been avoided. Remarkable cases of mistaken renderings resulting from wrong punctuation occur in ll. 901, 1556, 1859 ff.; the first of these seems in fact ineradicable. A further discussion of individual passages cannot, however, be undertaken in this place.

Trautmann's text of the *Fight at Finnesburh* is reproduced almost verbatim from his *Finn und Hildebrand;* the edition of *Waldhere* shows some minor changes from his former recension as printed in *Bonner Beiträge*, vol. v and corrected in vol. xi.

Summing up, I would say that Trautmann's work is interesting and suggestive in a high degree and may serve to set scholars thinking on some of the numerous problems of the text, but that it suffers from a disregard of sound principles of criticism. If the editor had applied his energy, erudition, and acumen in a spirit of enlightened conservatism, we might now have a model, up-to-date text of the great epic poem. As it is, only a small fraction of what is new in this volume can be accepted as a fruitful, positive contribution to the study of *Beowulf*.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

JUAN DE MENA. *El Laberinto de Fortuna.* Colophon : Fue ynpressa la presente obra en la muy noble e muy leal çibdad de Macon, por yndustria de los onrrados varones Protat ermanos, maestres en libros de molde. Acabose a xviii. dias del mes de agosto año de Mdcccciiii años, seyendo corrector de la ynpression R. Foulché-Delbosc.

The present edition of the *Trezientas* of Juan de Mena is printed with a magnificence of which its author certainly never dreamed. M. Foulché-Delbosc has long been occupied with this poem, as all readers of the *Revue Hispanique* know. His thorough and searching study, entitled : "Étude sur el Laberinto de Juan de Mena"[1] appeared in that journal two years ago (1902). The first part of this study is concerned with the true title of the poem, with an appendix (A) containing twenty-seven octaves wrongly incorporated in the *Trezientas*, and an appendix (C) embracing a copious bibliography of Juan de Mena. M. Foulché-Delbosc shows that the true title is *El Laberinto de Fortuna*, and that it consists of only 297 stanzas. The three octaves which were afterwards added to justify the title of *Las Trezientas*, are wanting in most of the manuscripts, and were printed some years before in the first edition of the *Laberinto*, in the *Cancionero of Ramon de Llabia*, together with twenty-four other octaves, which are contained in some editions of

[1] A Spanish translation, by D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, with the title *Juan de Mena y el "Arte Mayor,"* has since appeared at Madrid, 1903.

Juan de Mena as "añadidas a las trezientas, segun dizen, por mandado del rey don Juan." These are wrongly ascribed to Juan de Mena.

The second part of M. Foulché-Delbosc's study is an examination of the metre of Juan de Mena's poem and is a work of capital importance for the history of Spanish versification. It contains, in the words of the Spanish translator many interesting and important observations on the intricate problem of the *arte mayor*, "*el más rotundo, sonoro, grandilocuente y heróico de los metros en la poesia castellana.*"

M. Foulché-Delbosc examines in great detail the article by Morel-Fatio : *L'arte mayor et l'hendécasyllabe dans la poésie castillane du XV^e^ siècle et du commencement du XVI^e^ siècle*, which appeared in *Romania*, for 1894. He discusses its various points and calls attention to those in which he differs with M. Morel-Fatio.

The result of M. Foulché-Delbosc's investigations is the present critical edition of the *Laberinto*, of which the text only is now published, the variant readings and introductory matter being reserved for another volume.

A comparison of this text with that of Martin Nucio, Antwerp, 1552, shows many and important changes, as one may see from the following verses selected at random. The reading of the critical text is given first :

IV. 1. Como non creo que fuessen menores.
Como que creo que fuessen menores.

A negative is here clearly required. The gloss of Fernan Nuñez upon the verse is : "Ha se de leer el principio desta copla con interrogacion y yronica : ca assi quiere dezir Juan de Mena que no cree el ser menos loables los hechos de los varones Españoles que de los Romanos y otras generaciones."

VI. 8. cobdiçiando *for* cobijando.
VIII. 5. E las siete Pleyas que Atlas otea.
Y las siete Pleyadas enellas otea.
XI. 4. Europa por pocas con Libia que junta.
Do quasi Europa con Lybia se junta.
XVII. 2. Maguer que se mire de drecho en drecho, *for* derecho en dercho.
8. Mi vista culpando por non abastante, *for* por no ser bastante.
XX. 5. E resta en el medio cubierta de flores *for* Y está en el m.
L. 2. E la çirenayca region de paganos, *for* Y la Sarracenica, r. d. p.
6. Getulia, Bisante, con mas de otra tanta, *for* Getulia prouincia con, etc.
LI. 1. El mar assi mesmo se nos representa, *for* El mar esto mesmo, etc.

While in a few cases it is hard to see why (in the absence of variants) the editor has chosen a particular reading, such an examination as we have been able to make shows that this text is a vast improvement upon the older printed ones. It is a very scholarly and painstaking performance, such as the known competency of M. Foulché-Delbosc and his intimate acquaintance with the poem would lead us to expect from him. Indeed it is not at all likely that we will have ever a better edition of the *Laberinto* than this one.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

Paul Gautier : *Madame de Staël et Napoléon.* Paris : Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1903. Pp. v, 422.

Madame de Staël : *Dix Années d'Exil.* Édition nouvelle d'après les manuscrits, avec une introduction, des notes et un appendice, par Paul Gautier, Docteur ès Lettres. Paris : Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1904. Pp. xxvii, 421.

In *Madame de Staël et Napoléon*, M. Gautier has not only given us a great deal of additional information in regard to the famous duel between these two champions, but he has also made the whole epoch appear in a new light. The author has had access to the archives at Coppet and at the château de Broglie ; he has also made researches in the *Archives Nationales* and the *Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères.* Of this abundant new material and of the vast literature on the subject, M. Gautier has made excellent use ; and as he, in addition to being an accurate scholar, is the master of an admirable literary style, his book is not only a historical work, *très documenté*, but also a fascinating story.

We have interesting *Portraits* of men like

Necker, Fouché and Bernadotte, to mention only a few, and above all stand out in bold relief the two opponents: on the one hand the animated, energetic and passionate, but noble and idealistic figure of Mme de Staël, whose lack of tact and of moderation and whose sufferings and incurable ennui only make her the more pathetic; on the other hand, the cold, calculating and inflexible Napoleon, surrounded by his spies and agents whom he dares not trust out of his sight, and watching anxiously his empire, so brilliant in appearance, but in reality unstable and continually in need of new victories in order to preserve its integrity.

In the posthumous and unfinished *Dix Années d'Exil*, Mme de Staël has told the story of her conflict with Napoleon. The work is itself a blow aimed at Napoleon and the abuse of arbitrary power. She describes in detail the horrors of the exile which she was made to endure, the unjust destruction of her work, *De l'Allemagne*, and finally her flight from Geneva. Not the least interesting part of the narrative is her appreciation of the Russian nation.

Of this well-known book, M. Gautier has given us an excellent edition, based on the original manuscripts. He has thus been able to include a great many passages which the first editor, M. Auguste de Staël, thought it prudent to omit in 1821. M. Gautier also gives the full names of persons who in that edition were designated indirectly, or by an asterisk, or by fictitious names. He has also furnished the book with many valuable notes and a very interesting appendix, containing many hitherto unpublished letters by Mme de Staël.

The edition is distinguished by the same careful, painstaking study of the sources and of contemporary events which characterizes his *Mme de Staël et Napoléon*.

When the first news of the splendid victories of an obscure Corsican general, who was at the head of the French armies in Italy, reached Paris, no one was more enthusiastic over his success than the brilliant daughter of Necker. While Bonaparte was still in Italy the impulsive and romantic Mme de Staël had written glowing letters to the new hero, and she desired nothing more than to meet the object of her admiration in whom she hoped to find a champion of liberty and a partisan of her own political views.

Mme de Staël was at this time a person of some importance both in politics and in society. She was known as the author of several books and her *salon* was the rendez-vous of a group of brilliant men.

Mme de Staël had been invited by Talleyrand who was then Minister of Foreign Affairs to be present at his reception of Bonaparte which was to take place at eleven o'clock in the morning. Mme de Staël arrived at ten. This first meeting with Bonaparte was disappointing, he paid but little attention to her and she was, strange to say, oppressed and ill at ease. Nevertheless, she continued to admire him as much as ever and sought every possible opportunity of meeting him. Bonaparte, on the other hand, was extremely cautious. He refused an invitation to a ball which she gave and, in general, avoided her as much as possible. He disliked her intrigues and political schemes and feared that she would attempt to make him another Benjamin Constant. He thought that the impulsive and imprudent Mme de Staël might compromise him politically and it was of vital importance to him to have the good will of the Directory. When Mme de Staël left Paris in 1798, she had not succeeded in winning the sympathy of Bonaparte, much less had she gained any ascendancy over him.

In the last part of 1798 or the beginning of 1799, while Bonaparte was in Egypt, Mme de Staël, who at this time favored a republican form of government, began to formulate her political opinions in a work which she entitled *Des circonstances actuelles qui peuvent terminer la Révolution, et des Principes qui doivent fonder la République en France*. Of this unpublished little work, M. Gautier has given a very interesting account in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, for November 1, 1899. Political events, especially the coup d'État de Brumaire prevented her from publishing it. In *Des circonstances, etc.*, Mme de Staël still refers to Bonaparte as "the intrepid warrior, the most *réfléchi penseur*, the most extraordinary genius which history has yet produced," and she looks to him to carry out the policy which she is outlining. She wants a constitutional government, strong enough to put an end to the revolutionary

state of affairs, she would educate the masses and arouse an *esprit public;* she pleads for tolerance, pity and justice, and thinks that the Protestant religion ought to be introduced as the state religion.

While Mme de Staël was thus planning a change of government in accordance with her own political ideas, she did not realize that a new and greater power had arisen, which was to sweep everything before it and upset the ambitious schemes both of royalists and republicans. Even after the 18th Brumaire she and her friends still believed that the triumph of Bonaparte would mean the triumph of liberty. No one suspected that it might be difficult to get rid of Bonaparte if he should grow too ambitious. As late as 1802, LaFayette, writing to Bonaparte in order to explain his vote on the consulate for life, said: "The 18th brumaire has saved France."

A special reason for the satisfaction of Mme de Staël was the success of her friend Benjamin Constant, whom Bonaparte had, somewhat reluctantly, made a member of the Tribunat. She still hoped that she would herself be able to dominate Bonaparte as she dominated Constant. Her salon was to be the real seat of the government.

In truth it was the worst time possible for the realization of her ambitious plans.

It soon became apparent that her ideas were not those of Bonaparte. He was becoming uneasy on account of the criticisms and intrigues of Mme de Staël. At the same time he realized the importance of winning such a power over to his side and he attempted at first a reconciliation. What do you wish? he asks of her, through the intermediary of his gentle brother, Joseph. "It is not a question of what I wish, but of what I think," answered Mme de Staël, proudly.

While still asking all kinds of favors of Bonaparte and while still hoping that he will realize all her plans, she is before long working decidedly in the opposition. She becomes the leading spirit in a little conspiracy to denounce tyranny. On the third of January, 1800, the first attack on Bonaparte was made by one of the Tribunes. The next evening amid a numerous assembly in the salon of Mme de Staël, Benjamin Constant whispers to her: "Your salon is now filled with people whom you like; if I speak it will be deserted; think about it!" Mme de Staël, not suspecting that Bonaparte would dare to persecute her, answered resolutely: "*Il faut suivre sa conviction.*" Constant accordingly made his speech which bristled with allusions to Bonaparte and which was full of defiance against his policy. A few days later Mme de Staël, who gave a dinner in honor of Constant, received in the course of a few hours ten letters of regrets! Her friends were frightened at the audacity of the speech and the fury of Bonaparte. Divining that it was Mme de Staël who had inspired the address of Constant, Bonaparte directed his revenge especially against her. At his instigation both the Jacobin and the royalist press is filled with bitter and scurrilous attacks which spared her neither as a politician nor as a woman.

The poor Mme de Staël is thunderstruck, she was still sincerely and enthusiastically in favor of Bonaparte, but she had been led, through her desire for glory and renown as well as by her love of liberty, to act rashly. Now she suddenly finds herself alone, deserted by her best friends, attacked by the press and threatened with exile. By order of Bonaparte, his minister of police, Fouché, invited Mme de Staël to retire for some days to her property at St. Ouen, near Paris. This she did, but after her return to the capital she makes matters worse by renewing her attempts to meet Bonaparte who studiously avoids seeing her, at the same time that he continues his persecution. He was attempting to reform the very loose morals of the time and one of his grounds for complaint against Mme de Staël was the freedom she allowed herself socially and especially her *liaison* with Benjamin Constant.

Mme de Staël and her friends, on the other hand, desired nothing more than to become reconciled with Bonaparte, but it was now too late; he replied to all their advances with coldness and even with insults. Henceforth, Mme de Staël became his bitter enemy, although at this time she would, as Joseph Bonaparte said, have adored the First Consul if he had shown even a little kindness.

Far from considering Mme de Staël a mean adversary, Bonaparte found it necessary to keep well informed about the moves and the plans of Mme de Staël. His own position, indeed, was often precarious even when it seemed most secure and brilliant.

In April, 1800, Mme de Staël published a book called *De la littérature considerée dans ses rapports*

avec les institutions sociales. This book whose central doctrine is the theory of "perfectibility," the indefinite progress of the human mind, is a defense of the ideas of the philosophers of the eighteenth century and of the Revolution. The discussion which the book aroused, far from being purely literary, as Chateaubriand thought, was especially a political one : in reality the work was a challenge and an ultimatum to Bonaparte in the name of the Revolution.

Bonaparte understood the meaning of *De la littérature*, but found it most prudent to conceal his anger. It was on the eve of the battle of Marengo and a triumphant return to France would make an attack on Mme de Staël unnecessary. Then again she had, as usual, not understood how to choose the opportune moment : her book, while it pleased the philosophical coterie, had found the general public opinion hostile.

The brilliant victory of Marengo, followed by the treaty of peace of Lunéville, assured the triumph of the First Consul. Nothing was at this time more welcome to the French than to have a strong master and to enjoy peace.

Even at this time Bonaparte might have won the support of Mme de Staël who was still dazzled by his brilliant genius and who could not bear to be left alone. She is reported to have said : "*Je veux le forcer à s'occuper de moi.*"

In January, 1802, Bonaparte caused the "elimination" of twenty members of the Tribunat, among whom was Benjamin Constant, the mouthpiece of Mme de Staël. To the flood of epigrams with which she greeted this action, Bonaparte replied by formally warning her to remain quiet and not to stand in his way. At the same time he fears her influence and her intrigues and he admits to his brothers : *Je ne lui ferai jamais de mal inutilement.*

A circumstance which especially irritated Mme de Staël was the Concordat and the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in France. She now tried to form a veritable conspiracy against the First Consul and dreams of a new 18th *brumaire*, in which Bernadotte was to play the rôle of Bonaparte. But the spies of Bonaparte were everywhere and he was well informed about the complot which he disposed of as quickly as possible in order to avoid unnecessary excitement. Having sent word to Bernadotte that he would have him shot on the *Place du Carrousel* if he continued his opposition, he judged that this prudent and hesitating general would henceforth not be dangerous ; he caused the arrest of some of the other members of the plot and then bides his time in order to vent his wrath on Mme de Staël. Meanwhile, pressing onward toward despotism, Bonaparte is proclaimed consul for life and his constitutional power is enlarged.

Mme de Staël is as energetic as ever in her opposition. She inspired her friend Camille Jordan to write the anonymous pamphlet : *Vrai sens du vote national sur le Consulat à vie.* Shortly afterwards appeared a kind of political testament by Necker which Mme de Staël had induced him to write in 1801, but whose publication had been postponed to a more favorable time. She thought that the French shared her adoration for her father and imagined that they would listen to the swan-song of an ex-minister of Louis XVI. In this work, *Dernières vues de politique et de finance*, Necker naïvely indicates to the despotic First Consul what he considered the best form of government in France, viz., a republic !

Everybody understood that this book was inspired by Mme de Staël ; Bonaparte did not take the trouble to hold Necker responsible, but dealt once more his daughter a crushing blow : "Never," he exclaimed, "shall Necker's daughter re-enter Paris."

During the winter of 1802–1803, which she thus was forced to spend in Switzerland, Mme de Staël tries to console herself by literary pursuits. She had for sometime been at work on a novel, *Delphine*, which was published in December, 1802, and which had an immediate and great success.

Mme de Staël had fondly hoped that *Delphine*, a "purely literary" and, as it proved very popular novel, would be the means of inducing Bonaparte to allow her to return to Paris. On the contrary *Delphine* only increased his anger. He considered the book which contained a plea in favor of divorce immoral and antisocial, *i. e.*, as opposing the social reform which he was endeavoring to bring about.

Mme de Staël was an individualist, a disciple of Rousseau, holding that the rights of the individual were superior to those of society, while Bonaparte

strongly contended for the supremacy of society and the social conventions.

Moreover, *Delphine* attacked the Catholic religion which Bonaparte had just introduced as the state-religion of France. Again, in *Delphine* the author took occasion to praise the English as a free, moral and religious nation, whose institutions she wished to see imitated by France. Now, the English nation was Bonaparte's pet aversion. Finally, *Delphine* is an eloquent plea for personal and political liberty. And after all this the author actually hoped that her novel would find favor with the First Consul!

Not only had *Delphine* increased the anger of Bonaparte; it had also hurt the feelings of Josephinc; it was obnoxious to the Catholics and to the partisans of absolutism and it had excited the jealousy of the literary women. It was thus emphatically a time for the author to withdraw from publicity and to live in retirement. This she did not realize, but on the contrary redoubled her efforts to obtain permission to return to Paris—but without success.

Finally, in September, 1803, she risks going to Mafliers, ten leagues from Paris, and writes to Bonaparte asking to be allowed to return there. The First Consul, at that time very busy with the preparations for the "descent" upon England, seems to have granted her request, and Mme de Staël might have remained there quietly if it had not been for the jealousy of some women authors, especially Mme de Genlis, who circulated all kinds of reports about her and especially hinted to Bonaparte that the house of Mme de Staël was the rendez-vous for his political opponents. The suspicions and fears of Bonaparte were awakened and he ordered Mme de Staël to leave France in twenty-four hours. In spite of the efforts of Joseph Bonaparte and others to have the order revoked, the First Consul remained inflexible and Mme de Staël was finally obliged to leave her cherished France. This time she went to Germany where she continued her fight for liberty against despotism and where she gathered material for her great book *De l'Allemagne*, that warm defense of a vanquished people and eloquent protestation of right against might.

Henceforth, Mme de Staël became more than ever the champion of liberty, of enthusiasm and of patriotism. Far from being vanquished by this exile, it was the means of giving her added strength and influence.

The splendid reception accorded her everywhere in Germany was a recompense for the disdain of Bonaparte. She made use of all her eloquence in order to excite the patriotism of Germany and to make the tyranny of Bonaparte hated. In A. W. v. Schlegel, whom she made the tutor of her children, Mme de Staël had found a valuable recruit. Schlegel was opposed to Bonaparte as well as to French literature and French influence generally and helped Mme de Staël to a better understanding of the literature and the philosophy of Germany.

From this time on Mme de Staël is a European celebrity whom Bonaparte cannot attack without awakening for her the sympathy of Europe. She had sown hatred and mistrust for her enemy and the fruits will not be wanting.

Mme de Staël's travels in Germany came to an abrupt end by the death of Necker. This was a terrible blow to her who had all her life idolized her father and it was also a great loss to her in her struggles against Bonaparte, as Necker had been her constant and prudent adviser. It had, however, also the effect of awakening the more serious side of her nature and of turning her thoughts toward religion.

Still continuing her efforts to be allowed to return to Paris, Mme de Staël delayed her proposed journey to Italy as long as there remained a glimmer of hope. Napoleon, however, who had just been proclaimed Emperor, found it quite enough to have the many letters of Mme de Staël circulating at this time when the opposition against him was very strong, without having the writer herself with her ready tongue aiding the spirit of discontent. It was shortly after the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, that flagrant violation of justice which excited the indignation of all Europe. The process of General Moreau had also been very unpopular so that the public opinion was for the moment almost entirely against Napoleon.

All that Mme de Staël could obtain was the protection of the agents of France during her travels in Italy. Nor was Napoleon willing to order the payment of the vast sum of money which Necker had loaned to the French government and

which his daughter was now urgently demanding. He first wanted to have some definite assurance of her future favorable attitude toward his policy. After Mme de Staël's return from Italy, Napoleon, who was then on the eve of his great campaign of 1805, gave orders to the *préfet* of Geneva not to grant her passports for France. He was afraid of the possible consequences of Mme de Staël's presence in Paris; *tous les éléments de discord*, he writes to Fouché, *il faut les éloigner de Paris.* She is, accordingly, obliged to spend the winter at Coppet, where, surrounded by many friends, she passes the time with private theatricals and with the composition of her new novel, *Corinne.*

But her ennui and her longing for France are too strong. She has permission to come to within forty leagues of Paris, and she has never given up the hope of being granted entire freedom. After more than half a year's endless solicitations, Fouché finally gives her leave to approach within twelve leagues of Paris, but Napoleon, who from distant Poland kept his eye on everything that was going on in his capital, ordered Fouché to enforce the forty league limit. In his letters referring to Mme de Staël, he calls her a *méchante intrigante* and *cette coquine de Mme de Staël.* It is curious to note that Napoleon, five hundred leagues from Paris and in the midst of an arduous and difficult campaign, deems it necessary to write ten letters concerning Mme de Staël in the course of six months. Napoleon's brilliant position was, in fact, never secure and his fear of Mme de Staël is largely explained by the instability of his empire. He feared those who formed the public opinion, he detested the ideologues who were only waiting to hear of a battle lost by Napoleon in order to instigate a new revolution. Therefore, he orders Fouché to "chase all the intriguers out of Paris."

Mme de Staël had hoped that her new book, *Corinne*, published in 1807, would better her position: it was only a novel and it showed that she did not occupy herself with politics. Napoleon, however, found a good deal to object to in *Corinne.* In the first place it was decidedly anti-French and pro-English. Then the author contends that enthusiasm, love of liberty, and nobility of character are necessary to the life of a nation; that a people is formed by its government and that the morale of a nation is profoundly affected by its institutions,—in short that the citizen must have a share in the great political affairs in order to be saved from decadence. All this was exceedingly objectionable to the despotic Napoleon. Then Mme de Staël had courageously refused to put a single line in her book in order to flatter her enemy, although she had been urged to do so by the minister of police who promised her that such an *éloge* would mean the granting of all her wishes. For these reasons, *Corinne*, which added immensely to Mme de Staël's reputation only made Napoleon more hostile and closed more effectually than ever the gates of the capital.

Tired of her "exile" at Coppet, Mme de Staël resolved to visit Germany again and in the beginning of 1808 she arrived in Vienna. Napoleon is informed of every move; he knows that public opinion in Vienna is decidedly anti-French, and he takes it for granted that Corinne, who is fêted not only as a celebrated author, but also as the enemy and the victim of his tyranny, will do her best to increase the hostility against him.

He no longer considers her *comme une folle*, but as one who is dangerous to public tranquillity. He is very much displeased with her vast correspondence, especially with her letters to Gentz, the agent of the English police and one of his most determined enemies. He orders his agents to watch her still more closely and forbids the ambassadors of France to receive her.

Mme de Staël returned to Coppet in July, 1808. She was now the living protestation against tyranny and was becoming a more important figure than before. However, she begins to feel the tightening of the lines, she cannot travel freely without the aid of the French ambassador, and she is, according to a new order, not allowed within fifty leagues of Paris. In 1808 and 1809 Napoleon had met with serious reverses in Spain and Austria, and Paris was greatly excited. He is afraid of having anyone stir up the smouldering fire.

Even the friends of Corinne are now suspected and it becomes dangerous for them to visit Coppet. She begins to suffer terribly from lonesomeness and ennui, the plague of her life. In despair she thinks of emigrating to America. However, she must first have her new work on Germany published, and she has made up her mind that it must appear in Paris.

Having obtained permission to live at a distance of forty leagues from Paris she leaves Coppet in 1810 with the manuscript of *De l'Allemagne*.

Instead of living prudently in seclusion, she is, as the police expressed it, "surrounded by a court" and she plays the rôle of a queen.

The two first volumes of *De l'Allemagne* had been approved by the censors and the proof sheets of the third were corrected, when the author is suddenly ordered to give up the manuscript and the proof sheets of her new book and to leave within forty-eight hours. The real manuscript is happily rescued by her son Auguste, and Mme de Staël succeeds in satisfying the police with a poor copy. After many desperate, but fruitless efforts to obtain an audience of the Emperor and permission to remain in France, Mme de Staël slowly and sadly sets out for what is now almost her prison, Coppet.

After her departure the whole edition of *De l'Allemagne* was, at the instigation of the Emperor, destroyed by the police. Those who had received copies of the work were ordered to give them up. One copy was traced to Mme de Staël, but upon her assertion that it was not in Switzerland and that she neither could nor would give it up, the police had to be satisfied with the promise that she would not publish the work on the Continent.

Why did Napoleon, when the regular censors had approved the book, find it advisable to suppress it, especially as he himself had first ordered only the omission of certain passages. This question may be answered in the words of Goethe who wrote in 1814: "The French police, intelligent enough to understand that a work like this must increase the self-confidence of the Germans, prudently caused its destruction . . . At the present moment the book produces an astonishing effect. *If it had existed earlier, people would have attributed to it an influence on the great events which have just taken place.*"

In fact, the work of Mme de Staël, her own words in the preface of 1813 to the contrary, notwithstanding, is from beginning to end an appeal to the Germans to unite and to cast off the foreign yoke. Heinrich Heine said that hatred of the Emperor was the soul of the book, but Napoleon found a special grievance in its anti-French tendencies. Corinne was too much of a cosmopolitan and sympathized too strongly with Germany and England. Napoleon would have literature as well as the army contribute to the glory of France, just as a Corneille had done in the days of Louis XIV, and he found the independent individualism of a Mme de Staël and a Chateaubriand obnoxious.

From the autumn of 1810, Mme de Staël is a veritable prisoner at Coppet; not only is it impossible for her to travel, even in the neighboring districts of France, but her friends could not visit her without running the risk of being exiled themselves.

M. de Barante, the *prêfet* of Geneva, was dismissed from his office on account, as was generally supposed, of his friendship for Corinne. The new *prêfet*, officious in his zeal, made her life miserable by his petty persecutions. Her friend and collaborator, Schlegel, whom Napoleon detested on account of his anti-French opinions, was ordered to leave Coppet. Mme Récamier and Mathieu de Montmorenci, her dearest friends, who dared to come to see her at Coppet are forbidden to enter Paris. This was a most cruel blow to Mme de Staël who loved above all the society of her friends.

One of her trusted servants at Coppet, was, as the family learned years afterwards, a detective who reported every little thing to the French government. All the letters which she wrote as well as those she received were read by the police.

In the autumn of 1811, she tried to obtain a passport in order to embark for America; this was refused her, nor was she allowed to go to Rome which was her desire in case the passport for America was not granted.

The situation had become intolerable and she finally resolved to execute her long meditated plan of flight. In May, 1812, she went out for what seemed to be an afternoon drive, but which was in reality the beginning of a bold flight. She has given a graphic account of this thrilling and dangerous journey in her *Dix Années d'Exil*. She reached Vienna safely, but was prevented from taking the direct route to St. Petersburg, because of the French armies which had already penetrated into Russia. She was thus obliged to go by way of Moscow, where she was very hospitably received. In St. Petersburg where the most influ-

ential opponents of Napoleon were assembled she was given a triumphant welcome.

In St. Petersburg Mme de Staël had a couple of interviews with Emperor Alexander, who won her admiration by his liberal opinions and his firmness in his opposition to Napoleon. She was immensely flattered by his attentions and with the prospect of playing an important political rôle herself, and she left St. Petersburg for Stockholm with the intention of inducing the vacillating Bernadotte to begin active operations together with Russia against Napoleon. In Sweden her house became, in the words of the Prussian envoy, the *répaire* of all the enemies of France and of Napoleon in Sweden. She attempted also to make Austria and Prussia join the coalition and tried as usual in every way to awaken hatred of Napoleon, "the scourge of the world."

Mme de Staël was undoubtedly the chief author of the brochure, *Sur le système continental et sur ses rapports avec la Suède*, an "appeal to the public opinion of Europe," and an extremely violent attack on Napoleon, which appeared in the beginning of 1813 and which created a great sensation. Her *Essai sur le suicide*, April, 1813, apparently an ordinary, philosophical treatise, is filled with allusions to Napoleon and appeals to Europe to cast off the yoke of the tyrant. She is now a power to be reckoned with.

In Sweden, Corinne is beyond the reach of Napoleon, but she does not venture to go to Copenhagen to visit her friend Friederike Brun, as Denmark is still friendly to the Emperor. The real goal of the journey, however, was England, and after Bernadotte had finally made up his mind to take the field against the French and had gone to Stralsund, taking with him Schlegel and her son Albert, Mme de Staël set sail for London accompanied by her son Auguste and her daughter Albertine. In October, 1813, appeared her great work, *De l'Allemagne;* the first edition was exhausted in three days. Napoleon was meeting with great reverses and *De l'Allemagne* seemed to indicate the means of deliverance from the tyrant: patriotism, devotion and enthusiasm.

Mme de Staël had been received in London with every mark of distinction, but with the fall of Napoleon, her popularity and influence vastly increased. All London was at her feet. The English papers called her the first lady in the world; even the Bourbons found it necessary to try to win the support of their former enemy.

The news of the abdication of Napoleon and the entry into Paris of the allied forces caused Mme de Staël both joy and sorrow. For while she hated Napoleon she loved France and liberty. Her wish had been that "Napoleon should be victorious and killed,"—that would have saved France from the hated tyrant and from the equally hateful invasion of the allies. She had not fully realized that not only Napoleon, but France itself was the object of attack and she had fondly hoped, that France could have "repulsed the strangers with one arm and overthrown tyranny with the other." It was, accordingly, with a feeling of oppression that, upon her arrival in France after ten years' of exile, she finds sentinels in foreign uniforms everywhere, even at the *Opéra*.

Her *salon* became the most brilliant in Paris at a time when the *salons* played a very important part in French politics; indeed, the saying was: "Three powers must be counted in Europe: England, Russia and Mme de Staël." All the great men thronged to see her, foremost among them the hero of the day, Emperor Alexander. To Mme de Staël's honor be it said, however, that she did not stoop to insult her fallen enemy, as so many of her contemporaries did, but she continued her plea for liberty and contributed more than any one else to found the great liberal party in France.

One of the strongest characteristics of Mme de Staël was her generosity, her pity for the downtrodden; she was "always on the side of the victims." It was this innate pity and kindness which had caused her, when she was told by a friend that two hired assassins had planned to go to Elba for the purpose of killing Napoleon, to hurry to King Joseph and to offer to go *herself* to Elba in order to warn the Emperor!

This same generosity was one of the reasons for her change of attitude toward Napoleon during the Hundred Days,—a change which she later on stoutly denied. During this time, Napoleon who felt the necessity of the support of the constitutional and liberal parties, tried to conciliate Mme de Staël just as he had succeeded in conciliating the two champions of liberty, Benjamin Constant and LaFayette by his extreme moderation, his

liberal policy and by his adoption of a constitution.

Mme de Staël herself could not help being somewhat shaken in her uncompromising attitude. She hated the allies, the enemies not only of Napoleon, as she was herself, but of her beloved France, and she was afraid that the liberty and perhaps the very existence of her country would be at stake should Napoleon be vanquished a second time. Hence, Mme de Staël thought the only safety would be in the success of Napoleon; strange to say his cause seemed to have become the cause of liberty!

Mme de Staël declared herself satisfied with the constitution. An action favorable to Napoleon who desired to postpone the final struggle as long as possible, was the writing of a letter (the author of which is, as M. Gautier has shown, undoubtedly Mme de Staël), addressed ostensibly to Mr. Crawford, Minister of the United States to France who was on the point of going to England, but really intended for the eyes of the English ministry. In this eloquent and patriotic letter she tries to ward off the impending conflict by showing the strength of the resources of France and, at the same time, the desire of Napoleon for peace. The French government, on the other hand, seemed disposed to pay the sum loaned by Necker and which Mme de Staël had so often demanded. It was urgently needed just at this time for the *dot* of her daughter, Albertine.

It is to be regretted, however, that Mme de Staël, a little later, when the cause of Napoleon seemed hopeless, lost no time in writing, even before Waterloo, another letter, this time to the Emperor Alexander, in which she refers to Napoleon as "*l'homme que nous détestons,*" and flatters Alexander, whom she now considers the master of the situation, as the man in whom "Liberty, France, and even the human race placed its hope!" After Waterloo, Mme de Staël again played an important rôle and continued to defend the cause of liberty and of France.

Such is, in very brief outline, the story of the struggle of Mme de Staël against Napoleon, the duel between the "empress of thought" and the Emperor of the sword; not only a struggle between two persons by nature instinctively hostile to each other; not only a political fight, but a conflict of principles, a radical difference of opinion on the relations of politics and morals, and of the state and the individual. Napoleon instinctively hated the ideologists, whose conception of life was quite different from his. He was a practical man of action, who in his statesmanship did not bother about the morals of his policy, who took no account of the individual when it was a question of public welfare. *Salus populi suprema lex esto;* he said: "the first law is necessity, the first justice is the public weal." His reign is a reaction against the ideology of the Revolution and he made, in the words of Mme de Staël, the world a pedestal for his egotism.

Mme de Staël, on the other hand, was an ideologist and believed in the absolute sovereignty of morals and philosophy. She is always talking about right, justice, liberty, humanity and duty. She is an individualist. "The supreme law is justice." She considers "infernal" the maxim that politics is above morals and she cannot forgive Napoleon for "having founded despotism upon immorality."

Napoleon might possibly with more tact and care have turned the influence of Mme de Staël in his favor; as it was he hurt himself by persecuting her as he did. This he recognized himself when he said to his brother Lucien during the Hundred Days: "I was wrong, Mme de Staël has made more enemies for me in her exile than she would have made in France."

Which of the two champions finally won this long and bitter struggle? Already in 1808 Napoleon gave us the answer, when he said: "Fontanes, do you know what I admire most in the world? It is the powerlessness of force to organize anything. There are only two powers in the world, the sword and the mind . . . . In the long run the sword is always vanquished by the mind." Mme de Staël was the representative of the "mind," of the public opinion, of the outraged morale and it is her lasting glory to have proclaimed the principles of dignity and of liberty "without which the human race would never be anything but a horde of barbarians or a lot of slaves."

William Koren.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THE ENGLISH SONNET (1658–1750).

In *Modern Language Notes* for June, 1903, Prof. Wm. L. Phelps challenged Mr. Gosse's statement that "Walsh is the author of the only sonnet written in English between Milton's, in 1658, and Warton's, about 1750" (Ward's *Eng. Poets*, III, 7, 1880), and cited five sonnets which come within those years, including Gray's, which Mr. Gosse himself has since edited (1884). Mr. Gosse modified his statement somewhat in his comment on Ayres (see below) in 1885; and in 1899, Mr. Seccombe further corrected Mr. Gosse, by writing: "In point of date the sonnets of Thomas Warton were preceded by single sonnets by Thomas Edwards . . . . and by the dilettante Benjamin Stillingfleet, as well as by Gray's" (*The Age of Johnson*, p. 254–5). As other sonnets have come to light, perhaps a revised list may be of interest. No doubt other sonnets will be added to it, but it is not likely even then to do more than emphasize that age's very slight interest in the sonnet.

1664/5, Five sonnets by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who died in 1648. This is the first edition of his poems, which, I think, have since been printed only in Mr. Churton Collins's edition (1881).

1679, Ten sonnets, three of them out of Petrarch, and one out of Spanish, by Dr. Samuel Woodford, appended to his *Paraphrase upon the Canticles*. Eight of these sonnets are in the Italian rime-scheme, only three ending in a couplet; the one out of Spanish rimes *ababbabacddcee;* and one "on the Picture of our Lord" runs *abbacddceffegg*. (The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* notes, sub Woodford, that Nichol's *Sel. Coll. of Poems*, IV, 345 (1780-2), reprints the one "to Seth, Bishop of Sarum").

1687, Thirty-two sonnets by Philip Ayres, in his *Lyric Poems, made in imitation of the Italians*, etc. Five are regular Italian, seven Shaksperian, and thirteen rime *abbacddceefggf*. Of the remainder, two (one of them from Camoens) consist of seven heroic couplets. In *From Shakespeare to Pope*, p. 180 (1885), Mr. Gosse says: "Ayres is remarkable as almost the only English sonneteer between Milton and Gray, but his sonnets, though sometimes singularly learned and precise in form, are seldom otherwise interesting."

1702, Two regular Shaksperian sonnets by Sir Charles Sedley, discovered by Prof. Phelps, who found them first in the edition of 1707.

1716, Sonnet on "Death," by William Walsh, in fourth edition of Dryden's *Miscellany* (IV, 373, of fifth edition, 1727). It rimes *ababbcbcddeffe*. Although poems by Walsh are in *The Grove*, 1721, his sonnet is not among them.

1721, "The Lover's Charm," a regular Shaksperian sonnet by "Mr. S.", in *The Grove*. (This sonnet is also in Nichol's *Sel. Coll.*, VI, 242, 1780).

1724, "On Praise," a Shaksperian sonnet, "From Sir Wm. D'avenant," in "*The Agreeable Variety . . . miscellany collection in prose and verse, from the most celebrated authors*. Collected and published by a lady. J. M." Second edition, 8vo. (a third edition in 1742). Whether this sonnet is by D'Avenant, or only "from" him, I cannot say. Prof. Phelps writes that he cannot find it either in *Madagascar, with other poems*, 1638 (second edition, 1648), or in his Works, 1673.

1742, Gray's sonnet On the Death of Mr. Richard West (not published until 1775). It rimes *abababacdcdcd*.

1746, "When I behold thee, blameless William-

son," by Benjamin Stillingfleet, first printed in Todd's edition of Milton, v. 445, 1801, with the statement, "It is dated in 1746." It rimes *abbaabbacdecde*.

1746 and 1747, Two sonnets by Thos. Edwards, discovered by Prof. Phelps.

Although we have here fifty sonnets by eight authors (not including Herbert's and D'Avenant's, which were not written in this period), those by Woodford and Ayres are remainders from the preceding age, and those by Stillingfleet and Edwards belong to the revival; so that we have left five scattered and unrelated sonnets, curious examples of interest in a form ignored by the leaders of the age.

In addition to this scanty list, I have noted the following reprints of earlier sonnets:

1669, Donne's *Poems;* 1719, *Poems on Several Occasions*, by J. Tonson.

1673, Milton's *Poems*, second edition (the first of many of the sonnets); 1694, 4 sonnets first pub. in Philip's *Life;* 1705 and 1707, fourth edition of Poems; 1720, fifth edition; 1725, sixth edition of Poems (12th of Works); 1727 and 1730, seventh edition of Poems; 1746–7, Works.

1709–10, Shakespeare's sonnets, by Lintott, in a two-volume Collection of Poems, under the title *Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Music*, followed without break by *The Lover's Complaint*. The sonnets also formed a part of the seventh (supplementary) volume of Rowe's edition of 1710, and Pope's of 1725.

1711, Drummond's sonnets, in *Poems*, Edinburgh (previously published at London, in 1656, and 1659).

1715, Spenser's sonnets, in Hughes's edition of the Works.

1717, Wyatt's and Surrey's sonnets, in *The Poems of Edward Howard, Earl of Surrey*, xvi, 233 pages.

Surrey's Songes and Sonnettes, by E. Curll, in a booklet of 32 pages.

1718, Samuel Daniel's sonnets, in his Poetical Works, in two volumes.

1724–5, Sidney's sonnets, in the "14th edition" of his Works.

1732, Six sonnets by Patrick Hannay, appended to *The Unhappy Lovers; or, the History of James Welston, With his voyages and travels. To which is added several curious pieces*, etc. The sonnets are introduced by this "Note. The following sonnets were written by Patrick Hannay some hundred years ago, and Dedicated to the Right Honorable Sir Andrew Gray." *The Songs and Sonnets* of Patrick Hannay were first printed in 1622, and reprinted (15 copies only) by E. V. Utterson, in 1841. This reprint of 1732 seems hitherto to have escaped notice.

1748, Drayton's sonnets, in his Works.

It would be misleading to stop without noting such instances of failure to appreciate the sonnet, as the following:

"To Laura, in imitation of Petrarch," by Dr. Wm. King, Student of Christ Church, Oxford, is *ababcdcdeefggf*. (In *Miscellanies*, I, 491, 1705?)
45 454 5 46

In Steele's *Collection* (1714 and 1727) "To Aristus, in imitation of a sonnet of Milton, Anon." consists of six stanzas riming *ababcc*, each stanza ending in an alexandrine. (Also in Nichol's *Sel. Coll.*, IV, 94).

In *Curious Amasements*, etc. (by M. B.), "to which is added some translations from Greek, Latin, and Italian Poets," etc., by T. Rymer (1714) "from Petrarch, Sonnet 41. Perch' i'o t'habbia guardato" is translated into fifteen four-beat lines, riming *abbbaccdddeefff*.

In the Hon. Mrs. Mary Monk's *Marinda: Poems and Translations*, etc. (1716), are two sonnets from Della Casa and one from Marini in fourteen lines of blank verse; two from Petrarch consisting of four couplets, plus two triplets; one from Guarini consisting of eight heroic couplets and one from Dr. Salvini, in five elegiac stanzas.

In James Drake's *Humours of New Tunbridge Wells, imitated from French, Latin, and Chinese poets* (1734), a regular sonnet by Pierre Goudelin, Poete Toulousain, is translated into four pentameter stanzas riming *aabb*.

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ON THE PRONOMINAL OBJECT WITH *parler*.

In Italian, Spanish and Provençal one may find in early texts the conjunctive (atonic) personal pronoun used with *parlare, hablar, parlar*. Thus: *E questo è ver così com' io ti parlo*, Dante, Inferno, XXVIII, 51; *Fabloli la Gloriosa, dissol en vission*, Berceo, Milagro, XIII, 74; *Car depuesc que·us parlai ni·us vic, Ren del mont tan non m'abelic*, Folquet de Romans, Epistle XIII, 7–8. Cf. 141.

In Old French we find *parler vers lui, encontre lui, od lui, ensemble o(d) lui, a lui, avuec lui;*[1] there is found also *l'aparler*, closely reproducing the Latin *alloqui eum*. As to *parler a lui*, 'speak to him,' or better, 'talk to him,' it is known that the prepositional dative[2] survived in certain uses as late as the XVII century,[3] or even into the XVIII century; it remains to inquire when and under what conditions the conjunctive dative (*je te parle*) first came into use. As far as I know, a strict definition of the employment of the two constructions has never been attempted; hitherto, only general statements have been possible. Thus, Ebeling can only say,[4] speaking of the Old French period: "der unbezeichnete Dativ (ohne *à*) ist ungleich viel seltener." Similarly, Meyer-Lübke[5] states that "au XVII^{e} siècle encore, *à toi parler* est plus fréquent que *te parler*."

The facts assembled here seem to warrant the formulation of the following rule: From the end of the XII to the end of the XVII century, *parler* may be, and usually is, construed with the conjunctive (atonic) pronoun whenever this verb is accompanied by an indirect complement with *de* (including *en, dont*); but the original construction (*parler à toi*) is still permissible during the whole of this period, even with a *de*-complement, and is especially frequent when *parler* is used in its strictly literal meaning.

The examples cited in support of this rule may be arranged in chronological order under three heads: I. Disjunctive pronoun with and notwithstanding a complementary *de*-clause: II. Disjunctive pronoun except when a complementary *de*-clause is dependant on the verb: III. Conjunctive pronoun used apparently without restriction.

I. *E dit qu'il me fera enui Se je de rien parol a lui.* Chrestien de Troyes, Erec, 2969. Cf. 2772.

Cist est li bers dunt jeo parlai a tei. Les Quatre Livres des Rois, I, ix, 17.

Pur ço ai par mes lettres vostre bunté requise, Que puisse a (var. *od*) *vus parler d'el e d'icest mesprise.* Guarnier, Vie Saint Thomas, ed. Bekker, p. 126. *Si doulcement a li parolle De* (l. *Du*) *duel e du plour qu'il demeine.* Roman de Galerent, ed. Boucherie, 1411–12. Cf. l. 1633. *Si parlerent assez a lui de ce fait . . .* Livre de Marc Pol, ed. Pauthier, Ch. X, p. 17. *Et baillay charge de parler a luy de certaine matiere.* Monstrelet, Chroniques, V, 379 (cited by Waldmann.[6]) *Iamais ne parlay à luy de rien qui soit.* Nicot, Thrésor, 2d ed., 1606, *s. v. parler.*

II. *a*) *D'Alixandre vos parlerai* (var. *conterai*). Chrestien de Troyes, Cligès, 64.

Cel chen ai dunt vus me parlez. Thomas's Tristran, in Bartsch's Chrestomathie,[6] 108, 37. *Nos vos poriens de ce si longement parler.* Poème Moral, 368a. *Ne me parler de tel lasté.* La Plantez, in Meyer's Recueil, p. 35. *Or vus*

[1] It is known that the preposition *od* lost early its final *d*, at first before consonants, and that the need was felt of reinforcing it by various means. *Ensemble o* was often used; later, the adverbial *avuec* was called in to replace the unsonorous *o*. But it was especially the preposition *à* which fell heir to many of the meanings of *od*, and while *o* is still remembered by Ronsard as an old word, already in the XII century the poets hesitate between *combatre o lui* and *combatre a lui*, etc. The MSS. also show a constant hesitation between *parler o lui* and *parler a lui*, and it seems probable that the reinforcement of *à* by the ideas of accompaniment, mutual action, etc., is partly responsible for the long persistence in French of *parler à lui*. In other Romance languages the preposition *à* has not been forced to perform this double duty. It is at times a delicate question to decide between the two prepositions with *parler*. The tendency being to abandon *o* in favor of *a*, the best manuscripts may lose something of trustworthiness in this particular. The difficulty may be illustrated from *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 8, 37, where the MS. (to good eyes) has *o li;* elsewhere (10, 51) *a li*. Suchier, in the recent editions, suppresses *o li* in favor of *a li*. As to this I shall only remark that the presence of a direct object expressed need not militate against *o li;* cf. *quel parole est ço que Deus ad od tei parled*, Les Quatre Livres des Rois, I, iii, 17; also I, xvii, 28.

[2] Only cases where the pronoun is devoid of special stress are discussed in this article.

[3] Cf. Haase, *Syntaxe française du XVII^{e} Siècle*, Paris, 1898, § 11, A. Lack of space prevents citation of numerous articles—mostly treatises on the syntax of single authors—where mention is made of the construction *parler à toi*. These, as a rule, merely note the existence and cite examples of the older construction.

[4] *Auberee*, Halle, 1895. Note to l. 98, p. 76.

[5] *Grammaire des Langues Romanes*, III, § 378.

[6] *Bemerkungen zur Syntax Monstrelets*, von M. Waldmann, Würzburg, 1887.

ai jeo parlé del riche. Guillaume le Clerc, Besant Deu, 1111.

b) *tuit cil venoient parler a li.* Joinville, Histoire de St. Louis, § 59. Cf. § 213 : *dont je vous ai parlé devant;* also §§ 6, 78, 594.

Et lors m'orras a toi parler. Rustebuef, Vie Ste Marie l'Egyptienne, ed. Kressner, 789. Cf. *Quar chascuns de Dieu nos parole.* Descorde de l'Université et des Jacobins, 11. *Et quant aucuns vous an parole.* Jean de Meun, in Bartsch and Horning's La Langue et la Littérature françaises, 387, 8. Cf. *Se vous jamais parlez a li. Ibid.* 388, 19. *Son mary l'avait trouvé . . . parlant à elle.* Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage, p. 183. Cf. *Il est bien vrai qu'il m'avait parlé de cela. Ibid. De nulles matieres on ne lui parloit que de grandes qui lui touchoient.* Commynes, Book vi, ch. vii. Cf. *Ne nul homme ne le veoit ne parloit à luy.* Book vi, ch. xi. *Ung jour il ne se peut tenir de luy en parler.* Marguerite de Navarre, Heptaméron, ed. P. L. Jacob, p. 33. Cf. *J'ay serché de vous veoir et parler à vous.* P. 381. *Ou est-il ce meschant garçon? Que je le voye, que je parle à luy.* Jean de la Taille, Les Corrivaus, p. lxii. Cf. *Les flacons d'huile dont je luy parlay hier.* P. ccii. *Le roi parla à eulx longtemps.* Montaigne, Essais, i, 30. Cf. *Luy . . . qui pensoit qu'on luy parlast de son compagnon, respondit . . .* i, 25. *Ie demande de parler à toi, Cupio te.* Nicot, Thrésor, *s. v. parler.* Cf. *Iallay hier vers toi pour te parler de ta fille. Ibid.*

III. *Lors me parla* (l. *m'aparla?*) *trop volentiers.* Le Livre des Cent Ballades, i, 7.

En vous parlant ainsi, Plusieurs diront que je m'ennuie ici. Marot, *A Monseigneur le Dauphin,* 1535. Cf. *S'on parle à moi, je réponds de la tête. Ibid.*

Ayant . . faict donner un siege à Cinna, il luy parla en cette maniere. Montaigne, Essais, I, 23. Cf. *Aprez plusieurs aultres propos* (*car il parla à luy* [Cinna] *plus de deux heures entieres*) : *Or va, lui dict il . . . Ibid. Puis quelquefois se fasche et lui parle en courroux.* Desportes, Élégies, Advanture Ière, ed. Michiels, 306. Cf. *Pendant qu'il parle à elle. Ibid.*, 332. *Voici . . . comme il faut parler à eux.* Malherbe, Oeuvres, ii, 87. Cf. *Sans jamais écouter ni pitié ni clémence Qui te parle pour eux.* Ode au Roi, 1627. [Clarice] : *Avant que l'accepter, je voudrois le connoître . . .* Isabelle. *Eh bien! qu'il parle à vous.* P. Corneille, Le Menteur, ii, 2. Cf. *Ose encor lui parler.* v, 5.

This list, perhaps already unduly lengthened, might be extended to include post-Cornelian authors in whose writings the ancient *parler à lui* is accorded a lingering life. It is difficult, but not impossible, to find the prepositional form occasionally used by Mme de Sévigné[7] and by Scarron,[8] both Parisians by birth. *Parler à lui* is met with here and there in La Rochefoucauld, in the Memoirs of the Duchess of Montpensier, in Vaugelas and in Pascal. But in the writings of the next generation, Thomas Corneille, Boileau, Racine, La Bruyère, etc., I have found no example; with them, the construction is finally relegated to the background of doubtful usage. It is known that Molière, under the cover of comic effect, ventures at times to employ it. In *Les Femmes savantes* (iii, 3, 927), L'Épine, a lackey, says :

Monsieur, un homme est là qui veut parler à vous. . . .

Similarly, Toinette in *Le Malade imaginaire* (ii, 2) : *Je dis que voilà un homme qui veut parler à vous.* In the first instance, it would be easy to maintain that metrical considerations had something to do with the case, but in the second the comic intention of "ungrammatical" speech was no doubt the sole motive. On the other hand, it is curious that in *L'Avare* (iii, 8), Molière chose not to make use of this resource, and Brindavoine announces, in irreproachable phrase : *Monsieur il y a là un homme qui veut vous parler.* So in *Le Misanthrope,* ii, 6, 743.

Reverting to the beginning of the xvii century, Malherbe's practice seems to indicate that in his time the conjunctive use was in process of extension to cases where prepositions other than *de* were employed in complementary clauses, thus forming a kind of intermediate stage before complete liberation from the traditional usage was achieved. From *je te parle d'eux* one might pass to *je te parle pour eux* while still holding fast, with unmodified verb, to the archaic *je parle à toi.* Such a supposition, if well founded, would explain the

[7] Letter of August 13, 1677 : *Si l'on veut l'explication de cette enigme, qu'on vienne parler à nous,* where perhaps some unusual stress is laid upon the pronoun. But this cannot be claimed for the sentence : *Nous avons des amis qui pourront parler à lui.* Oeuvres, vii, 179.

[8] Le Roman Comique, ed. Fournel, I, 278 : *On eût pu croire qu'il étoit amoureux de ma mère; mais il ne parloit presque point à elle et n'entrait jamais dans notre chambre.* As Scarron elsewhere uses repeatedly the conjunctive pronoun in absolute construction (cf. iii, p. 281, etc.) one is inclined to seek in the passage just quoted some one of the special meanings which may be supposed to have kept alive the ancient *parler à lui.* Ebeling notes, *loc. cit.*, that in O. Fr. *parler à quelqu'une* has at times the meaning 'make love to'; so later in Eustache Deschamps : *Et s'eusse bien, se je volsisse Trouvé qui eust parlé à moy;* cf. Mistral, Trésor dou Félibrige, *s. v. parla : i'a tres an que ié parlo, il lui fait la cour depuis trois ans.* But this meaning can hardly be attributed to Scarron's phrase.

two entries in the Commentary on Desportes[9] where Malherbe disapproves with a "Nota" the construction of the pronoun *lui* in a sentence which we have quoted above as being an early example of the present usage (*c.* 1573) : *Puis quelquefois se fasche et lui parle en courroux*, and then, a few lines below, also condemns the use of *parler à elle*. The objection here is to the hiatus of vowels in verse, and thus the position of the old construction was further undermined.

A few concluding details as to the final disappearance of *parler à toi*. In 1761, Voltaire, engaged upon his *Commentaire sur Corneille*, encountered the line—

> Qu'il entre. A quel dessein vient-il parler à moi ?
> —*Héraclius*, II, 4.

The veteran critic's judgment and comment were as swift and unmistakable as his outlook upon the history of the French language was narrow. He wrote : "*Parler à moi* ne se dit point ; il faut, *me parler*. On peut dire en reproche : *parlez à moi, oubliez-vous que vous parlez à moi ?*[10]

Other grammarians before Voltaire had not failed to notice the two competing forms of expression. M. Brunot[11] cites Andry de Boisregard, 1694, who tells us that "one hears sometimes" *je veux parler à luy* instead of *je luy veux parler*. He adds : "*Parler à luy* a quelquefois un sens plus fort que *luy parler*," and two examples are quoted in illustration from Vaugelas' *Quinte-Curce*.[12] A little later, in 1706, Régnier Desmarais seems to receive the two expressions as equally good. He says : "Il est d'usage de dire *voulez-vous parler à luy, parlez un peu à moy*, aussi bien que de dire, *voulez-vous luy parler, parlez-moi.*"[13] But the Parisian-born Voltaire who was a boy of ten in 1706, evidently belonged to a generation which finally did away with *parler à lui*, perhaps even as a colloquialism.

There remain for mention a few instances from the older period which, it must be acknowledged, would seriously controvert the rule proposed at the beginning of this article, could they be admitted as representing the Continental usage. None, however, were met with outside of Anglo-Norman texts. One of these—*Voyage de Charlemagne*, 134—attracted the attention of Ebeling. The manuscript (XIII-XIV century) has this reading : *Vint al patriarche prist len a parler.* In the second clause, Koschwitz reads : *prist li en a parler.* Ebeling would emend this to : *prist l'en* (i. e., *le en*) *a aparler*, rightly objecting to the conjunctive pronoun—even with the *de*-complement—at the time usually assigned as the date of the poem (*c.* 1100). But the difficulty cannot yet be regarded as removed, for there is good reason to doubt whether *aparler* was thus construed with a dependant *de*-complement. The case, after all, is not more surprising than the following :

Mystère d'Adam, 235 : DIABOLUS. *Parler te voil.* EVA. *Ore i ait fai.* (Cf. 24 : *A tei parlerai jeo, Evain.* Further, 278 : *Il me parla de nostre honor*).

Livres des Macchabées, I, i, 31 : *E si lor parla paroles paisibles por eaus trair.*

Manière de Langage, in Toynbee's Specimens, 308, 17 : *Ne me* (l. *m'en ?*) *parlez plus a cest fois.*

Further investigation will show to what extent the Continental usage was thus modified or neglected in other Anglo-Norman texts.

[9] KREUTZBERG, *Die Grammatik Malherbes nach dem "Commentaire sur Desportes,"* Neisse, 1890, p. 21. M. Brunot is greatly puzzled to account for Malherbe's remarks. See *La Doctrine de Malherbe d'après son Commentaire sur Desportes*, Paris, 1891, p. 386.

[10] To this, MARTY-LAVEAUX makes the objection : "L'on ne voit guère pourquoi cette tournure ne serait usitée qu'en reproche ; elle paraît propre à attirer davantage l'attention : *je veux vous parler, je veux parler à vous, c'est à vous que je veux parler*, sont trois phrases qui expriment la même idée générale, mais dans lesquelles l'intention d'une interpellation directe est de plus en plus marquée." *Oeuvres de P. Corneille*, XII, 154.

[11] *Histoire de la Langue française* in PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, *Histoire de la Langue et Littérature française*, V, 744. M. Brunot is hardly accurate when he states that *lui parler* is, in 1694, a new form of expression "qui commence à s'introduire." We have seen that, with a *de*-clause, *lui parler* is at least as old as the year 1200 ; without a *de*-clause, Marot furnished the oldest certain example noted.

[12] "Ils luy respondirent qu'il reposoit, and que pour lors, il n'y avoit pas moyen de *parler à luy ;* mais . . . que le lendemain il le uerroit. Le fils de Parménion . . . fait semblant de n'avoir pu *parler à luy*, pour amuser toujours Cebalinus & l'empêcher de s'adresser à un autre." Andry's work is entitled : *Suite des Réflexions critiques sur l' Usage présent de la Langue française*, Paris, 1694, p. 5.

[13] Traité de la Grammaire françoise, 2d ed. (1706), p. 243.

Reverting to the oldest instance noted of the conjunctive use—the *D'Alixandre vos parlerai* of Chrestien—it is of interest to ask, upon what analogy, if any, was the pronoun admitted to the new position? I am inclined to believe that what one may call the logical justification for the innovation—namely, that the major part of the attention, formerly accorded exclusively to the person spoken to, is now given to the object spoken of, so that the pronoun retreats to the subordinate position—is not enough in itself to motive the change. We are rather in presence of one of the numerous functional changes due to analogy, and the analogy in question seems to be that of the related verbs *mostrer, conter, deviser* and especially *dire*, all of which are construed regularly with a conjunctive pronoun in the oldest French. *Dire*, for example, among its other Latin meanings, kept that of 'relate, tell.' 'To speak of something' and 'to tell of something' are obviously closely related ideas. Thus Wace (*Rou*, II, 1) says: *A Rou sumes venu e de Rou vus dirum;* Villehardouin, § 1: *Et cil Folques dont je vos di,*[14] and so commonly in Old French. On the basis of these, it was easy to pass to the common formula *dont je vous parle*, at a time when both *dire* and *parler* came to be used by authors in the figurative sense.

One might be tempted to see another precedent in the frequent use with *parler* of the exclusively conjunctive *y*, as: *La charitez . . . me destreint de parler a vos et molt plus sovent j parleroie, si non estoient plusor afaire, quj me detienent.* Sermons of St. Bernard (quoted in SUCHIER und BIRCH-HIRSCHFELD, *Geschichte der Französischen Litteratur*, p. 146). So *Rou*, II, 2311, and elsewhere very often (DIEZ, *Grammatik*,[5] pp. 802, 854). But to invoke this analogy is inadvisable, seeing that *y* has always been used, for example, with *penser à, venir à*, without having exercised any appreciable influence on *penser à lui, venir à lui.*

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[14] The figurative sense of *parler* is, however, not unknown to this author. Cf. § 8: *dont li livres ne parole mie.*

Dürfen AND ITS COGNATES.

NHG. *dürfen* from OHG. *durfan* 'Mangel haben, entbehren, bedürfen, nötig haben' is referred by Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v., to a root *trp-* 'entbehren, mangeln.' This meaning is plainly seen in the other related words in Germanic. In view of this fact, it seems somewhat strange that Kluge, in Paul's Grundriss 440, should connect OHG. *durfan* with Skt. *tr̥pn̥ōmi* 'sich sättigen, befriedigt werden,' with which are related Gk. *τέρπω* 'satisfy,' Goth. *þrafstjan* 'trösten,' Lith. *tarpstù, tarpti* 'gedeihen, zunehmen,' OPruss. *enterpo* 'es nützt' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* 116, *Et. Wb. der got. Spr.* 149, 152; Berneker, *Die preuss. Spr.* 326).

If these two groups of words are related they show the opposite development of meaning, 'lack, want, be poor' and 'be satisfied, thrive, increase.' How Kluge connects these meanings I do not know. As they stand, they apparently have nothing in common, and the words that are necessary to supply the connecting links are not furnished by Kluge. The comparison of *dürfen* and *tr̥pn̥ōmi* looks like a shrewd guess. That it is a correct guess I shall attempt to prove.

When two words with apparently the same base have significations that are so different as these words, they are usually declared unrelated. Now it is true that two bases might be identical and yet be entirely unrelated; for they might be composed of unrelated elements or might have sprung up independently in different countries and at different times. But words with diametrically opposite significations are often easily combined, and synonymous words are not infrequently from entirely different meanings.

The reason that difference in meaning is so often thought to be a bar to connecting words is that the etymologist can see no way of deriving one meaning from the other. He assumes that one word or the other has preserved the original meaning when the fact may be that each has wandered far from its starting point. The way to connect such words, therefore, is to trace each back to the point of divergence. For example, suppose we find in three different languages apparently identical words with the three distinct

meanings 'attractive'; 'greedy'; 'slow.' It would be impossible to derive one meaning from another, and some investigators would straightway declare that the words were unrelated. But when we find the three meanings united in the one Gk. word ὁλκός, it is easy to refer them to the primary meaning 'drawing, dragging.'

A priori, therefore, there is no objection to combining *dürfen* and *τρῠ́πω* or any other word that may have the same base. But to make the combination probable, it is necessary to find a common meaning as a point of divergence from which the various significations could develop. In the same way we refer various related forms to a common base.

The common base of these words is *terep-* (cf. Hirt, *Idg. Abl.* 586), and the common meaning is 'press, rub.' From 'pressed, rubbed' came 'worn, worn out, exhausted,' whence 'wanting, lacking, needy, poor.' Nearest related to *dürfen*, *bedürfen*, *darben*, therefore, is MHG. *verderben* 'zu nichte werden, zu Schaden kommen, umkommen,' MLG. *derven* 'einschrumpfen, vergehen, verderben.' Germ. *þarf*, therefore, is a preterit-present meaning primarily 'I am worn out, exhausted,' hence 'I lack, need, am needy,' and the pres. of this verb is preserved in MHG. *verderben*. This, with a slight change in developing the meaning, is exactly the explanation given by Schade, *Wb.* 100. Paul, *Wb.* 100, also connects *dürfen* and *verderben*.

MHG. (*ver-*)*derben* comes from a pre-Germ. **terpó-* 'be worn away, crumble,' and is closely related to Lett. *trepēt*, *trapēt* 'verwittern,' *trepans*, *trapains* 'morsch,' Lith. *trapùs* 'spröde, bröcklig,' *tir̃pti* 'zerfliessen, schmelzen.' The same base used transitively gives 'press, wear out, annoy,' etc., in Pol. *trapić* 'quälen,' refl. 'sich grämen,' OE. *þrafian* 'urge, drängen; rebuke, schelten,' *þræft* 'quarrel,' ON, *þrefa* 'wrangle, dispute.'

Used in its literal sense the base gives words for 'press, trample,' as in OE. *þryccan* 'press, trample.' So here belong Gk. τραπέω 'tread grapes,' OPruss. *trapt* 'treten,' Lith. *trepti* 'stampfen,' *tremp̃ti* 'auf etwas scharf treten,' *trapsė́ti* 'so scharf treten, dass die Tritte zu hören sind,' ChSl. *trepati* 'palpare.'

All these words are easily derivable from the base *terep-* 'rub, press,' which is the same as *terep-* 'turn, twist' in Lat. *trepo*, *trepidus*, Gk. *τρέπω* 'turn, put to flight, drive,' *ἐντρέπω* 'turn about, shame, reprove,' Skt. *trápatē* 'schämt sich, wird verlegen.'

This brings us to the base *tere-* 'turn, twist; rub, press, etc.' in OHG. *drāen* 'drehen,' Gk. *τείρω* 'rub, rub away; wear out, distress, afflict.' Lat. *tero* 'rub, rub to pieces, grind; rub away, wear away,' etc.

That *terep-* 'want, lack, need' is from *terep-* 'press, rub, wear away,' is probable from the following comparisons, which show the same development of meaning: Lat. *trūdo* 'thrust, push, crowd,' ChSl. *truditi* 'beschweren, quälen,' Goth. *us-þriutan* 'beschwerlich fallen,' OHG. *bidriozan* 'bedrücken, verdriessen,' OE. *þrēotan* 'wear out, weary,' ON. *þreyta* 'wear and tear, exhaustion,' *þrióta* 'fail, come to an end; want, lack; become a pauper,' *þrot* 'lack, want, destitution,' *þrotna* 'run short, dwindle away, come to an end.'—ON. *þrúga* 'drücken,' Gk. *τρῡ̃χω* 'rub away, wear out, consume; afflict,' *τρύχωσις* 'exhaustion, distress.'—OE. *ge-þræc* 'pressure, force, violence,' *þrec* 'grievous,' i. e., 'oppressive,' *þrece* 'violence; weariness,' ON. *þrekaðr* 'worn, exhausted.'

We will now begin with Lat. *tero*, arranging the words in the order of their developed meanings. Lat. *tero* 'rub, rub to pieces; rub away, wear away; tread, tread out,' Gk. τραπέω 'tread grapes,' OPruss. *trapt* 'treten,' Pol. *trapić* 'quälen,' OE. *þrafian* 'urge; rebuke,' Lith. *trepti* 'stampfen,' *trapùs* 'spröde, bröcklig,' *tir̃pti* 'zerfliessen, schmelzen,' Lett. *trepans* 'morsch,' *trepēt* 'verwittern,' MHG. *verderben* 'zu nichte werden, zu Schaden kommen, umkommen,' OHG. *durfan* 'Mangel haben, bedürfen, nötig haben,' Goth. *þarbs* 'bedürftig, nötig,' OE. *þearfa* 'destitute; pauper.' This is exactly like Lat. *trūdo* 'press, thrust,' ChSl. *truditi* 'quälen,' OE. *þrēotan* 'wear out, weary,' ON. *þreyta* 'exhaustion,' *þrióta* 'fail, come to an end; want, lack; become a pauper.'

Starting again from 'press' we have 'compressed, compact, firm, solid, stiff' in one line of development, and 'compressed, compact, robust, thriving' etc., in another, together with various other divergent meanings. Before showing this change of meaning in our base *terep-*, we will examine the same change in other words.

ON. *þrýsta* 'press, squeeze, thrust': *þrýstiligr*

'compact, stout, robust.'—Lat. *trūdo* 'press, push, crowd,' OE. *þrēatian* 'urge on, press; afflict,' etc., *þrēat* 'crowd, troop; violence, ill-treatment; threat,' primarily in all senses 'crowding, pressing.' From this secondary meaning 'crowd, throng' arose the idea of bigness, large size, whence OE. *þrūtian* 'swell with pride or anger; threaten,' *ā-þrūten*, ON. *þrútenn* 'swollen,' *þrútna* 'swell, rise.' Notice also that Lat. *trūdo* is used in the sense of 'push forth, put forth' in reference to growth.—Lith. *trypiù* 'stampfe, trete,' ON. *þrífa* 'ergreifen, erfassen,' primarily 'press,' *þrífask* 'gedeihen, zunehmen,' i. e., 'become compact, strong,' *þrif*, *þrift* 'gedeihen,' *þrifligr* 'gesund, blühend, aussehend; tüchtig, tapfer.'—Skt. *tanákti* 'zieht zusammen, macht gerinnen,' Av. *taχmō* 'fest, stark,' Lith. *tánkus* 'dicht,' Goth. *þeihan* 'gedeihen.'—ON. *dapr* 'bedrängt, schwer, düster,' MHG. *tapfer* 'gedrungen, kompakt, voll.'

Similarly from *terep-* 'press, crowd' come Lith. *tarpà* 'Gedeihen, Wachstum,' *tar̃pti* 'gedeihen, zunehmen,' Skt. *tr̥pyati*, *tr̥pn̥óti* 'sättigt sich, wird befriedigt,' *tárpaṇas* 'sättigend, stärkend, labend,' Gk. *τέρπω* 'sättige, erfreue,' Goth. *þrafstjan* 'trösten, ermutigen.'

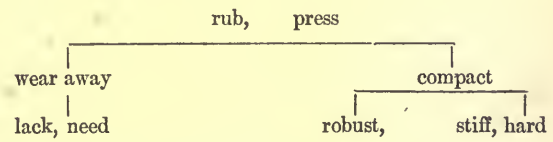
From *terep-* 'press' come the meanings 'compressed, compact, solid, stiff,' etc., in the following: MHG. *derp* 'fest, hart, tüchtig; ungesäuert,' *biderbe* 'tüchtig, bieder,' ON. *þiarfr* 'niedrig, gemein; ungesäuert,' þirfinger 'niedrige Person,' OE. *þeorf* 'unleavened,' Lith. *trèptas* 'starkknochig, robust, untersetzt.'

Kluge, *Et. Wb.*, regards 'ungesäuert' as the older meaning and 'stiff, solid, low, mean' as derived from it. That is simply impossible. 'Unleavened' could be expressed positively or negatively. It is negative in Eng. *unleavened* and in NHG. *ungesäuert*, which are both transparent terms. A positive term to express the same idea would be 'hard,' 'solid,' 'heavy,' 'flat,' or the like. Such a meaning we have in Germ. *þerba-* from pre-Germ. *terpô-* 'compressed, compact, stiff.'[1]

With Germ. *þerba-* 'compact, stiff' compare ChSl. *u-tr̆pĕti* 'erstarren,' Lith. *tir̃pti* 'erstarren, fühllos werden,' Lat. *torpeo*, *torpor*.

These words are more closely connected in meaning with Lith. *tar̃pti* 'gedeihen' than is Goth. *þaurban* 'bedürfen.' Giving the main lines of development, we may show their relation to each other as follows:

Base *terep-* 'rub, press' in Gk. *τραπέω* 'tread grapes,' OPruss. *trapt* 'treten,' Lith. *trepti* 'stampfen,' figuratively in Pol. *trapić* 'quälen,' OE. *þrafian* 'drängen; schelten.' From this two main lines of divergence: (1) 'wear away, aufreiben, sich aufreiben' in Lith. *trapùs* 'spröde, bröcklig,' *tir̃pti* 'schmelzen,' Lett. *trepans* 'morsch,' *trepēt* 'verwittern,' MLG. *derven* 'einschrumpfen, vergehen, verderben,' MHG. *verderben*, whence 'lack, want, need' in Goth. *þaurban* 'bedürfen,' OHG. *durfan* 'Mangel haben, bedürfen, nötig haben'; and (2) 'compressed, compact' dividing into (*a*) 'robust, strong, thriving' in Lith. *tarpà* 'Gedeihen, Wachstum,' *tar̃pti* 'gedeihen, zunehmen,' etc., and (*b*) 'stiff, hard' in MHG. *derp* 'fest, hart, tüchtig; ungesäuert,' Lith. *tir̃pti* 'erstarren, fühllos werden,' Lat. *torpeo*. This may be diagramed as follows:



Semasiologically, therefore, it is not necessary to assume more than one original base *terep-*; and phonetically there is no difficulty. And yet there may have been several bases *terep-* which arose independently from the original base *tere-* 'rub, press.' For even in Lat. *tero* can be seen the double development that is necessary to connect Goth. *þaurban* : Skt. *tr̥pyati* : Lat. *torpeo*.

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[1] OFries. *derf* 'heftig,' which Kluge connects with *derb*, is another word. Compare OS. *derƀi* 'kräftig, feindlich, böse,' OE. *dearf* 'bold,' *gedeorf* 'labor, effort; hardship,' *deorfan* 'labor; perish,' ON. *diarfr* 'dreist, keck, kühn,' *dirfa* 'wagen,' Sw. *djärf* 'kühn,' Lith. *dárbas* 'Arbeit,' It is quite possible, however, that NHG. *derb* combines a LG. and a HG. *derb*, Germ. *derba-* 'bold, strong' and *þerba-* 'stiff, solid.'

EDITOR'S NOTE.—I am particularly interested in Prof. Wood's etymology of Goth. *þarf*, because I have for many years stated in my lectures on Gothic grammar that *þarf* is closely connected with Sanskr. *trp*, Greek τέρπω, and Lat. *torpeo*. As regards the phonetic side, this etymology, or rather these etymologies, are obvious enough and have been suggested, if generally with some hesitation, long ago. See, *e. g.*, Graff, *Althochd. Sprachschatz*, vol. v, p. 205; Bopp, *Glossarium comp. linguae Sanscritae* s. v. *trp*; Schweizer in Hoefer's *Zeitschr.* III, 108 and 407 (quoted by Pauli, *Über die deutschen Verba präteritopräsentia*, Stettin, 1863, p. 4). The apparent difference in meaning, however, between the various verbs has generally caused comparative philologists to reject these etymologies altogether and to connect Goth. *þarf* rather with Old Slav. *trěba* 'negotium,' *trěbŭ* 'necessary,' *trěbovati* 'to need' (Fick, *Vergl. Wörterb.*, 3d ed., vol. III, p. 132; Feist, *Grundriss der got. Etymologie* s. v. *þarf*; Uhlenbeck, *Etymolog. Wörterb. der got. Sprache* s. v. *þaurban*). I agree with Prof. Wood in giving the preference to the former etymology. Since, however, my own attempt to connect the various meanings differs in essential points from Prof. Wood's suggestions (perhaps simply for the reason that I have confined myself to a narrower group of words which appear to me more closely related): let the following arrangement of the verbs in question lead its own cause, and either be adopted, or abandoned in favor of Prof. Wood's opinion.

1) Original meaning of the Indo-Eur. verb *térpō*: 'to satisfy one's appetite, to become satiated.' This meaning is preserved in the Vedic usage of the verb *t.p.* It is to be noticed that in the Rigveda the causative of our verb (stem *tarpáya-*) shows also the more general meaning 'to satisfy' and 'to become satisfied.'

2) The latter meaning has naturally developed in Greek τέρπω into that of 'to enjoy.' Passages in Homer like

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τάρπημεν ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτῆτος (Λ 780)

or

ἐπεὶ τάρπησαν ἐδωδῆς (γ 70)

show plainly the connection with the earlier meaning. In fact, our Homeric dictionaries give '*sättigen*' as one of the meanings of τέρπω.

3) A further step carries us to the Gothic preterit-present *þarf*, inf. *þaurban*. It becomes clear from a comparison of the Germanic preterit-presents (or more exactly: perfect-presents) with their cognates in Sanskrit and in Greek that the original function of the Indo-Eur. perfect was the one familiar to Greek, viz., to designate an action in the past which in its consequences affects the present. The most obvious instance is that of the Indo-Eur. perfect-present **voída* 'I know' = Sansk. *véda*, Gr. οἶδα, Goth. *wait*, which belongs to the verbal base **veide-* 'to see' and therefore must have originally meant: 'I have seen and consequently know.' Applying this to the verb **térpō*, I should say that the Gothic perfect-present *þarf* has developed from the meaning: 'I have enjoyed and am still longing for' (or perhaps: 'I have been satiated by and still feel appetite after'). This easily leads to the meanings actually met with in Gothic: 'to need, want, lack.'

4) In a different direction has the meaning of our word developed in Lat. *torpēre*. The connection with the Vedic word seems to me to lie in the fact that the satisfaction of the appetite, especially when carried to excess, is likely to produce a mental and physical condition for which the word *torpor* (the opposite, according to St. Augustin, *De civ. dei* 19, 1, of *mobilitas*) seems not an inadequate expression. If we are correct in making our path to Lat. *torpēre* in this way, it would follow that the passages in which *torpeo* and *torpor* are used of mental or physical inactivity, dullness, listlessness, mark an earlier stage in the development of these words than those in which they designate mere physical stiffness, caused, *e. g.*, by frost or cold. If we compare the group of *torpēre* and *torpor* with that of *rigēre*, *rigidus*, etc., we cannot but feel that the meaning of 'rigidity' belongs properly to the latter group, while in the case of *torpēre* the mental is no less important than the physical side.

H. C.

VOICELESS *w*.

The almost universal use of *wh*, *hw*, or its equivalent, to indicate the initial sound in *when* and the like, shows a curious misconception of this sound and of the value of the symbols used to indicate it. This is very clearly shown in the "Report of a joint committee on a phonetic english alphabet." Here in § 19 we read, "The combination *wh* in *what, white, when*, etc., is to be written [hw] in accordance with the earlier and more correct practice."

Now, this may be *more* correct, but it is not correct in the simple sense of the word, as an analysis of the sound will show.[1] Of course, I must speak of my own pronunciation, and of those that I have examined, but I have no hesitation in saying that these represent the typical New England pronunciation, and that of even a much more widely spread territory.

In all cases the voiceless air does not reach the lips until they have assumed their rounded *w* articulation. And even admitting the possibility of a slight escape of voiceless and inarticulate air, it would be nothing more than one of the "on glides" so commonly recognized, The lips then retain their rounded *w* articulation while the voiceless air passes through it, until the articulation changes into that of the vowel, when the larynx begins its vibrations and voiced air then appears. Again, of course, there is the opportunity for the "off glide," with a slight voiced quality at the end of the sound, and when the lips are already in motion to the vowel articulation. This is common to all sounds, but is never taken as warranting the use of "combination." Indeed, the voiceless quality of the true *w*—the voiced variety—is much more striking. In my pronunciation of *way*, fully a third of the *w* is voiceless.

The question of stress should receive attention. As a matter of fact, in my own pronunciation the sound is strongest at the very end—that is to say, the voiceless air is expelled with more force then, and it is interesting to note that the lips continue closing, the greatest amount of rounding not being reached until the end of the sound. But there is nothing in stress to destroy the simpleness of a sound. An *f* or an *s* may be stronger at the beginning, at the middle, or at the end, but they are none the less the same simple *f* or *s*. The same must then be true of voicelsss *w*, and so we find nothing in the glides or the stress to militate against a simple sound.

We have, then, a voiceless *w* to deal with, and it becomes a question of providing this sound with a name and a symbol. Indeed, it is precisely the symbol which has caused most of the misapprehension. The letter *h* has been almost always used in this sound, and consequently a majority of listeners have insisted upon hearing an *h*. With the trained phonetician it is often a mere question of definition or nomenclature.

In English we use an *h* (not in combination) to indicate that voiceless air is passed through the articulation of the sound which follows, always a vowel, and consequently voiced. Thus *h* is merely voiceless air, depending for its articulation upon the vowel which follows it—a mere phonetic chameleon. This is no longer true in the class of voiceless fricatives—*f*, *þ*, *s*, *ʃ*. In this case the fricative has an articulation of its own, differing completely from that of the following sound. There is no doubt to which of the classes the voiceless *w* belongs. So if we are to be logical, it must be distinguished from *w* (the voiced variety) by a symbol of its own ; just as *f* is distinguished from *v*, or *s* from *z*. The continued use of *hw* would imply that the voiceless air was passed through the articulation of the following sound—the voiced bilabial fricative. This is, of course, not so, for there is no such sound following the voiceless quality, and it is therefore misleading to use the *w*. But it is perfectly true that without the *w* the *h* would be improper and deceptive, for the sound has an articulation of its own. Therefore, the symbols *wh* or *hw* must be abandoned if we care for consistency. There remains also the prime rule of all phonetic symbols—a single symbol for a simple sound—which has been adhered to in principle in the "Report" (cf. p. 14). And as the digraphs *th*, *sh*, etc., have been "replaced by simple letters," so must the digraph *hw* or *wh* be simplified.

Two symbols have been prominently used to indicate this sound—the reversed *m* [ɯ] and the

[1] I may say that all the statements in this article are based on experimentation, and are consequently exact.

reversed *w* [ʍ]. Professor Grandgent has used the former,[2] combining it at times with *h*, which must in this case express the on-glide. Professor Victor uses the latter,[3] and also $\underset{\circ}{w}$.[4] Miss Soames follows Professor Sweet[5] in the use of *wh*—although the latter uses a single letter in his "Organic notation."

This discussion may be resumed as follows: The sound in question is a voiceless *w*, sometimes with a voiced off-glide, more rarely with a voiceless on-glide. It is in no sense a combination of sounds, and should be distinguished by a single symbol.

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AN AQUATIC IN *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner.*

In lines 131–134 of *The Ancient Mariner*, Coleridge vaguely reveals, through a fitting atmosphere of unreality, the malign agent that has begun to wreak vengeance on the slayer of the Albatross:

> And some in dreams assured were
> Of the Spirit that plagued us so;
> Nine fathom deep he had follow'd us
> From the Land of Mist and Snow.

So the lines ran in the first edition of *Lyrical Ballads:* they suffered no material change in later versions.

However, when he subsequently added the curious marginal gloss that accompanies *The Ancient Mariner* in *Sibylline Leaves*, the poet gave this stanza a peculiar emphasis, reinforcing it by next to the longest and perhaps the most grandiloquent passage in the entire commentary. He explains:

"A Spirit had followed them; one of the invisible inhabitants of this planet, neither departed souls nor angels; concerning whom the learned Jew, Josephus, and the Platonic Constantinopolitan, Michael Psellus, may be consulted. They are very numerous, and there is no climate or element without one or more."

Does not this gloss itself call for commentary?

Strangely enough, in the sporadic efforts that have been made during the past sixty years to trace Coleridge's "indebtedness" in *The Ancient Mariner* to various "sources," one or two of which, for all his discursive reading, he may never have seen, his specific recommendation to consult Josephus and Psellus has passed unheeded. Possibly a latent touch of humor has made his advice seem irrelevant. His reference to "the learned Jew," it is only fair to say, does not seem to be a clue of remarkable value. If he really means Flavius Josephus, he is apparently either napping or purposely misleading. So far as I can discover, there is nothing in the well-known historian that serves in any way to explain the demonology of *The Rime;* although Josephus' account of Eleazer exorcising evil spirits before Vespasian and his army would in other connections have attracted Coleridge, had he read it.[1] Very likely the author of a recent fascinating article on *Demonology* in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*[2] could decide whether the poet did not rather have in mind some forgotten erudite of the Middle Ages.[3]

His allusion to "the Platonic Constantinopolitan," on the other hand, is easily identified. Coleridge refers to Michael Psellus, surnamed "The Younger" (1018–1079), a late Neoplatonist, who, though in all probability not a native of Constantinople, became a teacher there, and ranks in Byzantine literature as "the great literary light and philosopher of the eleventh century."[4] Among his numerous writings is a polemical dialogue directed against the obscure sect of the Euchites, and entitled Περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων,—evidently one of the treatises of which

[2] *German and English Sounds*, Ginn, 1892, pp. 6, 10.
[3] *Kleine Phonetik*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 61.
[4] *Elemente der Phonetik*, Leipzig, 1894, p. 222.
[5] *Primer of Phonetics*, Oxford, 1890, pp. 80, 82.

[1] *Antiq. Jud.* VIII, 2, 5; cf. *B. J.* VII, 6, 3.
[2] Vol. IV, pp. 514 ff.
[3] Later:—Could he by any possibility have meant "the learned Jew," Philo? Cf. Coleridge's *Works*, ed. Shedd, vol. V, pp. 449 ff., and the article on *Angelology* in *The Jewish Encyclopedia.*
[4] Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. Byzantinischen Lit.*, in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch d. Klass. Altertumswissenschaft* (1897), IX, i, ss. 79, 80, 433 ff.

Coleridge was thinking when he put together his marginal gloss. Illustrative of some unusual tendencies in Coleridge's reading, this dialogue might well be quoted extensively for the light it throws upon his studies in mediæval theology and revived Platonism. Here, however, we must restrict ourselves to a few briefer excerpts bearing more obviously upon the gloss in question. There is no need of wasting words in introducing the characters of Psellus' dialogue; a certain *Thrax* is supposed to be retailing to *Timotheus* the occult lore of a Mesopotamian named *Marcus*:[5]

"Marcus," continued I, "are there many kinds of demons?"

"Many?" said he; "there are demons of every possible variety in form and body; for the upper air is full of them, as well as the air immediately around us; likewise the land and the sea and the innermost abysses."

"Well," said I, "if it be not too laborious, enumerate them severally."

"It would be laborious," answered he, "merely to recall those that I myself have cast out. However, if you insist, I shall do my best to satisfy you."

Whereupon he enumerated many kinds of demons, including their names and their forms and the regions they inhabit. . . . . In general, so he said, there are six main varieties of demons . . . . . First, what he called in his local barbarian gibberish "Leliourion," a name signifying *igneous;* this sort roams the atmosphere above us; though from the sacred regions around the moon every demon is banished as a thing profane. Second, the sort that wanders in the air directly about us, a kind often simply called *aerial.* In addition to these, third, the *terrestrial.* Fourth, the *aqueous* and *marine.* Fifth, the *subterranean.* Last, the *lightloathing* and *insensate.* These varieties of demons all hate God and are hostile to men. They are, so to speak, incomparably evil. But the aqueous and the subterranean, and still more the lightloathing are malignant and baleful to the last degree.

So far as concerns lines 131–134 of *The Ancient Mariner,* the baleful genius that "had followed them" would belong in Marcus' fourth division, the *aqueous* or *marine;* just as the "dæmons of the earth or middle air" mentioned in the gloss to lines 345–349 belong respectively in his third and first. In the gloss to lines 393–397, however, there might seem to be a confusion of species: here "The Polar Spirit's fellow-dæmons, the invisible inhabitants of the element," are heard talking in the air above. Still, whether or not their proper abode is the water, an escape from their usual habitat should give us no concern. Coleridge's poetic master also—his demonology is far more definitely articulated than Coleridge's—permits the evil powers of all the "elements" to gather and parley in the upper atmosphere:

> For Satan with slye preface to return
> Had left him vacant, and with speed was gon
> Up to the middle Region of thick Air,
> Where all his Potentates in Council sate;
> There without sign of boast, or sign of joy,
> Sollicitous and blank he thus began.
> Princes, Heavens antient Sons, Ætherial Thrones,
> Demonian Spirits now, from the Element
> Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd,
> Powers of Fire, Air, Water, and Earth beneath,
> So may we hold our place and these mild seats
> Without new trouble . . .[6]

Psellus, I am told, was a main avenue through which oriental demonology passed into Europe. Is it improbable that Milton in his "industrious and select reading" became acquainted with the dialogue Περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων? It is by no means impossible that both Milton and Coleridge knew also of a shorter treatise by the same "Constantinopolitan": τινὰ περὶ δαιμόνων δοξάζουσιν Ἕλληνες.

These references to Psellus and Milton are casual hints for the next editor of *The Ancient Mariner.* Let us hope that he will dive through the flotsam and jetsam of so many previous note mongers, and morosely follow Coleridge "nine fathom deep" to his real sources.

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[5] I translate from the edition by J. F. Boissonade, Nuremberg, 1838, pp. 15, 16, 17, 18.

[6] *P. R.* II, 115–126; cf. *Il Pens.* 93–96; *P. R.* I, 39–47; IV, 201.

ENGLISH WORDS IN THE *Lais* OF MARIE DE FRANCE.

Marie de France used two English words in her Lais, *nightegale* and *gotelef*. How are we to account for this peculiarity? The question is not without importance, for the use of these words has been adduced[1] as a proof that Marie, in some cases at least, was translating from an English source. And surely it would be interesting to know whether or not she read *Tristan*, for example, in a French form or in an English version. Do the two words *nightegale* and *gotelef* allow us to reach a definite conclusion in this matter?

It is not enough to point out that, as Marie was writing in England where English had continued to be spoken by the side of French, it was only natural that she should occasionally use English words.[2] This is simply stating that Marie might do so without running the risk of not being understood. But that does not explain why she chose to do so. Surely there was no necessity for it. French was the language of the public to which she addressed herself: at least she says as much in her *Purgatoire de Saint Patrice*.[3] And supposing that among that public there were to be found a few English-speaking persons, totally ignorant of French, would it help them much to be told that "rossignol" meant *nightegale* and that "chievrefueil" was the French for *gotelef;* for all that the story would have remained a closed book to them. Clearly, if we are to account for the use of these words by Marie, we have to look for some other explanation. I think it must be sought in the influence of Wace over her.

Marie knew Wace's translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth. This has been lately established with certainty.[4] She more than once borrowed from him, not indeed the subject-matter of any of her lays, but geographical names and slight bits of information.[5] We need not be surprised that Marie felt attracted toward his work: for was he not also relating the exploits of the ancient Britons? But obviously she got the material for her lays from some other quarter and her interest in Wace centered less on the matter of his stories than on his way of telling them. Although a greater writer than he, she took from him a few lessons in style and caught some of his tricks of expression, borrowed some turns of phrase, a few mannerisms. Compare with *Brut*, 10571–2:

> Asses ot a la eort barons
> Dont jo ne sai dire les nons.[6]

lines 21–22 in *Milun:*

> En sa euntree ot un barun,
> Mes jeo ne sai numer sun nun.

and again *Chaitivel*, 33–34, *Guingamor*, 7–8.— There is in *Lanval* a peculiar passage that, as far as Marie is concerned, stands unique in point of style:

> Lanval donout les riches duns,
> Lanval aquitout les prisuns,
> Lanval vesteit les jugleürs,
> Lanval faiseit les grans honurs,
> Lanval despendeit largement,
> Lanval donout or e argent:
> n'i ot estrange ne privé
> a qui Lanval n'eüst doné. 209–216

Is not such a striking repetition of the same word at the beginning of a series of lines very much after the manner of the following passage from Wace:[7]

> [Artur] Donna déduiz, donna balez,
> Donna levriers, donna brachez,
> Donna pélices, donna dras,

[1] G. Paris, *Rom.*, XIV, pp. 605–606.

[2] Prof. Warnke, *Lais*[2], 1900, p. xxi, referring to the *Chievrefueil*, assumes that the original Breton lay bore a French or an English name according as it was told to a French or an English-speaking audience. But granting the existence of that very hypothetical Breton lay, why was it that of all lays only the *Chievrefueil* could boast a double name? Or if it was a feature common to all lays told in England, why did Marie mention it only in the case of the *Chievrefueil?*

[3] Ed. Jenkins[2], ll. 2299–2300: Jo, Marie, ai mis en memoire | Le livre de l'Espurgatoire: | *En Romanz qu'il scit entendables* | *A laie gent* e cuvenables.

[4] Brugger, *Zts. f. fr. Spr. u. Lit.*, XX, pp. 122, 129, 152; F. Lot, *Rom.*, XXVIII, p. 47, n. 2. Cp. *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, XXIX, p. 44, n. 1.

[5] Cp. *Dous Amanz*, ll. 7–8, and *Brut*, ed. Le Roux de Liney, ll. 10589–10590, and see Edith Riekert, *Marie de France: Seven lays done into English*, p. 181.

[6] Cp. *Rou*, ed. Andresen, II, ll. 6736–6737: "En la terre aveit un baron | mais io ne sai dire son non."

[7] Marie certainly knew and liked Wace's brilliant description of King Arthur's court: the beginning of her *Lanval* owes a few touches to it. Cp. *Lanval*, l. 5 ff., and Wace, ll. 10020–10025 and ll. 10894–10900.

Donna copes, donna hénas . . .
Donna argent et donna or,
Donna le miex de son trésor.[8] 10879 ff.

If we come now to the use of foreign words, we see that, here too, Marie might have taken example from Wace. Speaking of the dolmens at Stonehenge, he says :

Breton les solent en bretans
Apeler Karole as gaians
Senhange ont non en anglois
Pierres pandues en françois.
Brut, ll. 8383–6.

A little before coming to this passage, Merlin had said to the king :

Fai ci aporter la carole
Que gaiant firent en Irlande. ll. 8246–7.

Let us turn now to the Latin original from which we know Wace was translating. It reads in the passage from which we have quoted lines 8246–7 of the translation : "Si perpetuo opere sepulturam virorum decorare volueris, mitte *pro chorea gigantum*, quæ est in Killarao monte Hyberniæ."[9] But there is not a word in Geoffrey which corresponds to lines 8383–6 of Wace. Of course, Senhange was the name actually used in England, and Wace writing in French found it expedient to give a translation of it for the benefit of his French readers. Yet the fact that he did not find Senhange in his original and need not have mentioned it at all, points to his taking a certain delight in showing off his knowledge of several languages. He certainly likes to discourse at length on etymologies, however far-fetched they may be, and he is always careful then to give a French rendering, no matter how fanciful, of the foreign words he quotes. After he has told us how, in a meeting to which the Saxons had come with their knives under their garments, the unsuspicious and unarmed Britons were massacred on the order *Nemet oure saxas* shouted by the Saxon chief Hengist, he goes on to say that King Vortigern was obliged to hand over to the Saxons a good part of his land :

Lor otréa an fié Sucexe
Et tot Essexe et Midelsexe . . .
Por remambrer la traïson
Des costiax orent ensi non.
Sexes ce dient li Englois,
Plusors costiax sont en françois.
Brut, l. 7473 ff.

But here again he had to go out of his way to indulge his linguistic tastes : Geoffrey knows nothing of such a derivation. Elsewhere he notes that French people could not pronounce Londaine in the right manner, but must say Londre as best they could.[10] Whatever may be Wace's ultimate motive in passages of that description, whether he himself believes in the etymologies he deduces so seriously, or imagines that he is giving his readers invaluable bits of information, or, as indeed is more probable, takes a genuine delight in that very medley of languages, the fact remains that such occurrences are by no means infrequent with him ; indeed *françois* at the end of a line seems to call for *englois* at the end of the next one.[11]

Now, is it going too far to suppose that Marie was struck by the recurrence of that rhyme and much interested in the varied samples of linguistic information of which it was generally a sure token? She may well have thought that this also was a device which belonged to the technique as it were of Breton story-telling. Compare with the lines 8383–8386 of *Brut* quoted above, the following passage from *Laüstic :*

Laüstic a nun . .
Si l'apelent en lur païs :
ceo est russignol en Franceis
e nihtegale en dreit Engleis.

And when in *Chievrefueil*, l. 115–116, she writes

Gotelef l'apelent Engleis
Chievrefueil le nument Franceis,

although the wording seems to imply that there is an English as well as a French version of the lay, is not Marie simply giving a literal rendering of the word "chievrefueil," just as Wace, when he

[8] Cr. ll. 10499-10516.

[9] *Historia regum Britanniæ*, ed. San-Marte, VIII, 10, p. 109.

[10] *Brut*, l. 3845 ff. Cp. *Rou*, II, ll. 47–80.

[11] In cases of that kind, the requirements of the rhyme are never to be overlooked. Cp. with the following lines in Geoffrey "Præter hos non remansit princeps alicujus pretii citra Hispaniam, qui ad istud edictum non veniret" (p. 133, IX, 12) Wace's rendering: "I n'ot baron jusqu'en Espaigne, | *Ne jusqu'al Flum en Alemaigne*, | Qui a la feste ne venist, | Por ce que la somonse oist." *Brut*, l. 10597 ff.

writes "Pierres pandues en françois" seems to point to a genuine French appellation of the Stonehenge dolmens, but is really putting into French the meaning of the English word.[12]

It would seem, therefore, that little significance is to be attached to the use of the words *gotelef* and *nightegale* by Marie de France. It was with her a mere mannerism, suggested most probably by a reading of Wace's works. Any attempt to base on that use an argument as to the probable language of Marie's sources is unwarranted.

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EXORCISM WITH A STOLE.

(*Second article.*[1])

Although the custom of exorcising with a stole may owe its ecclesiastical adoption to a popular belief in the efficacy of a special garb in dealing with the Powers of darkness, and though such a belief may border upon the realm of folk-lore, exorcism with a stole is not folk-lore[2] but a regular liturgical usage, practised, as Mr. Bédier writes,[3] long before the thirteenth century, and practised even now by the Roman Catholic Church.

How was this kind of exorcism actually performed? No one, perhaps, is better qualified to answer our question than is the Franciscan Hieronymus Mengus, whose work on exorcisms was printed "*De licentia Superiorum,*"—"*Bononiæ, Apud Io. Rosium.* MDLXXXVIII." The main title of this book is *Eversio Dæmonum e Corporibus Oppressis*, followed in smaller type by a subtitle which will indicate sufficiently for our needs from what sources Mengus derived his recipes for driving out devils: *Cum diuorum, tum aliorum auctorum potentissimos, et efficaces in malignos spiritus propulsandos, et maleficia ab energumenis pellenda, continens Exorcismos* [then, in still smaller type] *Ab innumeris mendis, quam temporum iniuria, quam hominum incuria scatebant expurgatos, variisq; Documentis, ac Rubricis, cum suis Benedictionibus exornatos.*

Without stopping to learn from Mengus how and why the devil entered into the bodies of his victims, or by what signs they betrayed their unhappy condition, or, finally, what exits the devil was wont to use in going forth, we shall endeavour to ascertain from our authority how exorcism with a stole was performed. The ceremony varied, no doubt, from age to age, and, as Mengus intimates, various writers, both within and without the Church, had allowed errors to mar the ritual, yet it is hardly probable that any essential differences, save in the formulas uttered, had crept into the ceremony of exorcising with a stole between the days when the fabliau of *Estula* took literary form and the time when the farce of *Pathelin* came into existence; for there is a wonderful persistency in ecclesiastical habits; no great institution has preserved the beliefs, the customs, and the costumes of the Middle Ages so faithfully as has the Church, and it is safe to assume that the information wherewith Mengus supplies us is pretty accurate.

Mengus tells us that the exorcism is best performed in a church and that the priest who is to undertake the arduous task should fast for three days, dress according to his Order, and with meekness and consciousness of sin, trusting not himself but God, and after many devout, and fearless genuflexions should thrice make the sign of the cross on his brow and say:

"*In nomine Pa✠tris, et Fi✠lii, et Spiritus ✠ sancti. Amen.*"

Hereupon he crosses himself on brow, mouth and breast; then utters another formula; then another; then, going toward the possessed, the priest crosses him on brow, mouth, and breast; after which he ends another formula thus:

"Per signum Crucis ✠ de inimicis nostris liberet te Deus noster."[4]

[12] Outside of the two passages just quoted, the rhyme Franceis: Engleis occurs once more—in a very characteristic connection—in *Milun*, ll. 385–388: El Munt Seint Michiel s'assemblerent; | Norman e Bretun i alerent | e li Flamenc e li Franceis; | *mes n'i ot guaires des Engleis.* "Engleis" is not found elsewhere in the *Lais*, "Franceis" only once, in the middle of a line (*Chaitivel*, l. 77).

[1] See *Modern Language Notes* for December, 1904, p. 235.

[2] Instead of "folklore," *ib.*, p. 236, col. 2 at top, read "superstition."

[3] In a letter of December 31, 1904.

[4] P. 15.

Now the exorcist is to put the stole over the neck of the possessed, and laying his hand on the other's head, he shall say :

"O Vos omnes abominabiles, ac rebelles Dei, coniuro vos spiritus, adiuro, voco, constrigo, euuoco, contendo, et contestor ubicumque sitis in homine isto, per Pa✠trem, et Fi✠lium, et Spiritum ✠ sanctum, et per potentissimum nomen Dei Heloy ✠ forte, et admirabile exorcizo te, et adiuro vos spiritus, ac impero vobis auctoritate qua fungor, per virtutem Dei, et sapientissimi creatoris, qui cuncta creauit, tenens vos in sua potestate, a qua fugere non potestis, ut incontinenti verba coniurationis meæ intelligatis, et virtutem ; et sentiatis vos victos ex præcepto vobis facto, nunc ab ista creatura Dei. N. et imagine Christi non audeatis recedere, absque licentia mei præcepti, et sic sitis legati, et incatenati, sicut sancti Dei ligauerunt dæmones cum catenis igneis.

Hic Exorcista ligando Stolam ad collum obsessi cum tribus nodis dicat.

Ita cum stola iucunditatis ego vos ligo. In nomine Pa✠tris, et Fi✠lii, et Spiritus ✠ sancti. Amen."[5]

We need not follow this exorcism to the end. The devil is well threatened, he hears himself and his crew bluntly described, and if he persists on remaining till the end of *Exorcismus primus*, which covers some thirty-four pages, the exorciser must repeat from page 19.

Hieronymus Mengus has comparatively little to say as to the use of the stole, and for further knowledge we must turn to another authority, the *Thesaurus Exorcismorum atque Coniurationum, terribilium, potentissimorum, efficacissimorum cum Practica probatissima :* etc., a compilation authorised in 1606 and published twenty years later at Cologne. The *Thesaurus* opens with the treatise by Valerius Polydorus of Padua. Next comes the *Flagellum Dæmonum* of Mengus (pages 236–433), a work very similar to that already cited, and this is followed by his *Fustis Dæmonum* (pages 433–617).

Valerius Polydorus speaks more fully of the use of the stole than Mengus. Under the sixth preliminary exorcism (page 42) Valerius declares that if the [evil] spirit shall not have yielded when called, the exorciser shall chide and upbraid him in all patience and with learning until at length he come up ; but if he still neglect to come up, the exorciser shall not desist and he shall of course use the stole. . . . . But if the spirit comes up, the exorciser, standing, and making ready the binding [no doubt of the three knots in the stole], shall read from the Apocalypse, beginning with "*Vidi Angelum,*" and after the words "*consumentur mille anni,*" the exorciser shall lay the unfolded stole over the left shoulder of the one possessed, so that it may hang down equally in front and behind, and he shall tie it under the right shoulder, saying meanwhile,

"*Sicut sanctus Dei Angelus virtute Dei, serpentem antiquum ligavit et super ipsum signavit ; ita ego auctoritate ipsius te ligo, creatura reprobata, stola hac sacra, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti ; et signo signaculo Sanctæ Crucis,* ✠ *ut posternas* (sic) *te, cum omnibus satellitibus tuis, et obedias Deo, et mihi ministro ejus.*"

Nothing further is said of the stole till we have covered one hundred and two pages of Latin which might easily have put a worse Latinist to flight at the first onslaught ; then, on page 144, among the *postexorcizationes* occurs this direction : "*Hic incipiat Exorcista sacra stola Diabolum percutere, ex leui personæ obsessæ flagellatione, et dicat immediate sequentia !*"—But we have the essential facts and need dwell no longer on this scene in which a priest with holy-water, cross, stole, and incense, and formulas as wierd at times as the *Marmara, carimari, carimara* of Maistre Pathelin, endeavours literally to "knock the Devil" out of whomsoever one or more of the five causes enumerated by Valerius Polydorus[6] had rendered susceptible to demoniacal obsession.

As early as the thirteenth century more than one witness must have seen a comic element in these essentially theatrical scenes of exorcism, for not merely in the *Jeu d'Adam* of Adam de la Hale and in the fabliau of *Estula* is burlesque allusion made to a ceremony sanctioned by popes and saints and councils,[7] but it is made a butt of laughter again and again. Does the fact that exorcism with a stole is treated in a tone of scoffing jocularity indicate genuine disbelief in its efficacy? Hardly ; for however often minstrel or playwright seizes a chance to gibe the priests or turn their ceremonies to ridicule, there are comparatively few examples of obvious incredulity. Blasphemy, then as now, could go hand in hand with faith.

[5] Pp. 16–17.

[6] Pp. 6–7.

[7] See Mengus, *Flagellum Dæmonum*, p. 240 of the *Thesaurus*.

The allusions in the fabliau of *Estula*, in the *Jeu d'Adam*, and in *Pathelin* are made by laymen; in the fabliau *Du Prestre et du Chevalier*[8] it is a priest named Selvestre whom the minstrel Milon d'Amiens chooses for a somewhat burlesque utterance as to this liturgical practice. Sire Selvestre has had the ill-luck to shelter a certain knight who forces his host to supply him with far more than the priest had meant to include in his bargain. Twice he yields to the knight's demands, once at the cost of Dame Avinée, and once at that of his niece Gille. But the knight is relentless, and for the third time he dispatches his squire to the Chaplain's bedside with a summons which causes that worthy to flinch.

— Le mort me prengne et puis abatre,"
Fait li Prestres, qui s'en vergoigne,
"Quant je irai pour tel besoigne!"
Tout li samble que che soit soinge;
Arrier se trait, de li s'eslonge,
Et si se sainne demanois.
Iriés, angouissieus et destrois
Fu li Prestres pour le nouviele:
"Amis," fait-il, "en lui canele
Maufès, qui emaint lui esploite.
Portons i l'yaue benoite,
L'estole, le crois et l'encens
Car je cuit qu'il est hors du sens."[9]

Another "chaplain," in a piece published by Méon,[10] on being bidden to rid a certain couple of a statue that keeps them apart, goes to the spot with holy-water, cross, stole, and psaltery.

. . . . . li chapelain li geta
L'eve bencoite à plain vol,
Et li lanca l'estole el col,
Et devant li la croiz li mist,
Si le conjura et li dist:
Es-tu deables anemis?
De par Dieu qu'en croiz fu mis,
Dont ci puez veoir la samblance,
Te conjur, et par sa puissance,
Que plus ne reperes céenz."

Another example is worth citing, and for two reasons. The first is, that it contains a burlesque formula, meant, perhaps, to resemble monkish Latin; the second reason is, that the wording may have been suggested by the passage in the *Jeu d'Adam* already quoted. Yet the similarity is quite as likely to have arisen from other circumstances of too complicated a nature to be set forth at this time.

This sixth example occurs in the farce of *George Le Veau*. Georges le Veau is a simple-minded husband, a forerunner of Georges Dandin. His simplicity is such that he allows his *curé* to rig him in a calfskin in order that Georges may cut a still sorrier figure before his wife.

"Ceste robbe de paradis
Te donne, que tu vestiras;
Puis, quant devers ta femme yras,
Ton nom congnoistras en substance."[11]

A short quotation, beginning where Georges greets his wife, will suffice to show the effect of his shaggy disguise.

GEORGE LE VEAU.
Dieu gard, ma femme.
LA FEMME.
Vostre femme, villain infemme!
Ostez moy ce dyable cornu.
GEORGE LE VEAU.
Et vrayment je suis revenu
Pour faire ainsi que Dieu m'a dit.
LA FEMME.
Ostez-moy ce dyable mauldit;
Mes voysins, vencz cy trestous.
LE CURÉ.
Qu'i a-il? Alyson, qu'avez-vous?
Comment, vous nommez l'ennemy!
LA FEMME.
De l'eau benoiste, mon amy;
Je croy que je deviendray folle.
LE CURÉ.
Ganymèdes, ca mon estolle.
LE CLERC.
Tenoris et conjurare.
LE CURÉ.
Diabolis inficare
Super nivem dealbabor.

[8] Cited by G. Schiavo in his "Fede e superstizione nell' antica poesia francese." See the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XV, p. 307. Schiavo, to whose article my attention was called by Prof. Karl Pietsch, gives two examples, with a few words of explanation. Schiavo's article seems to have been intended to complete and amplify a dissertation by R. Schroeder entitled *Glaube und Aberglaube*, Hanover, 1886. Of Schroeder's dissertation, only 36 pages, which do not include his chapter on "Der Teufel," were accessible.

[9] *Recueil général et complet des Fabliaux*, vol. II, p. 82.

[10] Vol. II, p. 300. Cited by Schiavo. Méon's collection was inaccessible to me.

[11] *Ancien Théâtre Français*, vol. I, pp. 395–396.

Ego volo, te prenabo.
Que quiers-tu en ceste maison?
GEORGE LE VEAU.
Rien que je saiche que Alison.
LA FEMME.
Doulx Jésus, il me mengera.

When Georges inquires who has made him as he is, the Clerc replies,

"Qui? Dea, quelque peché infaict
Que vous avez vers Dieu commis.[12]
"Ma foy, je te croy,"

cries George le Veau, and promises never to displease Alison again.

Whether or not the imaginary offence of Georges le Veau is to be counted as one of the five causes enumerated by Valerius Polydorus, the calfskin, with its long ears and tail, must have caused its wearer to resemble very closely some of the "devils" with whose appearance the play-goers of those days were familiar[13] and the author of this farce could be sure of amusing his audience by suggesting a scene that many of them had witnessed and that all could understand. To be sure, the actual ceremony was not performed; nor was it necessary, for here as in the five other cases the imagination could be trusted to call up vivid pictures of exorcisers at work. Maybe, too, the Church would have frowned upon a mimic exorcism by "histrions" as an unendurable profanation. At all events, I have thus far met only one case in which the actual performance of this ceremony, despite its profoundly theatrical character, was not left purely to the imagination. This example is interesting, not merely for its own sake, but also because the circumstances are not wholly unlike those in *Pathelin*.

In the fabliau *Des trois avugles de Compiengne*[14] the minstrel Cortebarbe tells how a mischievous clerk, falling in with three blind beggars on the road to Senlis, pretended to give one of them a *besant*, and he performed the trick so neatly that each blind man supposed that one of his companions had the coin. All four turned back to Compiegne where they enjoyed good cheer at the inn of a burgess named Nicole. When it came to settling their account the next morning each blind man looked to one of the others to foot the bill. The three beggars would have had to reckon with their host had not the clerk come to the rescue by promising to pay their scot, but he asked Nicole to get his money of their friend the priest, at church. Our landlord agrees and the clerk posts off to the *moustier*, where he finds his man.

"Sire, fet-il, por saint Germain,
Entendez çà, .I. poi à mi.
Tuit li clerc doivent estre ami,
Por ce vieng-je près de l'autel.
Je giut anuit à un ostel
Chies à .I. borgois qui moult vaut:
Li douz Jhesu-Criz le consaut,
Quar preudom est et sans boisdie;
Mes une cruel maladie
Li prist ersoir dedenz sa teste,
Entruès que nous demenions feste,
Si qu'il fu trestoz marvoiez.
Dieu merci, or est ravoiez,
Mès encore li deut li chiéz;
Si vous pri que vous li lisiez,
Après chanter, une evangille
Desus son chief,—Et par saint Gille,
Fet li prestres, je li lirai."

Our clerk now says goodbye to Nicole and rides away. Nicole goes to the *moustier* a while later to get his money.

. . . . . moult fu engrès
De ses .XV. sols recevoir:
Avoir les cuide tout por voir.
Enz el chancel tant atendi
Que li prestres se desvesti,
Et que la messe fu chantée.
Et li prestres, sanz demorée,
A pris le livre et puis l'estole,
Si a huchié: "Sire Nichole,
Venez avant, agenoillez."

Nicole protests and demands his money, denying that he is out of his head, but the priest is true to his cloth, and at a word from him his parishioners seize our luckless inn-keeper and hold him fast while the priest gets his "book,"—not a text for exorcising, but the Gospel.

L'Evangille de chief en chief
Li lut, l'estole entor le col,
Mès à tort le tenoit por fol;
Puis l'esproha d'eve benoite.

[12] *Ib.*, pp. 396–398.

[13] Hides of various kinds were no doubt often worn by actors impersonating demons. The Valenciennes Passion Play (1547) was illustrated with a miniature which seems to bear witness to the foregoing supposition. A special study of medieval theatrical costumes would certainly bring out a fairly large number of facts, yet the texts are scantily supplied with indications of this nature.

[14] *Recueil général*, vol. I, p. 81.

It may be that Cortebarbe, like many another minstrel, had not been constant enough in his church-going to know precisely what a priest would read from under such circumstances; for the "book" was possibly not the "Evangille," but some text resembling the *Eversio Dæmonum* or the compilation by Valerius Polydorus. Another possible irregularity is that the priest does not fasten his stole round Nicole's body; but it is unnecessary to haggle over a minstrel's jest, and perhaps Cortebarbe has told us truthfully how exorcism with a stole was performed in those days at Compiegne.

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THE *Motif* OF *Young Waters.*[1]

Professor Child, in his unusually scant note to this dramatic ballad, makes no allusion to the striking occasion of all the trouble therein narrated. The similarity of situation presented by this ballad and several other well known poems would seem to warrant mention in another edition of Professor Child's collection.

In connection with the ballad *King Arthur and King Cornwall*, Professor Child discussed the group of literary remains represented by the *Voyage de Charlemagne*, the first tale in *The Thousand and One Nights*, the poem of *Biterolf and Dietleib*, and an Icelandic *Reimur*. These all present a *motif* which Professor Child does not maintain is identical, but with which he associates them in his index under the caption: "King who regards himself as the richest, most magnificent, etc., in the world is told that there is one who outstrips him, and undertakes to see for himself whether this is so, threatening death to the person who has affirmed his inferiority in case this is disproved." With such a *motif* as this *Young Waters* has not been connected either by Professor Child, Gaston Paris, Koschwitz, or Morf.

We may compare *Young Waters* conveniently with the *Voyage de Charlemagne*, probably the most familiar member of the group mentioned above.

In the Scottish ballad, the king, queen and courtiers are looking over the wall of Stirling town to see a gay party of knights who are approaching for a tournament. A "wylie" lord asks the queen:

> 'O tell me wha's the fairest face
> Rides in the company?'

She answers:

> "'I've sene lord, and I've sene laird,
> And knights of high degree,
> But a fairer face than Young Waters
> Mine eyne did never see.'
>
> "Out then spack the jealous king
> And an angry man was he:
> 'O if he had been twice as fair,
> You micht have excepted me.'
>
> "'You're neither laird nor lord,' she says,
> 'Bot the king that wears the crown;
> There is not a knight in fair Scotland
> But to thee maun bow down.'
>
> "For a' that she could do or say,
> Appeased he wad nae bee,
> But for the words which she had said,
> Young Waters he maun dee."

And he *was* killed "for the words the queen had spoke."

The *Voyage de Charlemagne* opens thus: One day at S. Denis when the courtiers were gathered about, Charles took his queen by the hand and questioned her thus: "Lady, did you ever see any king under Heaven whose sword became him so well and the crown upon his head?" To which she foolishly replied: "Emperor, you may prize yourself too highly. I do know one who is more graceful than you when he wears his crown in the midst of his knights." When Charles hears this his pride is hurt. He is furious, demands the stranger's name that a comparison may be made in the presence of the French courtiers, and swears he will kill the queen if the test does not warrant her bold assertion. Then the queen cries for mercy, saying she was only joking, and that this stranger is, to be sure, richer than Charles, but is in every other sense inferior to him as a chevalier and a warrior. Under threat of instant death if she does not reveal the stranger's identity, the queen names

[1] Child, *Eng. and Scot. Pop. Ballads*, II, 94.

Hugo, Emperor of Greece and Constantinople. With renewed threats of vengeance upon his return if the queen's statement is not verified, Charles and his suite start out on their famous expedition.

Now, a close comparison of these two passages furnishes a similar situation: Upon a formal occasion, a king is told by his queen the unwelcome truth that some one outshines him in personal beauty and magnificence. Thereupon, the king at once turns wroth, and the queen, seeing her folly, tries to so "hedge" or qualify her rash statement as to mollify her lord. This she does by assuring him that really *he* excels all others in military strength and prowess. Not satisfied, the king solemnly vows to take vengeance upon some one,—in *Young Waters* upon his rival,—in the *Voyage* upon the queen herself.

So much is common to the two poems,—certainly enough to strike the casual reader with force. Now, the *Voyage* is a long poem, of which our episode is but the point of departure; while the ballad is a brief dramatic recital shorn of all digressions. If we consider the two situations as at all analogous, which seems undeniable, the only considerable divergence is that in the *Voyage* Charles goes on a far journey to verify the queen's statement, while in *Young Waters* no such investigation is necessary. This journey occurs in all the other versions which G. Paris has identified with the *Voyage* (*Romania* IX, 8 ff.), and this many will regard as the essential trait of the *motif*.

It may be argued that in *Young Waters* the king takes vengeance only upon the handsome youth, while in the *Voyage* Charles tells his queen that if she has lied, her life shall be the forfeit. In both cases vengeance is the main thing. But we may note that Buchan's later version of *Young Waters*, of which Professor Child had a very poor opinion, contains the identical brutal threat of Charles, when the Scottish king in his rage says to the queen:

> "'Likewise for your ill-wyled words,
> Ye sall hae cause to mourn;
> Gin ye hadna been sae big wi child,
> Ye on a hill sud burn.'"

Percy's opinion that the Scottish ballad, which was first published in 1755, was founded upon the historic *amours* of Queen Anne of Denmark and a certain Earl of Murray, does not alter the interesting fact that we have here springing up on Scotch soil a very similar *motif* to what has already been recognized and labeled in an Arabian tale, in Germanic saga and in an old French *chanson de geste*.

Whether or not there is any family connection between these different manifestations of this *motif* of royal jealousy, is another matter. I am only pleading for a fuller comment on *Young Waters*, which is not a poor ballad, after all. Would it not seem fair to *Young Waters* to connect this ballad, at least as a literary curiosity, with the long note Professor Child has added to *King Arthur*, *&c.*, and to the parallels of Koschwitz adduced in his editions of the *Voyage de Charlemagne* and in his *Sechs Bearbeitungen des altfranzösischen Gedichts von Karls des Grossen Reise* (Heilbronn, 1879)?

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A NEGLECTED VERSION OF QUEVEDO'S "ROMANCE" ON ORPHEUS.

In a recent number of the *Bulletin Hispanique*,[1] M. Camille Pitollet gives an interesting study of Quevedo's well-known satire on woman, in which Orpheus is represented as going to the lower regions for a wife.

> "Upon a time as Poets tell
> Their Orpheus went down to Hell,
> To fetch his Wife, nor cou'd he guess
> To find her in a likelier Place.
>
> Down he went singing, as they say,
> And trolling Ballads all the way;
> No wonder that, the Reason's clear,
> For then he was a Widower."
>
> Etc.

This quotation from Lady Monck's translation, published in 1716, will give the lay reader some notion of a right clever poem. M. Pitollet follows Quevedo's *romance* through French, German

[1] *A propos d'un "romance" de Quevedo*, *Bulletin Hispanique*, Bordeaux, Vol. VI, pp. 332–346.

and English literature, not without hazarding, also, some hypotheses on the thought-formation of the original satire. Two arguments may be urged against such hypotheses: (1) It has escaped the notice of M. Pitollet that the germ (if written later), or an epitome (if earlier) of the *romance* under discussion, is contained in a satire by the same author published as early as 1623 in the *Flor de los mejores romances* . . . por Arias Pérez (republished in the *Obras completas de Quevedo*, Sevilla, 1903, Vol. II, p. 335). Here the poet feigns that he has returned from the lower regions, and says:

> "Por sacar á su mujer
> Dicen que cantaba Orfeo
> y él me dijo como amigo
> Que fué por vella allá dentro."

(2) A parallel study of burlesques of Hero and Leander, Pyramus and Thisbe, etc., in Spanish literature of the XVIIth century, makes me hesitate about associating a burlesque of a Classical subject, with any given work touching upon the same matter, unless specific reasons can be advanced,—M. Pitollet's are not conclusive.

It is the original *romance* which forms the subject of the present note. M. Pitollet quotes the poem from the *Parnaso Español*, 1649, and gives, also, a variant from Sedano.

Then he remarks (p. 334): "*Aucune des collections antérieures à 1648, qui renferment des compositions en vers de Quevedo, ne contient l'Orfeo; ni le Romancero general de 1604.* . . ."

The poem was, however, published in Paris in 1644, by Bense-Dupuis.[2] This would require only a passing bibliographical foot-note, if the version did not offer very interesting variants. Bense-Dupuis quotes the poem as illustrating a remark about assonance,—*comme vous pouuez iuger du suivant, qui est de Don Francisco de Quevedo, sur la descente de l'Orphée aux Enfers.*

p. 299 A buscar a su muger
Orfeo baxò al Infierno,
Que por su muger no pudo
Baxar a otra parte Orfeo.

Dizen que baxò cantando,
Y yo por cierto lo tengo,
Que como baxaua biudo
Cantaria de contento.

Dizen que todas las penas
En verle se suspendieron,
Que no dexa para nadie
El que es casado, si es necio.

Al fin pudo con su boz
Grangear los tristes reynos,
Aunque el darle su muger
Mas fue castigo que premio.

Pusieronla en su poder,
Mas con tal ley se la dieron,
Que boluiendola a mirar
Se perdiessen (sic) al momento.

Yua el delante guiando,
Que las mugeres sospecho,
Que saben yrse y lleuar
p. 300 Mas no salir del infierno.

Boluiò la cabeça el triste,
Si fue adrede fue bien hecho,
Y si a caso fù (sic) descuydo,
El moço aciertò (sic) por yerro.

Esta historia significa,
Que esto delos casamientos,
Y ser maridos los hombres
No es officio para ciegos.

The relative value of the three versions; the light that the Paris text may throw upon the history of the imitations and adaptations of Quevedo's poem,[3]—especially in France,—these

[2] Cf. *L'Apollon* | *ov* | *l'oracle de la poesie* | *italienne*, | *et* | *espagnole.* | Auec vn Commentaire general | sur tous | les Poëtes de l'vne & de l'autre | Langue, tant anciens que | modernes. | Divisé en deux parties. | Par P. Bense-Dvpvis, | Secretaire Interprete de sa Majesté. | A. Paris, | chez Toussainct Qvinet, au Palais, | dans la petite Sale, (sic) soubes la montée | de la Cour des Aydes. | M.DC.XLIV. | Auec privilege dv roy. | In 8°, 496 pages.

The "*privilege dv roy*" is dated, *à Paris le* 21. *iour de Decembre l'an de Grace*, 1643. To this rare *ars poetica* of Italian and Spanish verse, as also to Bense-Dupuis' other works, I shall devote a special study anon; its copious citations make it as invaluable for fixing the chronology and the authorship of certain obscure poems, as Lorenzo Gracian's, *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*. My own copy has at the end, with distinct pagination: *La Mvsa* | *correa* | *o la estafeta* | *de Madrid* | —40 pages.

[3] M. Pitollet's study might be extended: Lope, for instance, has a burlesque of Orpheus' descent to Hell, in one of his earliest plays, *Belardo el Furioso:* to be noted, also, is Cyrano de Bergerac's allusion to a burlesque of the same episode (cf. *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*. . . . Vol. CXIII, p. 366).

Dr. Pietsch calls my attention to the fact that M. Pitollet doubtless got the suggestion, as well as the necessary bibliographical material for his article, from Otto Ritter's

are problems which may well be left for M. Pitollet to attempt to solve. Bense-Dupuis fails to mention his source. It is very improbable that he quotes from a manuscript ; more likely he had before him some anthology, or an edition of Quevedo that has escaped the notice of bibliographers. In view of Bense-Dupuis' position as royal interpreter, diligent search in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* might be well rewarded.

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A FOURTH CENTURY POEM, ENTITLED *The Pearl.*

The Middle English poem, entitled *The Pearl*, has received considerable illustration of late, but it is by no means as yet fully elucidated. In the present note I desire merely to call attention to a series of metrical rhapsodies by Ephrem the Syrian (fourth century), translated by Rev. J. B. Morris as *The Pearl; or, Seven Rhythms on the Faith*, in his *Select Works of S. Ephrem the Syrian* (Oxford, 1847), pp. 84–105. The first Rhythm begins :

'On a certain day a pearl did I take up, my brethren. I saw in it mysteries pertaining to the Kingdom, semblances and types of the Majesty ; it became a fountain, and I drunk out of it mysteries of the Son. I put it, my brethren, upon the palm of my hand, that I might examine it ; I went to look at it on one side, and it proved faces on all sides.'

The connection of this effusion with our *Pearl*, if there be any, must be slight, but this, and the rather copious notes which are appended to the translation, are at least interesting as showing how early the pearl was used as a poetical symbol by Christian writers.

It is a singular coincidence that the Syrian poet, like the English one, took Jonah's mission to the Ninevites as the theme of a poem, which is, however, almost entirely homiletical. This is entitled *The Repentance of Nineveh*, and gives its title to a book by Rev. Henry Burgess (London, 1853), in which the translation is found.

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note, "Quevedos Orpheus-Gedichte in England" (*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*. . . . Vol. cxi, pp. 178–179).

DANTE, *Inf.* 3. 40–41.

Dante's lines,

> Cacciarli i ciel' per non esser men belli,
> Nè lo profondo inferno gli riceve,

seem like a distant echo of a passage from Empedocles (ca. 450 B. C.), a philosopher with whom Dante was acquainted through Cicero and Aristotle, whom he honors in the very next canto (4. 138), and with a favorite doctrine of whose he shows himself conversant (*Inf.* 12. 41–3). The Greek of the passage is :

> Αἰθέριον μὲν γάρ σφε μένος πόντονδὲ διώκει,
> πόντος δ' ἐς χθόνος οὖδας ἀπέπτυσε, γαῖα δ' ἐς αὐγὰς
> ἠελίου ἀκάμαντος, ὁ δ' αἰθέρος ἔμβαλε δίναις ·
> ἄλλος δ' ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται, στυγέουσι δὲ πάντες.

This is quoted by Plutarch, *Isis and Osir.* 26 (*Morals*, ed. Goodwin, 4. 87) : 'Empedocles saith also that dæmons undergo severe punishments for their evil deeds and misdemeanors :

> The force of air them to the sea pursues,
> The sea again upon the land them spews,
> From land to the sun's unwearied beams they're hurled,
> Thence far into the realm of ether whirled,
> Received by each in turn, by all abhorred ;

until being thus chastened and purified, they are again admitted to that region and order that suits their nature.'

Elsewhere Plutarch says (*Against Running in Debt* 7 ; *Morals* 5. 420) : 'They [debtors] wander about like those dæmons mentioned by Empedocles to have been driven out of heaven by the offended gods :

> By the sky's force they're thrust into the main,
> Which to the earth soon spews them back again ;
> Thence to bright Titan's orb they're forced to fly,
> And Titan soon remits them to the sky.'

The only other ancient author who quotes the lines, with the exception of Eusebius, who copies Plutarch, is Hippolytus (ca. 225 A. D.), in his *Refutation of Heresies.* In the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* (6. 294), the lines are as follows :

Ethereal force to ocean drives the souls,
And ocean spurts them forth on earth's expanse,
And earth on beams of blazing sun, who flings
[The souls] on ether's depths, and each from each
[A spirit] takes, and all with hatred burn.

Is it possible that the Middle Ages may have had some hint of this passage, perhaps by derivation from Eusebius? If not, the similarity is what we call accidental. Is it to similar accident that we must attribute Milton's lines (*P. L.* 2. 596–9)?

Thither, by harpy-footed Furies haled,
At certain revolutions all the damned
Are brought; and feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce.

WORDSWORTH, *Prelude* 1. 466, AND TENNYSON, *Morte d'Arthur* 272.

Does not the line,

And on the mere the wailing died away,

owe something to

The orange sky of evening died away?

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THE ANGLO-SAXON GOSPELS.

The Gospel of Saint John in West-Saxon, edited from the manuscripts, with introduction, and notes, by JAMES WILSON BRIGHT, Ph. D., Professor of English Philology in the Johns Hopkins University, with a glossary by LANCELOT MINOR HARRIS, Ph. D., Professor of English in the College of Charleston. Boston and London: D. C. Heath & Co., 1904.

The Gospel of Saint Matthew in West-Saxon, edited from the manuscripts by JAMES WILSON BRIGHT. Boston and London: D. C. Heath & Co., 1904.

It is singular that an edition of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, issued at a moderate price and supplied with the usual critical apparatus of notes, glossary, and introduction, should be so long in finding its place among the editions of standard Anglo-Saxon texts. The (as regards the text) comprehensive and admirable edition of these Gospels which was begun by Kemble nearly fifty years ago and completed by Skeat in 1887, apart from the fact that it does not embrace a glossary and that the notes are limited in their character, does not easily come within the slender means with which most devotees of Anglo-Saxon are provided, and besides, from the exigencies of an arrangement of the version with the glossed texts which it offers, the book can hardly be called a handy one. Thus it has come about that whilst *Beowulf* and the more important poetical texts of the Anglo-Saxon period are to be found on the shelves of every professor of English, the Anglo-Saxon work which might be expected to command first of all the attention of people of English race is seldom met with outside of the libraries of a few of our larger institutions. It is, accordingly, easy to see that Professor Bright and the firm which is issuing these volumes are performing a real service to scholarship in rendering generally accessible in a cheap and convenient form the West-Saxon version of the Gospels—that version which is unique, and of such special importance. The work of re-ëditing these Gospels in such a form as I have described was indeed begun by Professor Bright several years ago, when under the auspices of the Clarendon Press he brought out his edition of the Gospel of Saint Luke (1893). The present edition of the Gospel of Saint John, however, is of somewhat fuller scope than the Saint Luke of the same editor, and indeed, embodying as it does the results of the most recent research, we may say that it has advantages even over Professor Skeat's edition, as far as the West-Saxon version of the Gospels is concerned. Let us see what are some of the especial advantages of the present edition:

1. With a view to pedagogical requirements the edition is provided with a full and accurate glossary (the work of Professor L. M. Harris of the College of Charleston) and the macron is used in the text to mark vowels long by nature. 2. The arguments, *pro* and *con*, with respect to the divided authorship of the West-Saxon Gospels is fully stated in the Introduction, pp. xxii–xxvi.

3. Parallel translations of passages in the Gospel of Saint John from Aelfric and the other Anglo-Saxon prose-writers are regularly given in the notes. This interesting feature of the present edition was of course facilitated by the publication of Professor A. S. Cook's two series of *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers* (New York, 1898 and 1903 respectively). Wiclif's version of the same gospel is also often drawn on for comparison. 4. Variant readings of the Vulgate—from which, of course, the Anglo-Saxon version was translated—are systematically given in the notes wherever they are necessary to explain peculiarities of the West-Saxon version. As Professor Harris had already shown in his dissertation, the Latin version on which the West-Saxon is based was not a pure Hieronymian text but "one that exhibits a set of Old Latin readings, some readings derived from independent recensions and some that represent the Irish type." 5. The Lakelands fragment of the Gospel of Saint John (ch. ii, 6–iii, 34 ; vi, 19–vii, 10) which Professor Napier discovered among the Crawford MSS. in 1891 and published in Herrig's *Archiv.* lxxxvii, 255 ff., is reprinted in this edition.

It will be seen from the last three sections of the above enumeration, that for the first time we have included here in one volume all the material extant for the study of the text of one of the West-Saxon Gospels.

The text which forms the basis of Professor Bright's edition is, of course, that of the Corpus MS. (MS. cxl of the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge)—only the rubrics which designate the use of the various passages in the church-services being taken from the MS. in the Cambridge University library, and the variant readings of the other MSS. being given at the bottom of the page. Wherever the reading of one of these MSS. is adopted in preference to that of the Corpus MS. this is indicated by italics. It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to say that this edition is based on the original manuscripts (a full account of which is given in the Introduction), the text of Professor Skeat's edition having been carefully collated with these manuscripts. In view of the well-known accuracy of his predecessor, there was not a great deal left for Professor Bright to glean in this field. Still, there were corrections to be made, and even where nothing was found to correct, as our editor justly remarks, there is a value in the assurance that all the details have been verified with the originals. As already indicated, the notes consist mainly of material for the study of the readings of the Anglo-Saxon text, and grammatical annotations, whilst not altogether omitted, take a second place. Among notes of this character, I would call attention especially to those on peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon participial constructions. The plan of the series rendered it impossible, however, to print all of the material which the editor had accumulated in the course of his study of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, and in view of the comparative simplicity of the language of these works, the method of annotation he has adopted seems unquestionably the wisest.

In this carefully executed edition there is very little to criticize. One is surprised, however, to note in the Introduction (p. xxv) that Professor Bright seems inclined to reject the theory of divided authorship for the four West-Saxon Gospels. The converging evidence of peculiarities in phonology, syntax, and vocabulary as well as differences of textual readings in the Latin versions on which the respective Gospels are based seem to the present writer to confirm irresistibly the truth of that theory. The dissertations of Drake, Calloway, Shearin, and Harris dealing with the different species of evidence coincide remarkably on this point. On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that the two (or three) translators, who are responsible for the West-Saxon Gospels, did not live in the same place or that they were not contemporaries.

We have spoken thus far only of the volume which contains the Gospel of Saint John. At the same time with this gospel, however, Professor Bright has brought out in a separate volume the text of the Gospel of Saint Matthew according to the Corpus MS. with the variant readings of the other MSS. subjoined. It is, of course, unfortunate that, owing to considerations of expense, notes and a supplementary glossary at least could not have formed a part of this volume. The glossary of Saint John, to be sure, covers the ground pretty well for the Gospel of Saint Matthew also, so that it is the loss of notes which readers will have most occasion to regret. We are thankful

after all, however, to be brought so near to the possession of a complete text of the earliest of all extant English versions of the four Gospels and we cannot take leave of these excellent volumes—one of the most valuable additions that has been made for many years to the equipment of the Anglo-Saxon scholar as well as to that of the student of the English Bible—without expressing the hope that we shall not have long to wait for a uniform issue of the two remaining Gospels.

J. Douglas Bruce.

University of Tennessee.

THE ENGLISH DRAMA.

The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher. Variorum Edition. Volume I. The Maid's Tragedy, Philaster, A King and No King, The Scornful Lady, The Custom of the Country. (The first two plays edited by P. A. Daniel; the last three by R. Warwick Bond). George Bell and Sons and A. H. Bullen, London, 1904.

"The work will be complete in twelve volumes, and the last volume will contain Memoirs, Excursuses, etc., by Mr. A. H. Bullen, under whose general direction the edition has been planned."

The problem before the editors of Beaumont and Fletcher is different from those confronting recent editors of other Elizabethan dramatists, as Kyd and Lyly, for Beaumont and Fletcher have been frequently edited, and a reliable text and an adequate body of notes have been established, chiefly through the labors of the Rev. Alexander Dyce, in what is probably the masterpiece of that excellent scholar. The present edition is, therefore, in a way, a revision of Dyce's edition (1843–46); but, while the editors have availed themselves of his work, they have given the texts a much more elaborate and scientific treatment, noting all variants in the early quartos and all emendations of importance by subsequent editors. The vast amount of labor that this method requires in the case of plays like *Philaster* and *The Maid's Tragedy*, which passed through eight or nine editions in the seventeenth century, will be appreciated by students; and the scholarly manner in which the work has been done in the first volume gives assurance that the completed edition will remain for years the definitive one.

The chief defect of the present volume is a surprising one. The editors seem strangely ignorant or careless of the critical work done during recent years by various students of Beaumont and Fletcher. The introductory matter accompanying the texts not only offers little that is new, but is usually a very inadequate summary of what has already been written concerning matters of date, authorship, and stage history. There is, for example, no mention in either introductions or notes of the elaborate lists of variant readings for the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, collected by B. Leonhardt and published during the past eight years in *Anglia*.[1] So far as I have been able to make a comparison, Leonhardt has recorded the readings with less accuracy than the present editors, but he is sometimes right and they wrong; and in any case his work should receive careful attention from the editors of a variorum edition. Again, in the discussion of the sources of the plays, there is no mention and apparently no knowledge of Koeppel's well-known monograph on the subject.[2] Again, in regard to questions of authorship, concerning which Mr. Daniel says nothing, Mr. Bond discusses fully the results of Fleay and Boyle from their applications of verse-tests, but makes no mention of the subsequent, supplementary, and in the main more conclusive investigations of Mr. E. F. Oliphant.[3] In consequence, the discussion of the division of the plays between the authors is far from final. Again, in the case of the stage history of the plays, it does not appear that either editor has gone to the trouble to consult Genest and collect a list of productions after the Restoration.

In the case of dates and other matters of Elizabethan stage history, the editors are indifferent to

[1] "Die Textvarienten von Beaumont's und Fletcher's Philaster," etc., *Anglia* XIX–XXIII.

[2] "Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen Ben Jonson's, John Marston's, und Beaumont's und Fletcher's." *Münchener Beitrage z. Rom. u. Eng. Phil.* Erlangen und Leipzig, 1895.

[3] "The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher." *Englische Studien*, XIV, XV, XVI, 1890–92.

anything later than the books of Mr. Fleay, nor have they analyzed his statements with any thoroughness. The few independent suggestions that they offer are not particularly happy; one may be instanced. John Davies of Hereford entered in the Stationer's Register, Oct. 8, 1610, his *Scourge of Folly*, containing an epigram addressed to Fletcher and beginning:

"*Love lies ableeding*, if it should not proue."

Love Lies A-Bleeding is the second title of *Philaster* and one by which it is frequently mentioned. The epigram itself is none of the clearest, but nothing could be clearer than that it refers to *Philaster*, and consequently that the play must be dated earlier than Oct. 10, 1610. Yet Mr. Daniel, impressed with the resemblances between *Philaster* and *Cymbeline*, struggling to get a later date for the former than for the latter, and inhospitable to the suspicion that Shakespeare could have been the borrower, is moved to doubt whether "Love lies a-bleeding" may not refer to the *Faithful Shepherdess* (mentioned in the concluding line of the epigram), and not to *Philaster* or *Love Lies A-Bleeding*. In the end he rather gives up his suggestion, and it is worthy of note chiefly as typical of the way critical ingenuity may dally with the few definite bits of external evidence that remain for establishing the chronology of the Elizabethan drama. In matters of chronology, and of authorship as well, no treatment of one play isolated from its fellows is likely to be conclusive. The evidence obtainable concerning the dates of all the plays by a given author, and indeed concerning the entire history of the stage during his period, must often be considered before the data concerning a particular play can be satisfactorily interpreted. It is perhaps a natural outcome of the division of labor in the present edition that each editor should confine himself somewhat too closely to the plays given into his charge and to the critical matter obtainable in the works of preceding editors.

The failure to make use of the most important contributions to the study of Beaumont and Fletcher during the past fifteen years provokes the adjective insular, but it is, after all, trivial in this volume where the introductory matter is slight. Surely there will be no such defects when the more elaborate discussions of stage-history, authorship, and chronology appear in the final volume. Meanwhile it is to be hoped that the intermediary volumes will show some broadening of the bibliographical horizon.

Some details in the editing of the text are open to question. The plays are arranged in the order of the Second Folio (1679), although a chronological order might have been determined with considerable precision and would have been preferable. The spelling is modernized; and certainly the accurate reproduction of the misspelling of printers of the seventeenth century is hardly worth the labor involved. In some cases, however, the modernization seems unnecessary, as "than" for "then" throughout and "sea-beach" for "sea breach," though in the latter and similar cases of material change in the word, the original reading is supplied in the foot-notes, so no harm is done. The punctuation, too, is of necessity modernized, though there is some inconsistency, as generally the punctuation of Dyce (1843–46) is preserved and Dyce frequently preserved that of earlier editors, so that here—as frequently in reëdited plays—we have neither the punctuation of the Elizabethan Age nor of the present nor of any definite period, but rather a mixture of many. This is noticeable in the use of the colon. Another inconsistency appears in the use of -ed and -'d in past participles. The apostrophe is apparently used when suppression of the final syllable is demanded by the meter, and -ed when the syllable is pronounced, but there are a number of exceptions; *e. g.*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, I, 1. 43, confused, I, 1. 132, forced, II, 1. 140, enforced, III, 2. 64, observed.

The reading of the texts has been accomplished with eminent care and critical intelligence. The plays offer few puzzling passages and most of these have been solved by Dyce or his predecessors, yet the emendations here suggested are always possible and ingenious if not convincing; as, for example, Mr. Daniel's suggestion of "blears" for "bears" in "That bears the light above her" (*Maid's Tragedy* I, 1. 75). Attention may again be called to the labor involved in collating the variant readings of the numerous early editions and the difficulties in the way of absolute accuracy. I have had an opportunity

to compare the notes of the two plays edited by Mr. Daniel with some of the original editions and can testify to the accuracy and thoroughness with which this most exacting of editorial labors has been performed. The following errors have been noted in the course of an examination of portions of the *Maid's Tragedy* and the fourth act of *Philaster*; some of these may be due to differences in copies of the same quarto, none of them are important.

The Maid's Tragedy:—I, 1. 149 Yet] but Q 1, *add* Q 2. I, 2. 145, *add* hold] keepe Q 2. II, 1. 83, *add* gentle] Q 4-F, gently Q 2 Q 3. II, 2. 35, *add* thine eyes do] Q 5 F D, thine does Q 2, thine eyes does Q 1. II, 2. 81, *add* dull] dumbe Q 2. IV, 1. 29, *add* thorough] Q 3-D, through Q 1 Q 2. IV, 1, 38, there lies] Q 1, *add* Q 2. IV, 1. 157, know] had Q 1 *add* knew Q 3. IV, 2. 46, *add* laughter] a laughter F. IV, 2. 191. *add* Pity] A Pittie Q 2. V, 4. 205. *add* Did stay] Q 3-D, Staid Q 2. Page 2, "all the above mentioned editions, except the two last [Q 6, Q 7], have a wood-cut," etc. The copy of Q 6 in the Boston Public Library has the wood-cut; and so Greg, List of English Plays, etc., 1901. Page 6, the date of Kirkman's *The Wits* is given as 1662; should not this be 1672?

Philaster:—IV, 4. 37, *add* were it] it were Q 1 (according to Leonhardt) Q 6 F. IV, 4. 60, *add* hurt] strike Q 2 (Leonhardt). IV, 4. 112, *add* gently] gentle F. IV, 4. 124, *add* Enter . . . Guard] a guard F.

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ROMANCE PHILOLOGY.

Streitfragen der romanischen Philologie. Von Eugen Herzog, Privatdozent an der Wiener Universität. Erstes Bändchen: *Die Lautgesetzfrage. Zur französischen Lautgeschichte.* Halle: Niemeyer, 1904. 123 pp.

In this first volume of a series of studies which we may expect on disputed problems of Romance philology, the author devotes eighty-one pages, or over two-thirds, to the question of the invariability of phonetic laws. He reviews the more recent discussions of the much disputed problem, seeking to complete or correct them, and makes a number of interesting suggestions from his standpoint as an uncompromising advocate of the absoluteness of phonetic changes. He defends the introduction of this question, so much broader in its scope than the title of the book implies, on the ground that if there are no phonetic laws there can be no phonetic problems, so that the discussion of individual points then becomes useless. Many who hold views distinctly at variance with those of Dr. Herzog will be far from granting that the acceptance of their position implies a relinquishing of the discussion of sound changes, but no one should be disposed to find fault with him for introducing so suggestive a preliminary chapter.

It is not the purpose of this notice to enter upon the general question of the proper interpretation of the term "phonetic law," nor to review the sections of the book devoted to certain individual problems of French phonology (the development of *ty*; the words *huile, orge, Orléans*; the history of checked atonic vowels), although in them all the author gives evidence of diligent investigation and careful analysis. The most striking point in the volume is his proposed solution of the cause of phonetic change, to which pages 56–81 are devoted. It is here suggested that, after we exclude the modifications attributable to the psychic element, all sound changes are to be explained by a single physiological-acoustic cause which Herzog terms the Principle of Alternation or Principle of Separation (alternistisches oder Ablösungsprincip). Speech sounds are transmitted orally from older to younger speakers, who in turn become older and pass them on to a new generation of children. In addition, the speech-organs with increase in age are modified in certain fixed directions. The child learns a given sound which he pronounces with a certain position of the organs. But these organs change as he grows older; they increase in size and their form and texture are modified. These changes of necessity alter the timbre of the sound, so that a child of the next generation hears in his father's mouth a sound that differs, be it ever so little, from the sound which that father enunciated when he was a boy. Thus the acoustic element of the sound is modified in the individual as he grows and ages. When the transmission to a child

of the next generation takes place, the acoustic element remains unchanged ; the articulation however is modified, for the child, with its young and therefore differently constructed organs, must articulate differently to produce the same sound. These changes naturally follow a fixed direction, since they are dependant on modifications in the producing organs that are always of the same general character.[1]

Each child learns his sounds from a number of individuals of varying ages, or as we might term it, from a composite individual whose age will vary for different children, but whose average age is always greater than that of the child. This theory would explain why a sound change is generalized by degrees, and why there is long hesitation between the old and the new, the new, however, finally prevailing, since the modifications, though varying in time, are always in the same direction ; why also different persons may have one the old, another the new sound, and why the same person may have the new sound in one word, the old in another.

The author makes various applications of his theory to vowel and consonant changes. One of the simpler of these deals with the passage in French of intervocalic *d* to *ḍ*. Assume an intervocalic *d* with light pressure. The pressure would be at its lightest in rapid speech. Assume then that in the most rapid speech there is bare occlusion. The next generation would reproduce the sound, but at an age when for their small organs smaller movements would be required to get the same acoustic effect. As their organs enlarged, the movement they employed would no longer suffice for so complete a closing of the mouth passage. In this generation *d* prestissimo alone would become *ḍ* ; in the next, *d* allegro as well ; and so on. Were the sound noticeably affected at the same time in all rates of speech, the contrast to the old sound would be so marked that conscious restoration would ensue. It cannot be inferred from this explanation that *d* in all positions, at all periods, or in all languages ought to become *ḍ*. There are numberless varieties of *d*, depending on the character of its beginning and ending, the time and firmness of the occlusion, and the amount of surface of contact. Thus, for example, the Provençal *z* out of *d* probably goes back to a *d* with considerable longitudinal occlusion-surface.

Should this theory of the cause of sound-changes find favor, how can we in conformity with it account for speech-differentiation ; for the fact that the same sound shows differing development in different localities? Either one of two causes may produce this. A speech-group may become separated into sections, and in one of the sections the process of change may go on more rapidly than in the other, as for example we know it to have been the case in Anglo-Norman. This difference of rapidity would be explained by accidental differences in the relations between the generations. Herzog suggests for the case mentioned that the rapid changes in Anglo-Norman may be due to a reduction of the retarding and controling element through the death of a number of mature men killed in the battles of the Conquest. The second cause of differentiation is the transference of the sounds into the mouths of those who previously spoke a foreign idiom, as for example it occurred in the Roman provinces. Such a group of persons has a different basis of articulation, and in consequence, to attain the same, or approximately the same acoustic results there will be different adjustment of the organs. This of itself is one prolific cause of ultimate acoustic differentiation, and superinduces a second. In a language that has long been spoken by members of the same speech-group, the sounds have become conveniently adjusted to each other in their place and mode of articulation, but if by transference of this language to the mouths of members of a foreign speech-group there arise a set of sounds similar in acoustic effect but different in articulation, the old adjustment of the combined sounds to one another will no longer exist, and there will follow a large number of new assimilatory changes. With the completion of such a readjustment, which we may observe for example in the earlier stages of the Romance languages, sound-changes will diminish in number and rapidity.

In offering this explanation of sound-develop-

[1] The process may be represented in tabular form as follows :

Generation.	*Age.*	*To the Articulation*	*Corresponds the Sound*
First	young	ξ_1	x_1
	old	ξ_1	x_2
Second	young	ξ_2	x_2
	old	ξ_2	x_3
Third	young	ξ_3	x_3
	old	ξ_3	x_4
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

ment, its author recognizes that it is simply a hypothesis, claiming for it only that it is sufficiently reasonable to merit a careful and extended testing. It is difficult to see however in what way a decisive practical test can be given in the present state of our knowledge. If it can be made it will lie with the experimental phoneticians to accomplish it. With the perfecting of their apparatus it may become practicable to compare accurately articulation and sound in the mouth of father and son, and in the mouth of the individual as child and man, and thus to determine whether there exists a regular progression in fixed directions. But this is as yet beyond the means at our disposal. So long as we are unable to make this test the explanation proposed must remain largely a theory, and we are justified in speculating as to whether the compensatory adjustments in the mode of production of the sounds as the organs grow may not be such as to neutralize uniform tendencies in definite directions. More or less of such adjustment must undoubtedly take place.

The theory in a part of its scope bears some resemblance to the effort which has been made to explain changes as arising from imperfect imitation by children of the sounds which reach their ears, but this resemblance is only superficial and the advantages in such a comparison lie with Herzog's hypothesis. It is however of interest to note, in the illustrative applications of his theory which Herzog makes to individual sound-changes, to what a considerable extent *vis minima*, the 'law of laziness,' would serve to account for the modifications. It is to this class of alterations that the theory can be most readily and successfully applied, so long, at least, as we remain in our present ignorance of the character of changes likely to be produced in the sounds by the aging of the organs.

Whatever be his attitude with reference to the nature and cause of sound-change, no student of linguistics will read Dr. Herzog's book without being fully repaid by the clear and vigorous presentation of the questions discussed, and by the light thrown upon numerous individual problems in the course of the discussion.

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

TWO NOTES ON PARADISE LOST.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:

Paradise Lost 5, 310–311.

> Seems another morn
> Risen on mid-noon.

The commentators cite no parallel to this passage from any ancient writer. The following from Chrysostom (*Hom. 6 in Matth.*) may be worth consideration: 'It [the star of the Wise Men] appears not in night, but in mid day, while the sun is shining; and this is not within the power of a star, nay, not of the moon; for the moon, that so much surpasses all, when the beams of the sun appear, straightway hides herself and vanishes away. But this by the excess of its own splendor overcame even the beams of the sun, appearing brighter than they, and in so much light shining out more illustriously.' To the same effect Ignatius, *Epist. to the Ephes.* 19: 'The announcement was first made to all eyes by the appearance of a star which outshone all the celestial lights, and to which sun and moon and stars did obeisance.' Add Prudentius, *Cath.* 12. 5–6:

> Hæc stella, quæ solis rotam
> Vincit decore ac lumine.

Paradise Lost 7, 364–366.

As a slight supplement to my paper on these lines in MOD. LANG. NOTES for November, 1901, I would note that Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 2. 4. 6., makes the sun the source of the stars' light: 'Hic suum lumen ceteris quoque sideribus fenerat.'

For the word 'fountain' in this connection see Aeschylus, *Prom. Bound* 808–9, where he refers to the Orient as the fountain of the sun (ἡλίου πηγαί); God is also called the fountain of light (*luminis fons*) by Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 2. 10.

As for 'gilds her horns,' for which expression my earliest parallels were Italian, I can now compare Martianus Capella (fl. ca. 420 A. D.), *De Nupt.* 9. 912:

> Cynthia . . . . .
> *Auratis* rubuit prædita *cornibus.*

OE. *sūðanēastan.*

To my note on *Chr.* 900 (*The Christ of Cynewulf*, pp. 180–1) should be added an extract from a predecessor of Jerome. The passage is from Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 2. 10 :

'He also established two parts of the earth itself opposite to one another, and of a different character—namely, the east and the west ; and of these the east is assigned to God, because He Himself is the fountain of light and the enlightener of all things, and because He makes us rise to eternal life. But the west is ascribed to that disturbed and depraved mind, because it conceals the light, because it always brings on darkness, and because it makes men die and perish in their sins. For as light belongs to the east, and the whole course of life depends upon the light, so darkness belongs to the west ; but death and destruction are contained in darkness. Then He measured out in the same way the other parts—namely, the south and the north, which parts are closely united with the two former. For that which is the more glowing with the warmth of the sun is nearest to and closely united with the east, but that which is torpid with colds and perpetual ice belongs to the same division as the extreme west. For as darkness is opposed to light, so is cold to heat. As, therefore, heat is nearest to light, so is the south to the east ; and as cold is nearest to darkness, so is the northern region to the west. And He assigned to each of these points its own time—namely, the spring to the east, the summer to the southern region ; the autumn belongs to the west, and the winter to the north. In these two parts also, the southern and the northern, is contained a figure of life and death, because life consists in heat, death in cold. The day, which the first east supplies, must belong to God, as all things do which are of a better character ; but the night, which the extreme west brings on, belongs, indeed, to him whom we have said to be the rival of God.'

Albert S. Cook.

Yale University.

Chaucer's *dremes : lemes.*

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs :—Dr. G. R. Noyes, in the December number of the *M. L. N.*, calls attention to a peculiar rime in Chaucer ; *dremes : lemes* (with open and close *e* respectively ; *C. T.* B., 4119–4120). But he is mistaken in thinking it is unprecedented, and that it is not noticed by ten Brink or Skeat. ten Brink has commented on this instance, and cited others in his *Sprache u. Verskunst*, 2d ed. p. 191 ; and Skeat has not left the point unnoticed (*Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. vi, p. xxxv ff.).

My colleague, Dr. G. L. Hamilton, points out to me that examples of the same phenomenon are to be found in Gower (Cf. Fahrenberg, *Herrig's Archiv*, xcix, 390, 408; G. C. Macaulay, *Works of Gower*, ii, p. xcviii), and Scotch poets (*Anglia*, xviii, p. 128).

J. S. P. Tatlock.

University of Michigan.

"Wait a Bit."

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs :—In working through the early numbers of the *Zs. f. deutsche Philologie*, I came across the following, Vol. ix, p. 494, in Rieger's review of Erdmann, *Ueber Klinger*, etc. :

Der Kleine Karl von Berlichingen . . . . sagt sogar : "'s is gar zu schön," und "wart e bis." Im letzteren Falle spricht er weder hochdeutsch noch frankfurtisch richtig ; frankfurtisch hätte er sagen müssen *e bissi;* dieses deminutiv schien aber wol dem dichten etwas zu gewagt und er setzte lieber etwas selbst erfundenes, das ihm der schriftsprache näher zu stehen schien.

Without laying too much stress upon the infelicity of Rieger's phrase *selbst erfundenes*, which suggests too painfully the New York shop-sign : *Selbstimportierte Weine*, I should like to raise two questions :

1. Could, to the author of Goetz's famous answer to the Reichshauptmann (original edition), anything sound *zu gewagt?*

2. Putting the Frankfurt dialect aside, is—or was—there no German dialect having the word *bis(s)* in the sense of the English "bit" = a little? Perhaps some of our German specialists can answer the question. To me it would be a pity, if the German should be found without an exact equivalent to our "Wait a bit."

J. M. Hart.

Cornell University.

A query or two.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs :—What game is meant by *Luftkegel*, used by Polenz in his *Glueckliche Menschen?* How do you English *reizsam, Reizsamkeit*, coined and used by Lamprecht in his German History? These words are in no dictionary that I know of.

H. C. G. Brandt.

Hamilton College.

Another Parallel to a Couplet in *Hernani*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs :—In a former note[1] I called attention to what seemed to me the probable source of lines 501–502 of Victor Hugo's *Hernani*, which read as follows :

Moi, je suis noble, et de ce sang jalouse.
Trop pour la concubine, et trop peu pour l'épouse.

The source cited in that communication is the following couplet from the Third Part of Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, Act III, sc. 2, ll. 97–98 :

I know I am too mean to be your queen,
And yet too good to be your concubine.

An exact parallel to the above cited couplets, spoken by Doña Sol to Hernani and by Lady Jane Grey to King Edward II, respectively, is to be found in Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*, Act I, sc. 1, where Miller is represented as engaged in a violent conversation with his wife in regard to the intentions of the President's son, Ferdinand, towards their daughter, Louisa. At the end of this animated colloquy the musician declares to his wife, who favors the marriage of the young people in question and is, therefore, desirous of avoiding an open rupture with the powerful President, that he will go at once to the President and say to him : "*Dero Herr Sohn haben ein Aug auf meine Tochter; meine Tochter ist zu schlecht zu Dero Herrn Sohnes Frau, aber zu Dero Herrn Sohnes Hure ist meine Tochter zu Kostbar.*"

Now it is well-known that both Schiller and Hugo were students and imitators of Shakespeare, and that Hugo was greatly influenced not only by Shakespeare but also by Schiller. Though it is quite likely that the ultimate source of the above mentioned passages from Hugo and Schiller is the couplet from Shakespeare, yet it is not improbable that Hugo was familiar with the citation from the German dramatist.[2]

J. D. Bruner.

University of North Carolina.

[1] *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. xix, p. 32.

[2] In a subsequent article I shall consider in detail the influence of Schiller on Hugo the dramatist.

Note on Spenser, *F. Q.*, v. 5. 24.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs :—In Spenser's story of Hercules, *F. Q.*, v. 5. 24, Iole plays the part which is usually assigned to Omphale :

"How for Iolas sake he did apply
His mightie hands the distaffe vile to hold," etc.

This looks like a bit of 'Italianate' mythology. Boccaccio has it in the first book of his *Fiammetta*, in his *Amoroso Visione*, xxvi, and in his *Filocopo*, Bk. v. qu. 7. Probably it came to Spenser through Tasso, *G. L.*, xvi, 3 :

"Mirasi qui fra le mëonie ancelle
favoleggiar con la conocchia Alcide.
Se l'inferno espugnò, resse le stelle,
or torce il fuso ; Amor se 'l guarda, e ride.
Mirasi Iole con la destra imbelle
per ischerno trattar l'armi omicide," etc.

Wilfred P. Mustard.

Haverford College.

Confusion of Names in Sudermann's *Frau Sorge*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang Notes.

Sirs :—So far as I know, attention has not been called as yet to the striking confusion in the names of the brothers, Gottfried and Max, in Sudermann's *Frau Sorge*.

Page 103 (Verlag der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung 23 Aufl.) reads : Die Brüder brauchten mehr Geld denn je. Max hatte das Staatsexamen gemacht und absolvierte nun unentgeltlich sein Probejahr bei einem Gymnasium ; und Gottfried, der Comptoirist, war alljährlich etliche Monate ausser Stellung. On page 198, we find : Gottfried, der Gymnasiallehrer, ein würdiger Mann mit strengem Gesichtsausdruck. . . . . Max, der Kaufmann, kam hinterdrein.

Other passages agree with the second of the citations given above ; for example, Page 166 : . . . . eines Tages schrieb er an Gottfried : "Schicke mir aus eurer Schulbibliothek ein paar Bücher. . . . ."

Paul R. Pope.

Cornell University.

Spanish *gualardon.*

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—An interesting and rather sensible instance of etymologizing along popular lines is afforded by a passage in the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso el Sabio. It occurs in Partida II, Título xxviii, Ley X: "quando los homes facen algunos fechos en las guerras por que merescen haber gualardones, *que quiere tanto decir como don egual de su merescimiento*, et el fecho viene en duba . . . . debe estonce el cabdiello haber su consejo et alvedriar sobre aquello," etc. (ed. of the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1807). The source of *gualardon* is a Germanic word, which, as Diez shows, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. *guiderdone*, is represented by various Romance forms. The deformation of the latter part of the Germanic word Diez found natural enough, that of the first part of the word puzzled him a little. "*Widerdonum* (*i. e.* the Middle Latin form of the Germanic word) ist," says Diez, "eine leichte entstellung des ahd. *widarlôn* . . . . wozu erinnerung an lat. *donum* verführen konnte. Das sp. *galardon* (*i. e.*, the modern form of *gualardon*) liesze sich selbst aus einer in dieser sprache ziemlich üblichen umstellung der buchstaben (für *gadarlon*) deuten, wäre es nicht rathsam, sämmtliche sprachen an demselben vorgange theil nehmen zu lassen, und *l* auf *d* zurückzuleiten."

We should not too readily assume a phonetic change of *d* to *l* in Spanish. Perhaps some word forms cannot be explained except as the result of the pure phonetic process; it is probable, however, that analogy is responsible for the change in most cases, *Aequalem*, *igual* and a tendency toward popular etymologizing seem to supply the necessary factors in the present instance.

J. D. M. Ford.

Harvard University.

Concerning Radium.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—Now that interest in the alleged discovery of a new substance has somewhat lessened we may be permitted to remind our colleagues in science of Benoît's well-known description in his *Roman de Troie*. The fourth image in the Chamber of Alabaster holds in its hand an incense burner filled with "gomes esperitax." Besides,

> Une pierre ot enz alumee
> Dont il n'ist flambe ne fumee;
> Sanz descroistre art et nuit et jor;
> Granz est li feus de sa chalor. vv. 14825–14828.

F. M. Warren.

Yale University.

BRIEF MENTION.

The *Grammaire sommaire de l'ancien français*, by J. Bonnard and Am. Salmon,[1] is issued as a complement to the abridgment by the same authors of Godefroy's dictionary, and is a simple, well-arranged summary of Old-French grammar. Grammatical facts and processes, however, lend themselves to simplified treatments only at a sacrifice of essentials, and moreover, with the large number of hand-books on the subject already issued, only a work of rare merit has real justification. It is true that few of the grammars now on the market include a treatment of syntax, but that given by Bonnard and Salmon is too meager and eclectic to render large service. Advanced students will find in the book little they can use, and beginners would be hampered by the absence of index and table of contents.

The well-merited success of Kr. Nyrop's *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, of which two volumes have so far appeared, is indicated by the publication of a second edition of the first volume.[2] Many additions and corrections have been made, the reviews of the first edition have been largely utilized; a number of sections have been enlarged and some added, without however modifying the general correspondence of paragraphs in the old and the new edition. The increase in the number of pages is from 488 to 551. In its new form, the work will retain and increase the esteem in which it is already held.

[1] Paris and Leipzig. Welter, 1904. gr. 8°. 70 pp.
[2] Copenhagen, Gyldendalske Boghaudel, 1904.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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ZUM VOKALISCHEN AUSLAUTSGESETZE DER GERMANISCHEN SPRACHEN.[1]

Wie bei der 'Vokalbrechung,' so soll in der Behandlung der auslautenden Vokale das Gotische an Ursprünglichkeit hinter dem Nordischen und den westgermanischen Sprachen zurückstehen. Das ist, so viel ich sehen kann, heutzutage die Ansicht aller Germanisten, die sich in der Frage der Auslautsgesetze geäussert haben. Und auch hier muss, wie mir scheint, die gotische Sprache wieder in ihr altes Recht eingesetzt werden.

Alte auslautende Vokale, die dem Gotischen verloren gegangen sind, sollen besonders im Angelsächsischen und Altnordischen erhalten sein. Das wäre an sich sehr merkwürdig. Denn gerade in diesen beiden Sprachen ist der Auslaut sonst rücksichtsloser behandelt, als in irgend einem der übrigen altgermanischen Dialekte. Gotische lange Vokale sind gekürzt, gotische Diphthonge zunächst zu langen Vokalen geworden und dann ebenfalls gekürzt; gotische kurze Vokale sind in weitem Umfange beseitigt. Ist es wahrscheinlich, dass sich hier noch kurze Vokale erhalten haben, die schon das Gotische nicht mehr besass?

Allerdings soll ja ein Teil der vermeintlichen alten Vokale sich nur noch im sogenannten "Urnordischen," d. h. der Sprache der ältesten nordischen Runeninschriften, finden. Aber lassen wir uns hier durch den Namen "Urnordisch" mit seinem Anklange an "Urgermanisch" nicht irre machen! Das "Urnordische" ist eine etwas ältere Form des "Altnordischen," vielleicht ein paar Jahrhunderte älter, als die Sprache der ältesten literarischen Denkmäler des Altnordischen, aber schwerlich im Ganzen genommen älter als z. B. das Althochdeutsche. Es gehört der Zeit an, wo das Nordische sich bereits vom Gotischen getrennt hatte und in Bezug auf neue Lautveränderungen zusammen mit den westgermanischen Sprachen ging. Z. B. ist im Auslaute das im Gotischen erhaltene *au*, wie im Westgermanischen, zu *ō* kontrahiert, und stammhaftes *i* und *u* sind vor folgendem *a*, nach Holtzmann's Regel, zu *e* und *o* geworden.

Die Mehrzahl der vermeintlichen auslautenden Vokale des "Urnordischen" lässt sich in 2 Gruppen ordnen. Es handelt sich einerseits um Vokale, die vor dem auslautenden ʀ des Nominativs auftreten und die man als alte thematische Vokale in Anspruch nimmt. Meiner Ansicht nach stehen diese Vokale, unter denen kurzes *a* besonders häufig ist, auf einer Linie mit dem sekundären *a* althochdeutscher Formen wie *acchar* "Acker," *fogal* "Vogel," *eban* "eben." Ein solches sekundäres oder überschüssiges *a* müssen auch die Verfechter der Altertümlichkeit des Urnordischen für Formen wie *warait* statt **wrait* "schrieb," oder *wulafʀ* "Wolf" zulassen. Es wird also erlaubt sein, diese Auffassung auf Formen wie *Holti͡ngaʀ*, *Dagaʀ* u. ähnliche auszudehnen.

Eine zweite Reihe vermeintlicher alter Vokale tritt unmittelbar im Auslaute, ohne nebenstehendes ʀ, auf, und zwar handelt es sich meist um kurzes *a*, das später geschwunden sein soll, oder um langes *ō*, das später zu *a* verkürzt sein soll. Ich habe mich in keinem Falle davon überzeugen können, dass diese Annahmen berechtigt sind. Da ich hier nicht auf alle einzelnen Fälle eingehen kann, will ich wenigstens die älteste und wichtigste Runeninschrift, nämlich die des goldenen Hornes von Gallehus oder Tondern, kurz in Bezug auf die auslautenden Vokale besprechen. Die Inschrift lautet:

Ek Hlevagastiʀ Holti͡ngaʀ horna tavido,

d. h. "Ich Leugast Holting machte die Hörner."

Wir haben hier in *Holti͡ngaʀ* ein typisches Beispiel für das vermeintliche alte thematische *a*.

[1] From a paper read in September, 1904, at the Congress of Arts and Science in St. Louis. Continued from MOD. LANG. NOTES, Vol. XX, No. 3 ('Das Analogiegesetz der westgermanischen Ablautsreihen').

Ich sehe in diesem *a*, wie gesagt, einen sekundären Vokal, und zwar einen leichten Vokal, der sich aus dem Stimmklange des ʀ entwickelt hat. Man könnte auch sagen, das Vokalzeichen diene dazu, den Übergang von der Konsonantengruppe *ng* zu der Sonans ʀ zu markieren.

Eigenartig ist das *i* in *Hlevagastiʀ*. Es sieht ja allerdings zunächst so aus, als entspreche hier und in dem Namen *Saligastiʀ*, dem wir auf einer andern Runeninschrift begegnen, die Form *-gastiʀ* genau dem lat. *hostis*, so dass sich hier das in got. *gasts* verlorene *i* erhalten hätte. Aber die Formen lassen eine ganz andere Auffassung zu. Sie brauchen nicht *i*-Stämme zu sein, sondern können *ja*-Stämme sein, so dass im Lateinischen nicht *hostis*, sondern **hostius* entsprechen würde. Das würde für das Gotische die Form *-gasteis* ergeben, und wir hätten dann regelrechte Verkürzung des gotischen *ī* zu urnordisch *ĭ*.

In *horna* sieht man eine dem gotischen *haurn* entsprechende Singularform. Aber wir müssen berücksichtigen, dass bei Gallehus nicht eins, sondern zwei goldene Hörner gefunden sind. Beide trugen bildliche Darstellungen in demselben Stile und gehörten offenbar zusammen, aber nur eines hatte eine Inschrift. Demnach galt die Inschrift aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach für beide Hörner. Es mögen ursprünglich drei Hörner gewesen sein, die dazu dienen sollten, die Wand eines Festsaales in der Weise zu schmücken, dass das grössere—mit der Inschrift—in der Mitte, die beiden kleineren zu beiden Seiten hingen. Aber auch wenn es von vorn herein nur zwei Hörner waren, konnte der Verfertiger sagen: "ich machte die Hörner." Da nun der Plural von *haurn* im Gotischen *haurna* heisst, so ist es, denke ich, klar, dass hier nur von Erhaltung eines im Gotischen vorliegenden, nicht eines im Gotischen verlornen Vokales die Rede sein kann.

Endlich das Präteritum *tawidō*. Nach der Meinung der Gelehrten, denen wir die Entdeckung der Altertümlichkeit der nordischen Runeninschriften verdanken, enthält die Endung *-dō* in *tawidō faihidō* und ähnlichen Formen die Vorstufe der altnordischen und gotischen Endung der 1. Person, die in beiden Sprachen auf *-da* (bezw. *-ta -þa*, altnord. *-ða* usw.) auslautet. Nach ihrer Meinung nämlich entspricht das *-da* der altnordischen Literatursprache genau der gotischen Endung. Aber diese Ansicht stammt aus der Zeit, als die vergleichende Grammatik der germanischen Sprachen noch in den Kinderschuhen stand. Die richtige Erklärung der Endungen *-dō* und *da-* ist vor nunmehr 35 Jahren von Gislason[2] gegeben, und sie darf als vollkommen gesichert gelten, obwohl sich die meisten Fachgenossen noch nicht haben entschliessen können, sie zu acceptieren. Die Endung *-da* der altnordischen Literatursprache würde, ins Urgermanische übersetzt, *-dau* lauten. Der Diphthong *-au* ist identisch mit dem auslautenden Diphthonge der gotischen Konjunktivendung *-dē-djau*. Das Verhältnis ist genau dasselbe, wie bei dem Zahlworte für 8, altnordisch *átta*, got. *ahtau*. In der Endung *-dō* der Runeninschriften also ist das ältere auslautende *au* zu *ō* kontrahiert, aber noch nicht, wie in der altnord. Literatursprache, zu *a* verkürzt. Die Sprache der Runeninschriften steht auch hier auf der Stufe des Althochdeutschen, in der Mitte zwischen dem Gotischen und der altnordischen Literatursprache.

Ich sagte, diese Erklärung darf als gesichert gelten, und zwar liegt der Beweis dafür in folgender Erwägung.

Erstens. In allen altgermanischen Sprachen haben die 1. und 3. sing. des schwachen Präteritums im Indikativ dieselbe Endung; nur im Altnordischen ist die Endung verschieden.

Zweitens. Im Nordischen stimmt die 1. sing. des Ind. Präter. zu der Endung des Konj. Präter. und ebenso in der 3. sing., während ursprünglich, wie im Gotischen, der Konjunktiv seine besonderen Endungen hatte.

Drittens. Die Endung der 3. sing. des altnordischen Konjunktiv präter. kann lautgesetzlich sowohl der gotischen Indikativ- wie der gotischen Konjunktivendung entsprechen, während die Endung der altnord. 1. sing. in ihrem Auslaute zu der got. Konjunktivendung stimmt.

Hält man diese 3 Punkte zusammen, so ist deutlich, dass im Nordischen in der 1. sing. des Präteritums die Indikativendung durch die Konjunktivendung verdrängt ist. Nur bei dieser Annahme ist es möglich, die Singularendungen des nordischen schwachen Präteritums mit denen der übrigen altgermanischen Dialekte zu vermitteln.

[2] Aarböger f. nord. Oldk. og Hist., 1869, p. 126–130.

Es erübrigt, ein Wort über die vermeintlichen im Angelsächsischen erhaltenen prägotischen Vokale zu sagen. Ich komme damit auf eine Beobachtung, die von einem anwesenden, uns allen wohl bekannten, Germanisten im 5. Bande von Paul und Braune's Beiträgen gemacht ist, und die ein Glied einer Reihe höchst anregender und fruchtbringender Studien zur germanischen Akzent- und Lautlehre bildet. Der Kernpunkt dieser Beobachtung liegt darin, dass die Bewahrung von auslautendem *i* und *u* im Angelsächsischen z. T. von der Quantität der vorhergehenden Silbe abhängig ist, indem *i* und *u* nach langer Silbe schwinden, aber nach kurzer Silbe bewahrt bleiben. Und zwar soll kurzes *i* in der *i*-Deklination auch da bewahrt sein, wo es im Gotischen geschwunden ist. Z. B. ags *wyrm* = got. *waurms*; ags. *giest* = got. *gasts*; aber andrerseits mit bewahrtem *i*: ags. *wini* "Freund" gegenüber got. *ga-win-s* und ags. *stedi* "Stätte," gegen got. *staþs*.

Ich habe gegen die Tatsache, dass im Ags. das Auftreten des auslautenden *i* von der Quantität der Stammsilbe abhängt, nichts einzuwenden. Aber ich kann mich nicht davon überzeugen, dass es sich bei *wini*, *stedi* und ähnlichen Fällen um ein altes, dem Gotischen voraufliegendes *i* handelt. Vielmehr glaube ich, dass hier ein neu angetretenes, von den *ja*-Stämmen übertragenes *i* vorliegt. Darauf weist der Umstand, dass das Auftreten dieses auslautenden *i* mit der Zerrüttung der alten *i*-Deklination und Mischung von *i*- und *ja*-Stämmen Hand in Hand geht. Diese Mischung beginnt schon im Gotischen, steht aber dort noch in ihren Anfängen und ist nicht einmal bei der Adjektivdeklination ganz durchgedrungen. Auch im Althochdeutschen, wo wenigstens bei den Substantiven die *i*- und die *ja*-Klasse noch getrennt bleiben, treten Formen wie *wini*, *stedi* erst vereinzelt auf. Im Altsächsischen, wo sich die alte *i*-Deklination im Untergange befindet, stellen sich die Formen mit anscheinend erhaltenem *i* dann in weiterem Unfange ein. Im Angelsächsischen endlich, wo der Unterschied zwischen *i*- und *ja*-Deklination völlig beseitigt ist, hat sich die scheinbare Erhaltung des *i* zu fester Regel herausgebildet.

Wir finden im Germanischen öfter, dass Flexionsunterschiede, die an sich nichts mit der Quantität zu tun haben, nachträglich von der Quantität abhängig gemacht werden. In der gotischen Grammatik z. B. gilt die Regel, dass feminine *ja*-Stämme mit kurzer Stammsilbe, wie *sunja*, *halja*, im Nominativ die Endung *-ja* haben, dagegen *ja*-Stämme mit langer Stammsilbe, wie *bandja*, ihren Nominativ auf *i* bilden. Aber es handelt sich hier eigentlich um zwei ganz verschiedene Flexionsklassen: die *yā*- und die *ī*-Deklination des Altindischen: also eine Scheidung, die mit der Quantität ursprünglich nichts zu tun hatte. Ich möchte glauben, dass in ähnlicher Weise im Westgermanischen, namentlich im Angelsächsischen, der Unterschied zwischen alter *i*-Flexion mit abgeworfenem *i* und alter *ja*-Flexion mit erhaltenem *i* nachträglich von der Quantität der Stammsilbe abhängig gemacht ist.

Ich habe das Gefühl, dass die Probleme, die ich hier erörtert habe, vielfach eine weit eingehendere Behandlung erfordert hätten. Aber ich bin zufrieden, wenn meine Ausführungen den Eindruck hinterlassen haben, dass es der Mühe wert ist, diesen und ähnlichen Fragen weiter nachzugehen. Die vergleichende Grammatik der germanischen Sprachen ist noch immer ein Feld, das bei einiger Mühe und einigem Nachdenken reiche Ausbeute verspricht, und ich will mit dem Wunsche schliessen, dass die Arbeit auf diesem Felde in den Vereinigten Staaten rege Beteiligung und nachhaltige Förderung finden möge.

HERMANN COLLITZ.

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USE OF THE FRENCH EQUIVALENTS OF LATIN *em*, *en*, AND *ecce*.

As Old French equivalents of *voici* and *voilà* Godefroy gives *es*, *ez*, *hes*, *eis*, *ais*, *as*, *az*, *é*, *hé*, *ey*, *hai*, *a*, *o*, *et*, *eht*, *eth*, *ete*, *aite*, *athe*, *est*, *este*, *ast*, *aste*, *aates*, *estes*, *ech*, *eche*, *eke*, *eyke*. Along by the side of these forms were also used very early *veez ci* and *veez là*, the first examples noted in the texts examined occurring in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*.[1] *Veez ci* and *veez là* gradually

[1] See B (compare Bibliography), v. 739: Veez ici Guillelme, fil le conte Aimeri; v. 764, Et dist Hugue li Forz: Veez ici Bernart,

supplanted *es*, etc., which disappeared entirely about the beginning of the fourteenth century.[2]

1. Construction of nouns and pronouns following *es*, etc., *veez ci* and *veez là*.

As a rule, the accusative[3] forms of nouns followed *es*, etc., in cases where the exclamatory particle and the noun formed a complete sentence. In the texts examined for this study I have noted only three examples of the nominative[4] in this construction.[5] However, the use of both the accusative and the nominative in such cases is doubtless a survival of the Latin usage.[6] Sonnenschein[7] says that in Plautus *ecce* (= 'here is,' 'voici') was used with an accusative as object, usually a pronoun of the first person.[8] On the other hand, the writers of the Classical period preferred the nominative[9] after *ecce*.[10] After the third century A. D., however, Sonnenschein states that Latin writers returned to the popular idiom and the accusative[11] again became common with *ecce*.[12]

With reference to the construction of *em* (= 'there is,' 'voilà') in Plautus, Sonnenschein says it was used "with an accusative (denoting a thing) or a dative (always *tibi*[13]), or both accusative and dative,[14] as direct and indirect objects." Again he says:[15] "In the Classical period *en* began to be used for *em*, and generally with the nominative instead of the accusative, e. g. *en Priamus*, Verg. *Aen.* I. 461, though the accusative is still sometimes found, e. g. *en quattuor aras*, *Ecl.* V. 65; contrast *ecce homo* with *ecce hominem*." Thus, it seems quite evident that the popular idiom preferred the accusative after *ecce* and *em*, while the writers of the Classical period preferred the nominative in similar constructions. The Old French deriving directly from the Popular Latin naturally adopted the popular idiom with the accusative following *es*,[16] etc. (= 'here is,' 'there is'). On the other hand, the nominative[17] is always used after *es*, etc., when used in the sense of 'lo' and 'behold.' It will be observed, however, that in such cases the noun following the exclamatory particle is always the subject of a verb and the sentence is grammatically complete without the interjection.[18] This construction is frequent in the Oxford[19] and Cambridge[20] Psalters and in the *Quatre Livres des Rois*.[21]

The forms *veez ci* and *veez là* being imperatives of the verb *voir* were always followed by the accusative of both nouns[22] and pronouns.[23]

In the case of personal pronouns following *es*, etc., both the accusative[24] and dative[25] were frequent. As a rule, the pronoun used as an ethical dative in this construction was of the second person.[26] However, *lur* follows *eis* five times in D[27] and Heiligbrodt[28] says that *eis lur* is equivalent to *ecce illorum* just as *eis vos* is equivalent to *ecce*

[2] See *Extraits des Chroniqueurs français*, par Gaston Paris et A. Jeanroy, Paris, 1892, l. 141 (Joinville): A tant es vous un Turc.

[3] See D, v. 114: Eis lur le cunte de Peitou; O, v. 8579: A tant es vos le roi d'Espagne.

[4] See D, v. 140: Eis lur li cuens de Normandie; v. 67: Eis vus puignant li cuens de Flandres.

[5] See F, li. 6: Estetei li uem ki ne posat Deu sa force. Here, however, a relative clause follows the noun.

[6] See *T. Macci Plauti Rudens*. Ed. by Edward A. Sonnenschein, Oxford, 1891, pp. 187–190.

[7] See *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[8] See Plautus' *Rudens*, v. 241: Ecce me.

[9] See Sonnenschein, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[10] See Juv. IV. 1: Ecce iterum Crispinus.

[11] See *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[12] For a collection of instances of *ecce* compare Köhler, in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, v. 1, pp. 16–32.

[13] See Plautus' *Rudens*, 1357: Em tibi.

[14] See *Rudens*, 463: Em tibi aquam.

[15] See *op. cit.*, p. 189.

[16] See L. (Le Fraisne), v. 20: A tant es vus le messagier.

[17] For the use Latin *ecce* in the sense of 'lo' and *em* meaning 'look,' 'there,' compare Sonnenschein, *op. cit.*, pp. 187, 189.

[18] See E, CXXXVIII, 4: Astetei, Sire, tu cuneus trestutes les deraines choses e les ancienes.

[19] See E, CXXXI, 6: Astetei nus odimes iceles choses en Effrata.

[20] See F, CXXXVIII, 5: Estetei, Sire, tu coneüs tutes choses.

[21] See H, III, 19, 5: Este-vus li angeles nostre seignur vint.

[22] See B, v. 739: Veez ici Guillelme, fil le conte Aimeri.

[23] See C, v. 329: Dreiz emperere, veiz me ci en present.

[24] See A, 46d: Es me, dist il, qui l'guard per ton comand.

[25] See O, v. 656: A tant es vos l'empereor; v. 1760: A tant es les vos departis.

[26] See E, CXVIII, 40: Astetei je coveitai les tuens comandemenz; I, v. 1893: A tant es vos et Bertran et Gualtier.

[27] See v. 114: Eis lur le cunte de Peiteu; v. 140: Eis lur li cuens de Normandie. Compare also vv. 11, 47, 88.

[28] See D, p. 572.

vobis.[29] I have also noted one example of *li* used as an ethical dative after *ais.*[30] In the texts examined for this study I have not noted a single example of the ethical dative used with *veez ci* and *veez là*, or *voici* and *voilà.*[31]

The personal pronouns used as accusatives after *es*, etc., and with *veez ci* and *veez là* were always unaccented. Heiligbrodt[32] translates *estez mei ci* by *me voici*, thus making *mei* the object of *estez*. Such a translation is, however, incorrect for two reasons. In the first place, the history of this construction shows that unaccented *me*[33] and not *mei* follows *es*, etc., when used in the sense of *voici* and *voilà*. In the second place, *estez* in *estez mei ci* cannot be equivalent to *voici*, because *ci* and *là* have never been used in this construction[34] except with the imperatives of *voir* (cf. *veez ci*, *veez là*, *voici*, *voilà*). A better explanation of the phrase *estez mei ci*[35] is that suggested by Scheler,[36] who makes *mei* an ethical dative strengthening the command and translates *estez* by *arrêtez-vous.*[37] Supporting this suggestion of Scheler is the fact that *ester*[38] is frequently used in the sense of *s'arrêter* in Old French.

In *La Manekine*[39] of Philippe de Beaumanoir *moi* follows *ves* and the phrase is equivalent to *me voici*. However, in this case *ci* is not used with *ves* and hence we have *ves moi* for the same reason that *moi* is accented in *donnez-moi*. On the other hand, when *ci* is used with *veez* (*ves*), we have *veez me ci*,[40] just as *moi* becomes *me* in *donnez-m'en*.

2. Position of personal pronouns used with *es*, etc., *veez ci*, *veez là*, *voici*, and *voilà*.

Personal pronouns always followed *es*, etc., and they were also placed after *veez ci* and *veez là* until the sixteenth century. In the *Gargantua*, Rabelais sometimes places the pronoun before[41] and sometimes after[42] the imperative in this construction. During the second half of the sixteenth century, however, the use of the pronoun before *voici* and *voilà* became the rule.[43]

One naturally asks why phrases like *voi me ci* and *voi le là* should have become *me voici* and *le voilà*, while the Spanish[44] and the Italian[45] have preserved the Latin[46] word-order in similar constructions. The change in the position of the pronoun in French in such cases seems to have been due to the influence of *ci* and *là*. The personal pronouns were probably placed before *voici* and *voilà* through a desire to combine *ci* and *là* with *voi*. As the adverbs *ci* and *là* were already joined to *voi*[47] in cases where no pronoun followed, it was natural that the many constructions where they were already attached should control the few cases in which a pronoun separated them (cf. *voi me ci*).

[29] Diez says *eis lur* = Provençal *epslor* = *ipsa illa hora* and is equivalent to *ecce* (sec D, p. 572, and also *Altrom. Sprd.*, p. 49 (Boece 15).

[30] Sec C, v. 2452: Ais li un angle ki od lui soelt parler.

[31] For the use of the ethical dative with Spanish *he* compare the examples cited by Prof. K. Pietsch, *Modern Philology*, II, pp. 214–215. On the usc of personal pronouns with Italian *ecco*, compare Blanc, *Grammatik der Italiänischen Sprache*, Halle, 1844, p. 256.

[32] See D, p. 576.

[33] See A, 46d: Es me, dist il, qui l'guard par ton comand.

[34] See O, v. 2564: A tant es vos toute l'estree.

[35] See D, v. 174:

E dist Ernouz: Estez mei ci,
Meie ert la terre e(t) li pais,
Que nen suleie hume servir
Ne mais sul Deu qui ne menti.

[36] See *La Mort du Roi Gormond*, ed. by A. Scheler, Bruxelles, 1876, note to v. 174.

[37] Reiffenberg (see D, p. 576) says that *mei* in *estez mei ci* means *miens*.

[38] See 'Eneas' (*Bibliotheca Normannica*, IV), v. 5104:

"Di," fait il, "ki estez vos?
Estez, si parlerez a nos."

[39] See v. 237: Ves moi prest et entalenté
De faire vostre volenté.

[40] See AA, I, 41: Et voy me là prest à boyre.

[41] See AA, I, 12: Vous voylà roy des perdrys.

[42] See AA, I, 41: Voy me là prest à boyre.

[43] See DD, 492 (Vauquelin de La Fresnaye):
Te voilà de retour; 522 (D'Aubigné):
Le voicy qui surgit à son terme prefix;
CC, 324 (Lecoq):

Le voilà mort!
Il en est fait.
Soit droict ou tort
Le voylà mort.
Il saigne fort;
Qu'il est deffaict!
Le voylà mort.

[44] Cf. héteme aquí.

[45] Cf. eccomi.

[46] See Plautus' *Rudens*, 241: Ecce me.

[47] See DD, p. 368: Voylà tout ton bien; p. 395:
Seigneur, voilà que c'est; p. 408:
Voilà de cette cour la plus grande vertu.

The use of the second person singular[48] instead of the second person plural (cf. Old French *veez ci* and *veez là*)[49] in *voici* and *voilà* may have been due to Latin influence during the sixteenth century, the period during which the fusion of *ci* and *là* with *voi* became complete. The revival of Latin studies in the sixteenth century caused the French poets of the Renaissance to use the second person singular[50] in address.[51]

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[48] Prof. Pietsch (see *op. cit.*, p. 210) in speaking of *voici* says: "If *voi* is felt at all as a verb-form, it is felt as being in the sing."

[49] See X, chap. 56: Veez là ceux de Bruges; chap. 56: Veez les ci.

[50] See AA, I, 41: Et voy me là prest à boyre.

[51] See Schliebitz, *Die Person der Anrede in der französischen Sprache*, Breslau, 1886, pp. 28–29, 46.

Narcissus PLAYS DISTINGUISHED.

It has been pointed out that the Elizabethan drama fulfilled for the "reading public"—so far as that class may be said to have then existed—much the same function that the novel does to-day. The analogy, casual as it may seem, by no means stops here. The double titles, which have until recently been, in a general way, characteristic of the novel, and which have only recently begun to strike us as a trifle ludicrous, were frequently to be found in connection with the Elizabethan drama. With the novel there has been this difference: that when two titles were prefixed, there has regularly

been one main title and one distinctly subordinate title,—the former as the true name of the production, and the latter explanatory, or designed to be stimulating to the curiosity of the prospective reader. With the old drama, however, there does not seem to have been that well-regulated relation between the titles of pieces. Sometimes one will disappear; sometimes the name with which we are familiar seems to have been at the outset the minor designation, or perhaps altogether the product of later days. The situation may be complicated if both these circumstances have come to pass: we consequently find ourselves confronted by the intrusion of a new title, the vanishing of an old; and perchance led into confusion by the similarity of the vanished title to the persisting titles of what are actually totally different works.

Such has been the experience of the writer of this article. An early title of the play by Ben Jonson known to us as *Cynthia's Revels*, contains the possibility of a perplexity in which some investigators have become involved, and from which the writer is desirous of saving other students in this field. In the Jonson folio of 1616, this play is called "CYNTHIAS REVELS / or / The Fountayne of selfe-loue."[1] It had previously appeared in quarto,[2] and in Arber's Transcript of the *Stationers' Register* the following entry occurs:[3]

23 Maij (1601)

walter Burre — Entred for his Copye vnder the handes of master Pasfeyld and master warden **whyte** A booke called NARCISSUS the fountaine of self love . . . . vj^{d}.

That this is *Cynthia's Revels* there is not the slightest room for doubt. Whatever may be the case as regards the name "Narcissus," no other recorded play of the period bears a title at all resembling "The fountaine of self love." Moreover, the actual extant copy of the early quarto of *Cynthia's Revels* in the British Museum is catalogued as "Imprinted . . . . for W. Burre," as in this entry. Still, the use of the term *Narcissus* here is a little strange; and the disposition to take this entry off-hand as a reference to *Cynthia's Revels* received a rude shock when a consultation of *A compleat Catalogue of all the Plays that were ever printed in the English Language, to the Year 1732*,[4] showed *Cynthia's Revels* to be classed as a Comedy,[5] and *Narcissus* as an *Opera*.

The *Biographia Dramatica* records under "*Narcissus*" only the translation of the comedy which is obviously out of the question, as the French original was not acted till December 18, 1752.[6] Fortunately for the satisfaction of later students, *Narcissus*, the opera, happened to be brought out subsequent to November 7, 1718; and is catalogued on p. 442, vol. I, of *The Poetical Register*, ascribed to Giles Jacob, in the addenda, under the heading (p. 437): "From *Novemb.* 7, 1718. to *Novemb.* 7, 1722." This disposes of "Narcissus, an Opera," and it should cause investigators no further confusion in this connection.

Hazlitt's *Manual*,[7] under "Narcissus," p. 163, cites from the Revels Accounts, 1571: "Narcissus, showen on Twelfe daye at nighte by the Children of the Chapell." On p. 89, under, "The Fountain of Self-love; or, Cynthia's Revels: By Ben Jonson," Hazlitt says:

> "It was privately acted by the Children of the Chapel in 1600, and on May 23 in that year was entered at Stationers' Hall as *Narcissus, the Fountaine of Selfe-love*; and, curiously enough, 'Narcissus, the Fountain of Love,' was assigned to John Spencer at Stationers' Hall, June 30, 1630. But was this Shirley's poem of *Narcissus*, originally licensed in 1618, or Jonson's play? Jonson's play is, no doubt, the *Narcissus*, to which Heywood alludes in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612."

First, as to the facts in regard to Shirley's poem. In *The Dramatic Works and Poems of*

[1] Vide title-page to the play.

[2] Authorities differ as to the year of publication. Fleay, Gifford, and Hazlitt's *Manual* placing it in 1601, whereas the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Biographia Dramatica*, Halliwell's *Dictionary of Old English Plays*, and Ryland's *Chronological Outlines of English Literature*, ascribe it to 1600. The most assuredly direct testimony is that of the *Catalogue of the British Museum*, which possesses a copy; and this dates it in 1601.

[3] *Transcript*, vol. III, p. 71; paralleling original, vol. III, p. 185.

[4] Appended to *Three Celebrated Plays of that Excellent Poet Ben Johnson* (such is the spelling), printed for W. Feales; London (1732).

[5] The First Folio calls it "A Comicall Satyre."

[6] Vide *Biographia Dramatica*.

[7] *A Manual . . . . of Old English Plays*, etc., by W. Carew Hazlitt; Pickering and Chatto; London, 1892.

James Shirley, annotated by William Gifford, and later by the Rev. Alexander Dyce, vol. 6, p. 463, we find the poem in question, under the heading:

"Narcissus or the Self-Lover.
Haec olim."

There is a foot-note by Dyce, in which he says:

"From the subject of this piece, and from the motto prefixed to it, there can be no doubt, that it is a reprint of the poem published by our author in his youth, under the title of *Echo, or The Infortunate Lovers.*"

In the same work, Dyce gives a further explanation of this:[8]

"ECCHO, OR THE INFORTUNATE LOVERS, *a poem by James Sherley, Cant. in Art. Bacc. Lond. 1618, 8vo. Primum hunc Arethusa mihi concede laborem*, of which not a single copy is known to survive, appears to have been his earliest publication. There can be no doubt that it was the same piece which he again printed in 1646, under the title of '*Narcissus, or the Self-Lover,*' with the motto '*haec olim,*' to indicate that it was the performance of his youth. . . ."

As given by Dyce, the titles of the early poem exclude all mention of Narcissus. However, the entry of the piece in the *Stationers' Register* is as follows:[9]

4° Januarij 1617 (i. e. 1618)

Francis Constable — Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of master TAVENOR and master warden ***Lownes*** A booke called ECC(H)O *and* NARCISSUS *the 2 vnfortunate Louers* written by Jeames. Sherley . . . . vj^d.

Still from this it will appear that in the 1618 entry the term "Narcissus" was only the secondary part of an alternative title; and there is nothing to indicate that the poem was regularly known by this name alone till its reprinting *in 1646, or sixteen years after the entry of which Hazlitt speaks!*

Moreover, there is no entry in the *Stationers' Register* for "June 30, 1630." There is an entry for "29. Junij 1630" following others for the same day; a single item under "1^mo Julij"; and then an entry under "3° Julij," of which more anon. The small apparent "cipher" to the right of the *3* is not a cipher at all, but is the letter o in the conventional numeral termination (here, in *tertio*). It looks as though Hazlitt, or whoever was his authority, glancing carelessly at the entry, had overlooked this fact, and had failed also to notice that the *n* in the month-word had given place to an *l*. At least he has given us an absolute, though perhaps not an important, error.

But further than this, a consultation of the entry itself should have shown Hazlitt that the "Narcissus" mentioned was the *Cynthia's Revels* of Jonson, entered, as he concedes, May 23, 1601. The contested entry is as follows:[10]

"3° Julij 1630

John Spencer — Assigned ouer vnto him by Mistris **Bur(re)** by a note vnder her hand and Consent of Master **Purfoot** warden, the Copies followinge . . . . . iiij^s

. . . . . .

NARCISSUS *the fountain of (self) love.*

. . . . . .

The Alchemist (by Ben. Jonson)

. . . . . .

Silent Woman (by Ben. Jonson)[11] [12]

. . . . . ."

Not only is the piece here associated with two others by Ben Jonson,—by itself, not very conclusive evidence,—but the assigner bears the same name as the person for whom the original 1601 entry was made.[13] It is difficult to see why Hazlitt should wish to bring Shirley into the question; especially, when this involves marked violence to a title, and possesses absolutely nothing save general theme to recommend it.

The Narcissus allusion in Heywood's *Apology for Actors* clearly has nothing to do with Shirley's poem, since the *Apology* appeared in 1612,[14] a number of years prior to even the early draft of

[8] Some Account of Shirley and his Writings;" in vol. 1 of Dyce's Gifford's *Shirley's Works*, p. vi.

[9] Vide Arber's *Transcript*, p. 286 b; corresponding to the original, p. 618; vol. III, in each case.

[10] Arber's *Transcript*, vol. IV, p. 204; corresponding to vol. IV, p. 238, of the original.

[11] In Arber's *Transcript*, there is an express cross-reference to the earlier entry.

[12] The items here given are selected from a number.

[13] "walter Burre," in the old entry already cited; "Mistris **Bur(re)**," as above.

[14] Vide the citation from Hazlitt.

Shirley's poem. Nor is it probable that it refers to Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, as is contended by Hazlitt. Heywood is recounting the curative and corrective effects, upon the character of the individual spectator, of stage representations; and in the course of showing how these remove various objectionable traits, says:[15]

> "Art thou proud? Our scene presents thee with the fall of Phæton; Narcissus pining in the love of his shadow . . ."

This is all there is relative to Narcissus; yet the "pining" of Narcissus is manifestly referred to as the subject of the "scene" and not as the merest allusion in the course of some other action. The latter is its status in *Cynthia's Revels;* to which the name of "Narcissus" must have been given because of the prominence in the development of the play of the fountain of magic water into which Narcissus had already turned, rather than because of any representation of the mythic hero in his personal form. In fact, Narcissus himself does not appear in *Cynthia's Revels*. As part of an episode preliminary to the main action of the play, Mercury invokes Echo, and speaks of her,

> ". . . . . in thy want of words
> To vent thy passion for Narcissus' death;"

and Echo forthwith replies, stating in the course of her lament the fact that her beloved had "pined" away, but without any particular dwelling on the process.[16] This cannot be called something with which the "scene presents" us.

But there was, dealing with this very theme and brought upon the stage at about this time, a drama, unknown to the scholastic world in general until its rediscovery in a Bodleian manuscript by Margaret L. Lee, who edited it and published it in 1893, subsequent to the compilation of Hazlitt's *Manual*. It is called: "Narcissus; a twelfe night merriment played by youths of the parish at the college of S. John the Baptist in Oxford, A. D. 1602;" the name, however, as we are told at the outset of the Introduction, was given it by Miss (?) Lee, "for want of a ready-made title." Heywood's reference adjusts itself perfectly to this piece, and though with the incompleteness of our data concerning plays of the period and the indefinite character of the allusion, we cannot assert positively that this is what he had in mind, it seems not unlikely that such was the case.

There remains the Revels Accounts reference, cited by Hazlitt, and printed by Cunningham on p. 13 of his *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*.

> "Narcisse[17] showen on Twelfe daye at nighte by the Children of the Chappell."

The interest of this lies in the suggestion by the title of the possibility of a causal relation to Ben Jonson's play or to the Oxford merriment.[18] This record was for 1571; we have no subsequent traces or allusions to the performance; but the following entries in the *Accounts of the Revels at Court* make it plain that the piece was of a nature distinctly different from that of either of the extant plays of similar name.[19]

> "John Tryce for mony to him due for Leashes, ~t dog-hookes, w^{t} staves, and other necessaries; by him provyded for the hunters that made the crye after the fox (let loose in the Coorte) with theier hounde, hornes, and hallowing, in the playe of Narsciscs. w^{ch} crye was made, of purpose even as the woorde then in utteraunce, ~t the parte then played, did Requier, for the whiche, the same S^{r} T. Benger also appointed him to geve certeyne Rewarde the whole amounting to xxj^{s}. viij^{d}.

[15] Shakespeare Society (London), Reprint, p. 56.

[16] Both Echo in Jonson's play and Heywood speak of Narcissus as "pining;" but the term is a perfectly obvious one. Moreover, in the Oxford merriment (vide infra) Narcissus himself says (Miss(?) Lee's edition, p. 25):

> "Tell mee, you woods, tell mee, you oakes soe stronge,
> Whether in all your life, your life so longe,
> So faire a youth *pinde* thus, ..."

[17] *Narcisse;* graphical equivalent of *Narcisses* = *Narcissus*, and so given by Collier on p. 190 of his "*History . . . and Annals . . .*" q. v.

[18] Cunningham has, within quotation-marks, the following note:

> "A play with this name is mentioned by Heywood in his 'Apology.'" (*Shak. Reprint*, p. 56.)

Then follows the extract already cited.

Halliwell also, in his *Dictionary of Old English Plays*, gives under "Narcissus" the Revels Accounts reference, and mentions the allusion by Heywood, to "a play so called."

[19] Cunningham's *Extracts*, p. 11.

"John Izarde for money to him due for his device in counterfeting Thunder ~t Lightning in the playe of Narscisses being requested therunto by the seide Mr of this office. And for sundry necessaries by him spent therin in all. xxijs."

We cannot look for causal relation; but in a curious, coincidental way this Narcissus piece is the connecting link between the other two plays of similar name. It gets a certain external association with the Oxford merriment on the ground that it was a Twelfth Night performance; and with *Cynthia's Revels*, because each was brought upon the stage by the same company of players, viz., the Chapel Children.

Accordingly, we can free the *Narcissus* that is Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels, or the Fountain of Self-Love*, from confusion: with the two much later works,—the comedy and the opera;[20] with the *Echo*, or *Eccho and Narcissus*, or the (2) *Infortunate Lovers*, probably the inchoate form of Shirley's 1646 *Narcissus or the Self-Lover;* with the Oxford merriment; and with the 1571 show on Twelfth Night.

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IS FRENCH LITERATURE GOING BACK TO NATURALISM?

I have given in the New York *Bookman* an account of the remarkable book of the season in France, Léon Frapié's *La Maternelle*, also some information about the "Académie de Goncourt," the members of which conferred the prize upon the young author, and, finally, I have offered some details about the stir aroused by this decision in literary circles.

My purpose here is to discuss the meaning of this whole controversy before specialists.

The choice of their laureate by the Goncourt Academy, was considered by many as an attempt to show that a realistic conception of life had not been given up yet by true artists, in spite of unceasing statements to the contrary in most papers and reviews, which are considered to represent the literary fashion of the hour. Then the indisputable success of the book, proved by streams of gold filling the cash-box of the publishers, has led many to believe that the general public was turning once more toward Naturalism after many years of indifference or even hostility. It is interesting to remark the prudent silence, or praise without conviction, given by several leading critics to Frapié's novel; they seem to be afraid to commit themselves.

Let us examine the whole question from a higher point of view: I mean, let us try to lift it up above the petty discussions of literary schools struggling for influence with the public.

I may perhaps be allowed, without preliminary discussion, to start with the statement that there are two chief sources of inspiration in literature: idealism and realism. They may be found separately or simultaneously in the same work. They are more likely, however, to appear combined outside of France, with only more or less predominance of either—of idealism in Anglo-Saxon countries, of realism in Latin countries.

France, both geographically and mentally, lies between the two races. *A priori* this may show in two different ways: either in a state of equilibrium in a combination of realism and idealism, or by a clear cut line of demarcation and separation. In life we have the system of equilibrium, in literature and art in general which depend more upon purely mental faculties, we find generally separation. France is the country of orderly, systematic, symmetrical thinking, the country of artistic and scientific "schools" as well as of bureaucracy; John Stuart Mill's remarks on this subject are in everybody's mind. When a problem is not clear, they are likely to drop simply the troublesome elements, and so to *make* it clear —at least in theory—and thus to remain lucid, the first and traditional quality of French thought and art. In literature it is as manifest as anywhere else, perhaps more so. While other literatures show *tendencies*, in France we have, as said above, *schools*, with well-defined programs and sharp formulas.[1] Only in times of great con-

[20] In 1653–4, a romance, *Cloria and Narcissus*, appeared; but this need not concern us here.

[1] This makes French literature such an excellent subject to train young minds in the sphere of literary æsthetics.

fusion, periods of transition or in periods of strong influence from abroad — in other words, when French literature ceases to be "French"—things appear in a different light. French scholars themselves call such periods: periods of "cosmopolitism."

It is not my purpose to give an appreciation of this pigeon-hole method in art; there are surely great drawbacks in it, but perhaps no less great advantages. I want only to draw from these facts some interesting conclusions concerning the recent discussions about *La Maternelle.*

Of course, this spirit of systematization will be manifest in regard to the great currents: idealism and realism.

Now the reader will easily grant that *idealism* has been fully worked out—I do not say exhausted—in the so-called classical period of French literature, in the seventeenth century. Then, if my apprehension of French literature as a whole is correct, I should suggest that the nineteenth century be considered as corresponding exactly to the seventeenth: the nineteenth century, especially in its second half, has worked out *Realism* systematically—as the seventeenth had worked out Idealism—that is, has tried to, and succeeded in, drawing from this source of inspiration taken all by itself, in its abstractness and purity, and as opposed to Idealism, all it could possibly yield.[2]

I can here only indicate this bird's-eye view of French literature, realizing very well that a formula like this cannot be expected to work out in every detail. I even consider as very desirable, books that are written with a view to serve as correctives to our tendency to excessive systematization (for example, *Le Romantisme des Classiques*, by Deschanel, is a most valuable antidote to a traditional opposition carried to the extreme by many). Still, while preventing from illegitimate consequences, they do not do away with the theory wisely interpreted.

[2] There is no fundamental difference between the two terms *Realism* and *Naturalism.* The former is more general, that is, with no consideration of time and place; while the second refers specifically to the school of the nineteenth century which made it its special task to work out Realism for the sake of Realism, and Realism to its furthest limit.

Let me now point out three important results gained by our views, when it comes to an appreciation of the different periods of the nineteenth century.

1.) Romanticism no longer occupies the foremost position that is commonly attributed to it. It is only a first step towards Realism, about as the sixteenth century, as influenced by the Renaissance, was a first step toward the Classicism of the seventeenth century (to-day ideas gain acceptance more easily than in the past, thus also in less time). The emphasis laid upon local color was characteristic already of the Romanticists and every one knows how awkwardly many of them made use of it. Individualism was another, no less in importance; it was, however, an individualism of a peculiar kind. What are Quasimodo, Hernani, Ruy Blas, Jean Valjean, but the representatives of the lower classes put on top? and vice versa Claude Trollo, Charles V, Don Salluste and Javert (as the incarnation of society) but representatives of the higher class put down as low as possible. In fact, you might as well call Romanticism an Idealism or Classicism *à-rebours;* it reminds one of a man who wishes to react against hypocrisy in religion and declares himself an atheist. Yet no doubt Romanticism was realistic in its aspirations: namely, they wanted to do away with class privileges in literature as they had done in life.

This theory reduces the importance of Romanticism as compared with other great currents of French literature, but we gain by it a much clearer idea as to its real significance. Every one, who is somewhat familiar with French criticism, must have noticed the embarrassed attitude of writers on this period, as soon as it comes to appreciate the exact meaning of the authors studied. They do not know how to approach Romanticism. In all other periods, whether they praise or condemn, you feel them on much more familiar ground for discussion.

2.) The first and strongest expression of Realism having become conscious of itself as a literary method, is not the one by which its value ought to be tested. Psychologically, it was unavoidable that at the beginning there would be violent exaggeration. The extreme Realists like the Goncourts and Zola are, therefore, not true represen-

tatives. They may be called the Demagogs of Realism. In fact, were they not all representatives of Realism, those who signed in 1886 the famous *Lettre des cinq*, as a protest against the extravagances of *La Terre*? Daudet was much less *brise-vitre*, though belonging to the first generation also, and will remain as a truer representative of the new school.

It was this same desire, or it may be necessity, to emphasize certain features of Naturalism in order to be sure not to be misunderstood, that has induced the leaders of early days to insist so much upon animal life. Once the victory was earned this was no longer urgent, and Zola himself, in his later career—it has not been noticed enough—is not as terrible by far as he used to be in his first naturalistic books.

One more remark in connection with this point: A distinction ought to be made even to-day between writers who claim to be naturalists or realists and those who actually are. The criterion to make the distinction is easy enough to indicate, namely, ART. Rachilde not long ago expressed this very well: "Suis-je pour l'ovariotomie, ou suis-je pour l'avortement . . . voilà ce qu'un critique doit se demander en face d'une œuvre d'art [aujourd'hui] . . eh bien, je serais pour l'œuvre d'art—s'il y avait lieu." (*Mercure de France*, Dec. 1904, p. 769.) This is perfectly true; and neither social nor medical theories make a book belong to Naturalism, still less to literature and art.

3.) Realism, having now gained official recognition in France, as had Idealism in the seventeenth century, realistic masterpieces may appear without any "school" standing back of them. It is not necessary, therefore, to infer from the success of *La Maternelle* and from the enthusiasm on the part of the public, a return in France to a narrow literary tendency. The book represents that part of Realism that has come to stay, and will certainly find expression every now and then in such pure form; just as Classicism occasionally manifests itself in masterpieces that remind one of the best products of the classical period. For instance, the tragedies of Hervieu are of a perfectly classical type—except only that the Greek and Roman costumes and names have been dropped and that the idea of the *fatum* comes up in a more up-to-date form. Think also of a poet like Sully Prudhomme, and why not Leconte de Lisle?

In conclusion, a word about the *Académie Goncourt*. Still assuming that my understanding of French literature is correct, there is something more than a mere fit of bad humor against the conservative spirit of the French Academy, in the creation of the Goncourt Academy. It is an institution that may stand in France for the rights of Realism, as the literary section of the Institute stands for Idealism. Since they do not seem to care to put both tendencies together, for fear of bringing in confusion, every one will be satisfied now. Both extreme conceptions of art will be represented, but kept carefully separated from each other.

The fact that the more recent body is a private foundation, is of no moment. In the seventeenth century the government, being very autocratic, was the natural patron of any kind of association. To-day, individualism is in order. Thus the French Academy was founded—or rather refounded—by Richelieu, as a representative of the French nation; the Goncourt Academy by free and independent citizens of the Third Republic.

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DANTE AND LANDOR.

Curiosity to know if it was really an irreconcilable hostility between classicism and romanticism that called forth Landor's short-sighted criticism of the *Divine Comedy*, led to an examination of the scattered passages in the *Imaginary Conversations* bearing on the subject. The weakness of such testimony as a basis of induction is apparent. Dialogue always gives the fullest chance for inconsistency. Sometimes the conversation may be wholly undramatic, between the author and a man of straw of his own creation. But since it may just as well be wholly dramatic, devoid entirely of the author's personal opinions, only the best of evidence can warrant a contrary judgment. Forseeing possible misunderstanding from this very source, Landor prefaced his *Imaginary Conversations* with an express disavowal

of responsibility for the statements of his characters. This alone should make one chary of drawing too arbitrarily from his prose the ground of his poetic faith. Furthermore, the fact that Landor *in propria persona* was hardly a consistent and logical thinker should be remembered. Yet even with these provisos granted, some light on Landor's real feelings toward the Florentine may perhaps be gathered from numerous comments in the *Imaginary Conversations*.

Justice, however, exacts the admission that in the *Pentameron*, where the bulk of Landor's Dantean criticism is found, an honest and successful attempt is made to adapt the dialogue to the speakers. Boccaccio, accordingly, is playful, fond of bright sayings even when tainted with irreverence; Petrarch is more serious, as tradition has always represented him. Hence much of Boccaccio's talk on the flames of hell, and his own unwillingness even to assist Minos in the performance of his duties, is presumably for the sake of dramatic truth. Boccaccio, likewise, poses as the scientific critic of the schools, and his rather captious remarks on minor flaws in the poem—its tautologies, inconsistencies and the like—must be accepted as utterances of an adept at literary cavil. Petrarch, on the other hand, is more impressionistic, trusting to poetic insight, one whose judgment would be easily warped by friendship to confess greater liking for the *Decameron* than for the *Comedy*. He was as predisposed to praise his friend's work as Marvel was to exalt above all rivals Milton's epic. Therefore, when Boccaccio light-heartedly disclaims any wish to toss souls into the eternal fire, or when Petrarch proclaims boldly that the *Decameron* has 'more character, more nature, more invention, than either modern or ancient Italy . . . ever claimed or ever knew,' the identity of the speaker must be respected enough, at least, to remove from Landor full responsibility for his words.

Owing rather to his dramatic purpose than to a vacillating tendency of Landor's mind, many inconsistencies exist in these dialogues. Petrarch never expects to see a greater than Dante arise, Metastasio awaits Italy's grandest poetry in her 'Roman afterbirth'; Marvel finds depression in a long poem both unavoidable and desirable, others require an even elevation throughout. But these very inconsistencies make us more willing to accept as Landor's own those views which are frequently expressed and never contradicted. On such statements our conclusions must rest.

One of the most frequently recurring criticisms, nowhere gainsaid by any character, is clearly stated by Petrarch: 'At least sixteen parts in twenty of the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* are detestable both in poetry and principle.' Now Landor clearly appreciated the excellencies of many scenes in the *Comedy*—especially the punishments of Ugoglio and Francesca; he saw fully the natural simplicity and the irresistible power of Dante's use of that language which he did so much to dignify; and, if Milton be the author's spokesman, Landor realized also the intensity and grasp of the poet's intellect. Nevertheless his final verdict on larger considerations was perverted seemingly by a lack of insight into Dante's character and purpose. If there are some wonderful situations in the poem they are to him like oases; a desert of fifteen cantos in the *Paradise* before the first refreshing shade. If Dante's diction is terse and strong, it is degraded often to base purposes. From this it is hazardous to infer that Landor himself would have defended fully Petrarch's assertion that the *Comedy* is the 'most immoral and impious book' ever written. But owing to his misconception of the purpose of the poem, some such feeling dominated his criticism.

The key to the whole *Inferno* is found in the inscription on Hell's gate (III, 4–6):

> 'Justice it was that moved my Maker high,
> The Power of God it was that fashioned me,
> Wisdom supreme and primal Charity.'

Though Dante's emotion on meeting Brunetto Latini exhibits in him a nobler motive than ferocious malice, only by comprehension of these lines is the Florentine exile's conception of divine justice and his mission as the involuntary and often reluctant expositor of its inexorable laws, made plain. One who takes the *Hell* as Petrarch does, as a collection of satires with no moral basis, will find in it intolerance, ferocity and vileness. This seems to be Landor's personal feeling. Alfieri, to be sure, once points out a distinction between the indignation actually felt by Dante, and the moroseness falsely laid to his account,

which suggests that Landor has at times inklings of the truth. So often, however, do the characters complain of malignancy in Dante, that it seems to be Landor's own opinion. It would not be strange were it so. From Voltaire to Coleridge the Christian purpose of the *Comedy* was unseen, and quite inevitably the 'wretches' in their misery aroused little interest or sympathy.

All this has nothing to do with the supposed repugnance of the classicist for the Gothic. This also we find to an extent grounding what must be interpreted as Landor's own ideas. An uncouthness in phrase, a disgusting vividness in picture, whether or not essentially Gothic, are subject to his disapproval. But these are mere details. To Landor the *Comedy* in its entirety appeared as a vast, formless structure reared on no sound foundation. To him, as to Petrarch, it is a great cathedral window broken into countless, separate panes. And though one is led to believe from the words of Petrarch and Cleone that Landor regarded amplitude of dimensions as a requisite of the highest poetry; and though he was at times more lenient toward inequality in a long poem, if Marvel represented truly the author's views, nevertheless Marvel clearly found the architectonics of the poem unintelligible. How otherwise could he charge want of continuity and order to a poem whose numerical details even were rigidly ordered according to a preconceived plan? One who missed the motive force of hell's creation must necessarily fail to see the inevitability of the poem's spiritual progress, to comprehend its true unity. Hence we must conclude that even in this seeming antagonism between two schools of art it is really a misconception of the ethics of this one poem that determined Landor's sentiment.

If scant appreciation of Dante was characteristic of Landor's time, later sentiment, perhaps, has gone to the other extreme. Undeniably truth is to be found in certain criticisms of the *Pentameron*. But it is not positive criticism that should persuade one that Landor appreciated little or much the *Comedy*. The strongest indication is that the great scenes of the poem apparently left slight impression upon him. He praises the narratives of Ugoglio and Francesca, but where is the story of Ulysses, where the confessions of the Earthly Paradise, where the Rose of Heaven?

A sympathetic reader might have forgotten, as Carlyle did, the exact canto in which Beatrice appears; but never the incident. Faint recollections of these and other similar scenes may have prompted the statement: 'Alighieri is grand by his lights, not by his shadows; by his human affections, not by his infernal': but the weight of evidence indicates that Landor himself little realized how true were his words; how extremely human was the creator of the cruelest punishments of the *Hell*, how completely the lights dispel the shadows as the days of the wonderful journey from spiritual death to radiant life are unfolded.

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AN IMPRESSION OF THE CONDITION OF SPANISH AMERICAN LIBRARIES.

Whoever is acquainted with the condition or the care of any of the public libraries or the archives of convents in the Spanish Peninsula, has little reason to be hopeful of a less regrettable state of affairs in the republics of Spanish America. Whereas Spain has been troubled by civil wars, invasions and revolutions which have destroyed a large part of her literary works, Spanish America has been subject to a chronic confusion from time immemorial to such an extent, that the majority of landmarks of most forms of Spanish culture have well-nigh disappeared.

A search for libraries in South America is discouraging at the outset for many reasons, among which the chief one is the difficulty in finding out just where they are. The public libraries are, of course, marked on the outside, but private or convent libraries are frequently hidden, or housed in some inaccessible part of the towns. Many people generally know in an indefinite way that so-and-so has a fine library or that such-and-such a convent is noted for its wealth in old books, but when you have been driven from pillar to post in a vain search for several days, you appreciate the genuine disillusionment of "going out for wool and coming back shorn." Though a visit to libraries in the far South would naturally be planned only as a

minor issue of the journey, the natives generally do much toward making it clear that it is folly to entertain such a notion at all, by seldom taking seriously or appreciating, except in isolated cases, an earnest demand for reliable information. The most unfortunate thing that can happen to a visitor, is to be told that a certain library has been moved, since no informant can ever say where it has gone.

The literary works of a profane nature are to be found in private libraries and, in early editions only in a very small number, in the best public libraries, namely those of Buenos Ayres, Santiago de Chile, Lima and the City of Mexico, and not in the convents, though these are usually very much older. This is due to the fact that the works of famous poets or secular prose writers which have not been recently purchased, were carried to the former Spanish colonies in the early days, chiefly by private individuals, from whose possession they have drifted into the public libraries. The religious Orders seem to have taken with them from Spain only such books as they needed for their special field of labor, their devotions and the tasks incumbent on a newly-founded chapter. In no other way could the utter absence of books of value in all of the convents which I visited—some sixteen in number—be explained. Although one may be regretfully forced to admit from the testimony of those informed by years of experience, that the truth of the old Spanish proverb "the occasion maketh the thief" has become trite through over-application in the library world of South America, still, nothing short of systematic looting would account for the removal of every volume of real worth. Some libraries have been taken *en masse*, some have been merely raided, but the character of all in their actual state is too much the same, to permit one to infer that they were ever filled with treasures.

My visit to the various convents resolved itself into an interesting, but unprofitable peregrination through picturesque spots which have retained almost wholly the atmosphere of a distant age. Admission to them was not always easy. Five persistent efforts were needed to open the doors of a convent at Santiago de Chile, which had been described to me by an assistant librarian of the public library as filled with all kinds of valuable books. It appears that a monk who has Eternity ahead, has no appreciation of the value of time here below. So after waiting an hour on each occasion, until someone could be found with authority to let me into the libraries, I at last went in despair to the Archbishop of Santiago for a recommendation which might open doors a little faster. He informed me incidentally, that the finest library in Chile was that of the Catholic University at Santiago. It was the most meager in my experience, and as far as his recommendation was concerned, the result of my first effort to use it was disappointing. I was frankly told that the archbishop might have authority in his own house, but that the convent had no dealings with him. "*Que el señor arzobispo mande en su casa, aquí no tenemos nada que ver con el señor arzobispo.*"

It is to be regretted that the unfortunate notion should obtain among the monks, that modern reprints of old writers are always preferable to the earliest editions. A view I have frequently heard aired, is that modern books are easier to read and have an improved spelling. This attitude, together with the generally prevailing ignorance, either of the presence or of the value of a famous work, is sufficient to account for the disorder and neglect which characterize all convent libraries. Where revolutions have not worked havoc, moisture, dust, and book-worms are doing their part effectively. In the largest convent library which I recall, namely that of the Franciscan monks at Lima, some of the books are repulsive, soggy masses, and it was evident that no one had entered the precincts for a long time, for the only chair there fell to pieces when I picked it up. In one convent at Santiago de Chile the chief treasures consisted of a large number of *troncos* or mutilated remnants of books of every description, of the origin of which, however, the monks knew nothing.

Any book antedating 1700 is a *rara avis* in these convents. The Orders established the longest usually have the least. Such a thing as a manuscript bearing on Spanish literature does not seem to exist in any convent library. It would be unfair, except in a few cases, to charge the monks with vandalism, but they have figured largely in the revolutions; and by admitting

rioters who plundered the archives, have made themselves partly responsible for such losses as occurred. One place was called to my attention, in which the monks of a mendicant Order had the habit of wrapping articles of food, cheeses and the like into the leaves torn out of ancient tomes. My interest in the whole problem flagged when I convinced myself by frequent conversation with the monks that they not only took no interest in literature, but had not so much as seen an important Spanish work. It is a curious fact, that, for example in the field of the drama, the richest of Spanish literature, not a single edition or collection of any playwright came to my notice, excepting the *autos* of Calderon. To my mind this circumstance justifies the belief that a wanton destruction of many manuscripts and printed editions of *comedias* was practiced in the Spanish Peninsula as early as the seventeenth century.

To turn next to the public libraries, into which a few surviving volumes of profane literature happen to have drifted, notably those of Santiago and Lima, it is easy, but perhaps unfair, to speak too critically of them. They are generally miserably housed and the catalogues are either defective and inadequate, or still to be made. The appearance of the stacks is frequently an index to the history of the country, and rarely is it possible to judge from the small remnant which has survived all manner of vicissitudes, what wealth may once have existed. In the arrangement of books little progress has been made over the methods employed in the convent libraries, and only a few administrations have arrived even at a beginning of scientific management. In several places the old-fashioned distribution under "literature," "poetry," "rhetoric," "mystic writers," "geography," etc., still obtains, together with the most unfortunate habit of putting a book which seemed to defy any classification under the comprehensive head of "Varieties" or "Miscellanea" (*variedades* or *miscelanea*). In some cases you are told that this condition is not the result of any recent classification; nevertheless, the number of books successfully concealed under these heads is in proportion to the inefficiency of the managements. The librarians themselves are usually courtesy and good will personified, which always proves an insurmountable obstacle when one is looking for prompt information.

From the standpoint of Spanish literature, the most valuable libraries of Spanish America are the National Libraries of Santiago de Chile and of Lima. Their histories are so bound up with each other, that it is impossible to describe one without including the other. This relation is suggested when one finds a number of works in the possession of the Chilean library marked "National Library of Lima"; it becomes a certitude when one hears the story of the aged librarian of the Peruvian library. According to his tale, his library was once a treasure-house of valuable manuscripts and books, but now consists of barely 40,000 volumes saved from the trials and calamities of the war with Chile, twenty-five years ago (1879–83). When the Chilean army occupied Lima, the National Library was turned into a barracks by the invaders who stabled their horses on the ground floor. The books became the prey of the disorderly mob which, it would seem, gave them away from time to time for a drink in the wine-shops whence the present librarian managed afterwards to recover a few. A large number were carried into Chile, where some passed into private hands, and some were delivered to the National Library of Santiago.[1] Of very many no trace has ever been discovered. The Peruvian archives, or at least part of them, with documents of apparently great historical value, are now also to be found in the library of Santiago. In some ways this transfer is not to be regretted, for the treatment which many of the remaining volumes at Lima have received at the hands of the aged librarian, does not seem to be calculated to make them useful to posterity. Displeased with the old parchment bindings which, he thought, not only gave his rooms the appearance of a convent library, but also bred book-worms, he had new bindings put on all the old volumes. During this process—and possibly for reasons of thrift derived from the knowledge that the smaller the book, the less expensive the binding—a number of volumes were reduced in size. Now and then the titles are cut

[1] Some years ago, the administration of this library, actuated by a feeling of generosity toward the spoliated enemy, began to return some of the books to Peru. In Lima they were promptly stamped "Stolen by Chile," a procedure which made the Chileans reconsider and finally cease sending any more, "so as not to give the Peruvians any further occasions for these renewed insults."

away and occasionally the imprint has vanished altogether. The titles appearing on the cover are by no means always an index to the contents. Misspellings are frequent, *c*, for example, having occasionally been put in place of *s* before *e* and *i*, or *s* in place of *c*. In one case two distinct editions of the same work have been bound under the title, "works, volumes I and II." In another case, two works by different authors were bound in one volume, the cover bearing the title of one and the date of the other. It brings home to us the inefficiency of catalogue-makers, to find in the public library at Valparaiso a large number of books in English and German indexed under the author's middle name, this having been taken, according to the Spanish usage, to be the father's, while the last was imagined to be the mother's name. Thus Whitney's works appear under Dwight, while Thackeray (generally written Tackeray) masquerades as Makepeace, and Emerson as Waldo. Cervantes is found both under *s* and *c*, owing to the pronunciation of *c* in those countries.

In Santiago de Chile there appears to be a chance of putting the organization of libraries on a modern basis. This is owing to the more advanced state of education in Chile, the progressiveness of her people, her greater wealth and her superior corps of teachers, many of whom are scientifically trained Germans. In the over-filled library of the City of Mexico, which is the worst-housed of all, the disorder seems very much in need of attention. It is quite impossible even to get at many of the books. There is a printed catalogue which seems fairly adequate, but the chief interest lies in the archival resources which are now being classified and are of incalculable value for the colonization and independence of the country.

Of all these libraries, however, a common criticism can be made; again and again the observer comes back to the irritating lifelessness in their administrations. Whether it be the imperturbable, happy-go-lucky jog-trot noticeable everywhere in Spanish-speaking countries, coupled with that ineradicable procrastination which shows itself when something ought to be done at once; or only the inevitable decay of time, which is affecting these libraries most, the result is bound to be the same. In either case, what little of value there is left appears to be doomed to oblivion. To apply the words of the noted Jesuit scholar, Guido Dreves, who has a most thorough knowledge of Spanish library methods, the libraries have by no means arrived at the end of their losses.[1] He means to say that just as books have disappeared in the past, so they will continue to disappear as long as careless cataloguers and irresponsible employees exercise their regime of confusion.

In addition to the shortcomings mentioned above, the funds of which the libraries dispose for new purchases are so limited that the necessary scholarly acquisitions cannot be made. Scholars whom I met in Chile informed me that they were compelled to purchase a working library out of their meager income, and that as to the public libraries, when occasional orders at last get filled, the interest in them has long died out. Research work on any other than a limited scale is therefore out of the question.

Though my search through Spanish American libraries was without reward, and though the hopes which I entertained of the presence of an occasional edition or manuscript were not realized, it was worth my while to have learned the true state of affairs. It would be rash to insist that there is no probability that any work of value will come to light, for there are many convents possessing libraries which no one has ever seen, and there are many unknown shelves in those which have been examined. In either case, no one knows what those places contain, but the chances are that no one will ever know.

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PAN Y TOROS. BREAD AND BULLS.

Pan y Toros, the well-known satire on Spanish life, fathered upon Jovellanos shortly after his death, is generally conceded to be a work of no mean literary value. It is not my intention to vindicate the work against the charges of defective style, etc., which Somoza,—overzealous for his hero,—insists upon as proof that *Pan y Toros*

[1] *Analecta Hymnica medii ævi*, Theil XVI (Span. Hymnen); Leipzig, 1894; Vorwort, p. 24.

cannot be the production of Jovellanos;[1] but rather to discuss the English translation, made and printed on His Majesty's ship Caledonia, off Toulon, 1813. As, however, the satire is not readily accessible to American students, some of the more striking passages will first be quoted, or summarized.

The satirist begins by relating how he beheld a Spain, weak and infantine, without population, without industry, without riches, without a patriotic spirit, and even without any knowledge of government: some fields waste and without cultivation: some men dirty and indolent: some people miserable and immersed in ruin: some citizens mere tenants of their city: and a constitution which might more properly be called an olla of all constitutions. He bemoans the lack of education: universities faithful depositories of the preoccupations of centuries in which barbarism prevailed: learned doctors of the tenth century. The army, he continues, has a body of general officers sufficient to command all the armies of the world: a multitude of regiments which although deficient in men inured to the military fatigues of curling their hair . . . . a navy supplied with expensive ships which, if it cannot go out of port for want of sailors, at least may supply the east with the largest and finest skins of rats. As for the ecclesiastical status of Spain, he beheld a metropolis with more churches than houses, more priests than laymen, more altars than kitchens. . . . . Nay it is impossible to stir a step without meeting a brotherhood. . . . . Through all quarters resound the squalling of eunuchs, the braying of chaunters, and the sacred jargon of the musicians entertaining devout souls with spiritual songs, hymns and airs of so serious a composition, and ideas so elevated that even without understanding them nobody can refrain from laughing. There is no corner but is covered with advertisements of *nonenarios* in which they never fail to give accounts of miracles as credible as the metamorphoses of Ovid.

Then follow strictures upon the Spanish national sport, of which the following passage may serve as an example (pp. 90 ff.):

"I well know your merit, and in this august amphitheatre, where alone the Spanish people celebrate their assemblies, I behold your exquisite taste; your delicate sensibility. Bull feasts are the links of our society,—the food of our patriotism—the seminaries of our political manners. These feasts which characterize us amongst all the nations of the earth, embrace as many agreeable objects, as it is possible to desire—they temper our excessive parsimony—enlighten our tender understandings—sweeten our humane inclinations—divert our laborious application, and prepare us for generous and magnanimous actions. The arts and sciences combine to render them perfect, and they assist materially in improving the arts and sciences; they procure (even for the lower order) the blessings of ease and diversion, and prevent the evils of toil and labour; they encourage hospitals, which (to the honour of modern nations be it related) they not only supply with medicines for the relief of the sick, but also with sick for the consumption of the medicines, which are the two indispensable requisites to their prosperity; they mortify the body with fatigue and patience under (p. 91) inconvenience, and fortify the mind by the most dreadful and tragic scenes.

If the elegant Greeks invented tragedy, to eradicate from the soul the ignoble passion of fear and terror; the

[1] Cf. Julio Somoza de Montsoriú, *Las amarguras de Jovellanos*, Gijon, 1899, pp. 33–35.

To Somoza's bibliography of *Pan y Toros*, contained in his *Inventario de un Jovellanista*,, Madrid, 1901, pp. 73–74, ought to be added: (I) the German translation: *Brot und Stiergefechte | Ein | Beitrag zu einer Schilderung Spaniens | am Schlusse des 18. Jahrhunderts. | . . . . . übersetzt | von |* C. F. Mooyer, | . . . . Minden, 1834, 8°. Mooyer (p. 4) gives the Spanish title as follows: *Pan y Toros: Oracion que en defensa del estado floreciente de la España, dijo por los años de 1796 en la plaza de Toros de Madrid*, Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. This is presumably the title in the text which he used; Madrid, 1820, printed by Frau Donna Rosa Sanz, Badstrasze. He furthermore cites (II) an edition published in Valencia, 1820, by Domingo y Mompiez, 4° (not in Somoza), and finally (III) an edition published in Paris, 1826, in-16. To be mentioned also is (IV) a copy in the Ticknor Library, without date or place.

Of the rare first edition (12°) I possess a copy; a copy of the second edition (Cadiz, 1812, 4°), which I formerly had, now belongs to M. Morel-Fatio. The title-page of the first edition is: *Pan y Toros. | Oracion apológica, que en defensa del | estado floreciente de España en el | reynado de Carlos IV, | dixo | en la Plaza de Toros de Madrid,* | D. G. M. de Jovellanos. | Madrid. | Por don Santiago Fernandez, | Año de 1812. | On page 3 is the *Introducción. El nombre de D. G. M. de Jovellanos.* . . . . . The little book, or pamphlet, ends on page 32. The Cadiz edition, —M. Morel-Fatio has kindly refreshed my memory in the matter—on the title-page as in the introduction, has the name of Jovellanos in full: *D. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos*, from which fact it may be inferred that the English version (cf. later) was made after this second edition,—although strangely enough the English translation omits *Melchor* altogether.

polished Spaniards have invented the bull-feasts, where deeds are realized more horrid than even the Greeks have feigned."

Turning now to the English translation the first point to be noted is that it is extremely rare; only two copies are known to exist; the one in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid and the other in the British Museum Library. The volume is a substantial, exceedingly well printed in-quarto of ninety-six pages, and the wonder is how such an excellent piece of work could be executed on a man-of-war, almost a century ago. The first title-page reads: *The* | *tribunal* | *of the Inquisition*: | *and* | *Bread and bulls.* | The second reads: *The* | *Speech* | *of* | Doctor D. Antonio Joseph Ruiz de Padron, | *Deputy to the Cortes, from the Canary Islands,* | *spoken in the sitting of January 18th, 1813,* | *relative to the Inquisition.* | *Bread and Bulls,* | *An apologetical Oration,* | *on the flourishing state of Spain, in the* | *reign of King Charles IV.* | *Delivered* | *in the plaza de Toros,* Madrid. | *By* Don Gaspar de Jovellanos. | Mediterranean. | Printed on board his Majesty's ship Caledonian, off Toulon. | 1813. | [2]

The dedication shows under what circumstances the translation was undertaken:

"To Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, Bart. Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean. Sir. The public curiosity has been much excited by the two Pamphlets, of which we have now the honour to present a translation, made at your request. We are much flattered by this mark of your favorable opinion.

The extraordinary change in the national opinions of the Spaniards, which has led to the abolition of the Inquisition, offers considerations of the highest interest to those of our countrymen who look forward to a permanent alliance between the two nations.

The novelty of literary freedom has encouraged the discussion of many topics of political importance, hitherto interdicted by the Spanish legislature; and the people, impatient for the knowledge so unwisely withheld from them for ages, are now rapidly acquiring that liberality of opinion which will teach them their best interests, and attaching them more firmly to the alliance of England, will entirely dispel that distrust which has so much embarrassed our exertions in their favour.

Among those to whom the direction of this aid has been entrusted, no one is more zealously devoted to the cause of Spain, than yourself, and we flatter ourselves, the circulation of this translation among those who are yet strangers to the language of the original may facilitate the removal of prejudice and error. We have the honour to be, Sir, your most faithful and obedient Servants: Orlando Felix, Henry Elton, Alexander Francis Elphinstone, William Pearson Smith, Algernon Percy, John Briekenden Frowd, Robert Turtliff Dyer. His Majesty's ship Caledonia, off Toulon, June 1, 1813."

The Admiral Pellew in question is the famous Viscount Exmouth. As the translation was made at his request, the following passage[3] from his life is interesting:

"Competent masters were provided for the young gentlemen of the Caledonia, who were assembled every day in The Admiral's forecabin and kept closely at their studies; the admiral himself often (p. 272) visiting them, and interesting himself in their progress. The French and Spanish interpreters instructed them in these languages. . . . . ."

Two at least of the young translators achieved some fame later in life. Of Orlando Felix there exists a work on the well-known Egyptian dynasty.[4] To Algernon Percy, Duke of Northumberland, Arabists are grateful for assistance given to Lane, in the publication of his Lexicography; he was himself a linguist of considerable proficiency. The Rev. Maxwell M. Ben-Oliel[5] makes the following comment upon the period of Percy's life which embraces the year 1813:

"The ten years he devoted in his youth to the service of his country on the wide seas had taught him the higher pleasure of hard labour; and he consecrated his leisure, his influence, and his wealth

[2] Ruiz de Padron's (1757–1823) oration is his well-known attack upon the Inquisition, and political institutions,—and especially upon "the most infamous and voluptuous favorite" Godoy,—delivered in the Cortes at Cadiz.

[3] Edward Osler: *The Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth*, London, 1835, pp. 271 ff. No mention of *Pan y Toros* is made by Osler.

[4] *Note sopra le dinastie de' Faroni con Geroglifici . . . . . raccolti in Egitto nel* 1828. Opera del Maggiore Orlando Felix inglese tradotta da Federigo Torri edita da suo Fratello Stefano . . . . Firenze, 1830. Was this work ever published in English? If so, I have not succeeded in finding any trace of it. As Federigo Torri knew Felix in Egypt, it is possible that the "*opera*" which he translated was in manuscript.

[5] *A sermon on the death of the most noble, Algernon Percy, Duke of Northumberland, K. G. . . . . Preached on Sunday morning, February 26th,* 1865, *at the Brompton Episcopal Chapel, Montpelier Square, London, S. W.* By the Rev. Maxwell M. Ben-Oliel, ... London, 1865, pp. 9 ff.

to the general good of the nation. . . . . His proficiency as a linguist, especially in Oriental tongues, proves his claim to the character of a working student."

That the young men who translated *Pan y Toros* were serious, no one could deny. At the same time one cannot refrain from suspecting that the whole undertaking was but a task-work, assigned to them by Viscount Exmouth,—an exercise in translating Spanish into English! Their blind zeal is made very manifest in the pompous introduction,—the circulation, for instance, of their translation, "may facilitate the removal of prejudice and error." Admiral Pellew was too familiar with the world to believe that,—but, being interested in their education, he sought to quicken their zeal for Spanish, by making them feel that they were moving mountains. The wind which blew this straw was, therefore,—if it may come within the scope of a literary history of the period, as Spanish influence upon England,—simply the political interest which England took in Spain, which it will be recalled, was as important a factor in the Spanish and English literary relations during the Romantic period, as the lectures and writings of the German Romanticists on the literature of the Peninsula.

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MAURICE HEWLETT ON TUSCAN LITERATURE.

I.

Earthwork out of Tuscany: being Impressions and Translations of MAURICE HEWLETT. . . New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902. (First edition: London, J. M. Dent & Co., 1895.)

A Masque of dead Florentines: wherein some of Death's Choicest Pieces and the Great Game that he plays therewith are fruitfully set forth by MAURICE HEWLETT. . . London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1895. (Reprinted in the *Bibelot:* vol. x, nos. 1 and 2.)

Little Novels of Italy. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901. (First edition: London, Macmillan & Co., 1899.)

The Road in Tuscany: a Commentary by MAURICE HEWLETT. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904.

Mr. Hewlett's criticisms of Tuscan literature are well worth the careful consideration of every student of Italian literature.

In the first place, Mr. Hewlett knows Tuscan literature thoroughly, and knows it not as a black and white affair of modern books, but as the necessary flowering of the intelligence and the emotion of the centuries in which it was produced. Of the literature itself, Mr. Hewlett seems to know the entire corpus, writers minor as well as major, from the poets of the Dolce Stil Nuovo to Giovanni Chiabrera. Mr. Hewlett's knowledge of the histories of the cities of Tuscany is accurate and minute. He knows intimately the chroniclers and historians of all periods, from the Villani to the historiographers of the Grand Dukes. He has mastered the intricate stories of family feuds, of the rise and fall of local tyrants; he has sifted the endless legends of local saints; he has studied very carefully the manner of life of the "staple," the common people. He is well acquainted with Tuscan architecture, sculpture, and painting. Tuscany itself, the country—the mountains, the valleys, the plains, the rivers, the living people—he knows from intimate travelling.

In the second place, Mr. Hewlett is himself a creative literary artist, and peculiar interest therefore attaches to his criticism of earlier creative artists. The creator turned critic is quite certain to be prejudiced and unorthodox, but the keenness of his sympathy with those whom he finds kindred in spirit more than atones for his misjudgment of those unlike him, and his criticism is certain to be seasoned with a piquant and vivifying individuality not to be found in the unimpassioned verdicts of the layman.

The books in which Mr. Hewlett's criticisms of Tuscan literature appear are those listed above.

Earthwork out of Tuscany consists of a series of studies of the Tuscan spirit in its several manifestations: in art, in literature, in religion, in conduct. These studies vary in form: some are little more than extracts from a traveller's note-

book ; some are in the guise of short stories ; some are informal essays in criticism ; some are quite in the manner of Pater's *Imaginary Portraits.*

A Masque of dead Florentines might be called a literary pageant. The scene is "an open *loggia* giving upon a garden in winter, with leafless trees, and cypresses." A Chorus, composed of "Tired Ladies and Poets Forgotten," remains in the garden throughout. Across the *loggia*, singly or in groups, pass the notable persons of Florentine history, Dante first, Michelangelo last. The several persons, in epigrammatic monologues, sum up their own lives. To these summaries the Chorus responds, praising or blaming. The Masque is in two parts : in the first part appear persons of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries ; in the second part, persons of the Renaissance.

Little Novels of Italy contains five stories, the setting being one or other of the cities of Northern Italy, the time varying from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth.

The Road in Tuscany is a book of travel in Tuscany,—travel by road, including visits to remote towns as well as to major cities. The country itself calls forth much comment, and the modern life of the people ; historical and literary associations are developed extensively ; art impressions of all sorts are recorded. Digressions into pure history and into pure literary criticism are frequent.

Mr. Hewlett's criticism is by no means formal. He will have none of the manner of the professional critic. He formulates no creed, he attempts no classifications, he has no technical phraseology. Certain informal statements, however, and his fairly consistent critical treatment of particular objects, serve to exhibit clearly his general critical conception.

The art-product—painting or poem—has to Mr. Hewlett a three-fold value : value in form, value in subject, value in personal and social revelation. By value in form I mean the value that lies in immediate, obvious beauty—the power of giving sensuous delight by color or by rhythm, the power of giving intellectual satisfaction by cunning artistry. By value in subject, I mean the value that lies in the stimulation of imagination, of memories and associations, resulting from the experience, the thought, or the emotion constituting the subject matter. By value in personal revelation, I mean the value that lies in the direct reflection, in the product, of the mind and heart of the one particular man who was the producer ; and by value in social revelation, I mean the value that lies in the indirect reflection, in the product, of the mental and emotional temper and taste of the *coterie*, large or small, with reference to whose pleasure the work was produced.

Mr. Hewlett's nearest approach to a definite statement of these values is to be found in the following passage :—

"Be he (the traveller of the true sort) in church or gallery, in villa or Campo Santo, next to the rational enjoyment which he will never fail to get out of beautiful or curious things, and all the chords of memory or feeling which they pluck at, he is most likely to use the masterpieces he sees as so many short cuts to the minds or hearts of the men who made them, and of those for whom they were made." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, p. 14.)

Mr. Hewlett's sensitiveness to value in form appears rather from his sympathy with the artistry of the poets and painters of whom he writes than from definite expository statement.

His clearest assertion of value in subject is to be found in the second chapter of *Earthwork out of Tuscany*, entitled "Little Flowers." Here he champions the story-telling of Giotto and of the writer of the *Fioretti*, and condemns that "modern art criticism, which is ashamed of thinking, snuffeth at pictures which tell you things, at literature in books or music or church ornament."

His enthusiasm for value in personal revelation appears in many passages :—

" . . . let the history, fine arts, monuments, and institutions be as fine as you please, the best product of your country will always be the people of it, who themselves produced those other pleasant spectacles ;" " . . . if the product is interesting the producer must have been, at least, equally interesting ;" " . . . if all the things we call Tuscan Art are good, then the Tuscans who made them should be better ;" "I do not hesitate to say that I find people more entertaining than pictures, and more germane to the matter of us all." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, pp. 1, 12, 8, and vol. II, p. 70.)

In the passage first quoted, Mr. Hewlett clearly rates the values in form and in subject as of more primary importance than the value in personal and social revelation. In the passages last quoted he clearly exalts the third value at the cost of the other two. These last passages, rather than the first, represent his personal feeling in the matter. His primary intellectual delight is in the manhood of particular men and the womanhood of particular women.

Since Mr. Hewlett's interest is of this type, his criticism deals rather with particular individuals and particular *coteries* than with comparative generalizations or with the tracing of literary currents through successive periods.

As a result of individual studies of the long series of individual Tuscan writers, however, Mr. Hewlett necessarily has a certain composite and generalized impression of Tuscan literature as a whole, and the general character of that impression is clearly revealed in several informal statements.

Mr. Hewlett finds the essential quality of the Tuscan nature to be "Simplicity—a limpid sincerity like that of children, who act as they feel, and speak of what they dream, and yet keep a dignity of their own, and know the reserve which Nature puts upon every wholesome creature of hers." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, p. 32.) Elsewhere Mr. Hewlett uses the word "childishness" to denote this same essential quality. This quality he finds to be the source of all that is paradoxical in Tuscan conduct—the mingling of "the fine and the base, the noble and the mean, the infinitely great and the infinitely little," the co-existence of shamelessness and modesty, of the beautiful and the squalid. This quality, too, he finds determinative in Tuscan art :—

"Imagine . . . a whimsical child with a passion for reality, who makes tangible his own weavings of impalpable embroidery, and delights in the work ; then you have a Florentine artist, poet, man of letters . . . Of Machiavelli, who played with theories as with chessmen, handling life and death, and Hell and Judgment, as if they were all of a piece ; of Lionardo da Vinci, painting mystery and making cages for grasshoppers ; of Boccaccio, to whom love and lust, aspiration and digestion, were alike curious physical phenomena ; of Luigi Pulci, of Lorenzo and his tribe of *dilettanti*—I would say the same thing. Children,—absorbed, precocious, delightful, preoccupied children, every one of them—a race whose measure of preoccupation is the measure of their success." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, pp. 180–182.)

In Tuscan literature Mr. Hewlett finds salient three characteristics, each a normal outcome of the essential childishness. The first of these characteristics is refinement in artistry. The second is fancifulness. That higher faculty, imagination, Mr. Hewlett finds only in Dante and, in lesser degree, in Boccaccio. The third characteristic is meagreness of content : in poetry and prose, absence of real thought-value ; and in poetry, absence of sincere emotion. From these negative charges Mr. Hewlett exempts, in poetry, the work of Dante and the entire corpus of folk-poetry, and in prose, the work of Macchiavelli.

To the matter of Tuscan refinement in artistry Mr. Hewlett devotes the fourth chapter of *Earthwork out of Tuscany*, entitled "Of Poets and Needlework." In the course of the chapter he cites, as fair statement of the Tuscan attitude in this matter, the dictum of Alberti : "Whatever may be accomplished by the wit of man with a certain choiceness, that indeed is next to the divine." Mr. Hewlett finds that Tuscan writers, like Tuscan painters, took exceeding delight and manifested exceeding skill in matters of mere artistry. They required of their work that proportion of part to part should be architecturally perfect ; that composition in detail should be exactly and precisely balanced ; that ornament should be profuse, beautiful in itself, and rightly set.

Elsewhere, in his criticisms of individuals and in his more general critical remarks, Mr. Hewlett frequently recurs to this matter of refinement in artistry :—

"There is a scent, an aroma, a pungency indefinable about the most frivolous Tuscan sonnetteer, an orderly disposition in their everlasting histories, a fastidious choice in the conduct of their insipid novels—qualities which as a writer you must respect and as a reader admire ; qualities which set rhymes and rhymesters apart. Other things may be done better, but not these things." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, p. 178.)

Of Tuscan fancifulness Mr. Hewlett says :—

"With one or two mighty exceptions . . . it is not imagination you find in Tuscany. Rather, it is a sweet and delicate, a home-grown fancy, wantoning with thought which may be unpleasant, unhealthy, grave, frivolous—what you will; yet playing in such a way, and with such intuitive taste and breeding that no harm ensues nor any nausea;" ". . . the Tuscans were invetcrate weavers of fancy, choosing what came easiest to hand to weave withal;" "Consider, then, all Tuscan art from this point of view, the weaving of innocent fancies round some chance-caught theme." (*Earthwork out of Tuscany*, pp. 34, 62, 35.)

Mr. Hewlett scores Tuscan literature severely for its meagreness of content:—

". . . they (the Tuscan writers) were victims of the common Italian complaint—which decimated Tuscany, while it was epidemic all over the peninsula—which you may call artists' itch—the disease of longing to say something without having anything in particular to say;" "Tuscan poetry, highly educated, highly sophisticated as it was, juggled with the passions and emotions . . . Tuscan poems are about anything or nothing, and mean little more than delight in the doing, playful weaving of the fancy, a happy tracing out of phrase-arabesques, a comfortable tingling of the vacant walls of the heart's chamber;" "Can we read the Aretine heart of Petrarch, or the Pistolese heart of Cino, as we can read the Cockney heart of Chaucer or the Lowland heart of Burns?;" "Petrarch was a lover, Cino a lover, Lorenzo a lover—or so they thought. Did their love-stress burn as clear in them as his in Byron . . .?" (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, pp. 8–10, and vol. II, pp. 348, 344, 345.)

In the tenth chapter of the first volume of *The Road in Tuscany*, entitled "Concerning the Theory that the World is a Garden," Mr. Hewlett surveys the successive phases of the Italian attitude toward life, particularly as reflected in the course of Tuscan literature. He calls the Renaissance "the result of accepting the theory that the world is a garden," and devotes the chapter to the working out of the fancy. The chapter is in form a very loosely constructed fable or parable. Its *motif* is as follows:—

The original theory, that the world was a garden, with God Almighty as owner and man as gardener, was lost with the closing of Eden. During the Middle Ages the theory prevailed that the world was a sort of Foundling Hospital, under a complex management of governors and governesses, with an elaborate system of rewards and punishments. St. Francis of Assisi put an end to this conception by reviving the original theory in a modified form. He held that the world was indeed a garden, a place formed for happiness, a place of extraordinary beauty and delight; that God was indeed the owner; but that man was not gardener, but rather one of the choicest flowers. All Italy accepted the theory, and went about developing it in various ways. It received its definitive modification from the declaration of Giovanni Boccaccio that man was owner of the garden, and God only the gardener. In this definitive form the theory prevailed throughout the Renaissance.

Of the individual Tuscan writers, Dante is the one to whom Mr. Hewlett devotes most extensive and most enthusiastic criticism. The second chapter of the first volume of *The Road in Tuscany*, entitled "Dante and the Traveller," with its two appendices, "Dante's Pictures" and "Beatrice and Other Concerns," is devoted entirely to Dante: according to the Advertisement prefixed to the volume, this chapter contains the substance and some of the phrases of a lecture.

Dante the man is, to Mr. Hewlett's thinking, thoroughly Tuscan and essentially Florentine:—

"All that is specific in . . . (Tuscany), all clean thought and tense expression, all passion, all partisanship, all the form, colour, and rhythm of a people who strove after such things (and got them), the art and the artifice, the exactness of knowledge and the thirst for more knowledge—all these things, which all the Tuscans have partaken, are within the covers of the *Divine Comedy*;" "His parts are all pure Florentine—the high heart, the hawk's eye, the biting tongue, the intolerant mind;" "Dante . . . is true Florentine, with the parts and features magnified, but neither concealed nor distorted by genius . . . to that account must be credited his deliberate movement, his incisiveness and his steady pride. For the Florentine has a good conceit of himself; can be supercilious, but is not arrogant, is sharp-

tongued, incisive, scornfully witty. He loves nicknames, biting jests; the name he gives you will not be the less truthful because it stings. Dante was by no means singular in this faculty, though he had it out of all Florentine ratio;" "Dante not only hated, but scorned specifically every race in Tuscany. His proud nose seemed to know them by their smell, as he certainly knew Baldo d'Aguglione and Fazio of Signa. The Casentine swine, the Aretine lapdogs, the Pisan foxes, the jobbers of Lucca, and the featherheads of Siena, he hated with nicety, the bitter, great, sad man; but he only did after his kind." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, pp. 55, 56, 178, 176.)

Dante is, to Mr. Hewlett's mind, the one utterly sincere and passionate lover among Tuscan poets. Mr. Hewlett believes with absolute belief in the reality and in the life-long intensity of Dante's love for Beatrice. He finds in the *Vita Nuova*, particularly in the poems *in morte*, the deep heart-cry of truest passion. In the attitude of Dante toward Beatrice in the *Divina Commedia*, Mr. Hewlett finds no mere allegorical relation, but the unmistakable continuance of deep, pulsing, ecstatic human love:—

"When she came to him, after that wonderful overture—Matelda, the Earthy Paradise, the mystic Procession (was ever such honour paid lady before?)—when she came to him, I say, in her flame-coloured robe, girdle of olive, and green cloak, before he was worthy to look upon her eyes, what does he say but—

D'antico amor sentì la gran potenza?—

Is this a cry from the heart yearning for theology? Did anything ever move such ecstasy of homage but love? The most subtle passage in the whole of the comedy is perhaps that which lays bare his heart's whole idolatry, where he speaks of

Quella riverenza che s'indonna
Di tutto me, pur per BE e per ICE.

The mere written syllables of the adored name possess and dominate him. He loved this green-eyed girl and, because he loved, freed his immortal part, and towered higher than any of the sons of men. For if our Milton heard God speak, this man dared look him in the face, take his stand with Saint John and Saint James below the burning throne of heaven, and see his beloved assumed into the very heart of Mary. This it is to be a lover. . . She gave him strength to soar, taught him the mystery of Beauty and Desire, 'imparadised his mind.' . . . He repaid her with such sort as no woman, save the Queen of women, has ever received of man." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, pp. 65–66.)

Mr. Hewlett finds essential in Dante his intimate love for the Italian country through which he had so much to wander. Dante, he notes, like the balladmongers of the Scots border, steers by rivers and hills, not by towns:—

"I suppose for once that he directs you by the name of a town, he chooses its rivers or hills nine times—and familiarly, and as being to being, as one to whom the world at large and in detail—meadow, grove and stream, the earth and every common sight—is either host or fellow-adventurer." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, p. 46.)

Like the Scots again, Dante personifies and individualizes his rivers—using their names, like personal names, without the definite article, and never finding the same verb to do for two of them. Burns'

Where Cart rins rowin' to the sea,

and

Among the bonnie winding banks
Where Doon rins wimplin' clear,

are paralleled by Dante's

Sulla marina dove Po discende
Per aver pace co' seguaci sui.

Mr. Hewlett notes still other traits of nature-sensitiveness, struck deeply in from much wandering:—

"Weather! How he was sensitive to that! You remember the dust-storm, the whirlwind that 'dinanzi polveroso va superbo?' He touches the wreathing fogs, the rain, the frost and snow just like that. Of the last, there is that lovely reminder of the great idle flakes which drop like feathers on a windless Alp:—

d'un cader lento
Piovean di fuoco dilatate falde
Come di neve in Alpe senza vento.

. . . Then the time! . . . There is no poet in literature who has observed so finely upon the hours of the day, and the signals of them—sun, moon, stars, tremblings, thrillings of light, calls and movements of beasts and birds. If one had his eyes one could time oneself exactly by the

creatures. There are the rooks for dawn; and the swallows—

> Nell' ora che comincia i tristi lai
> La rondinella presso alla mattina;

the lizard for noon; and for his evening piece there is the famous passage beginning, 'Lo giorno se n'andava.'" (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, p. 61.)

Mr. Hewlett recurs frequently to Dante's love of sheer artistry:—

"How happy was he . . . playing, and playing consummately, with the ornaments of his poem, planning it, tricking it, embossing it!;" ". . . the happy trick whereby every great stage of the journey ends in hope or vision of the stars . . . the variegated pattern embedded in the Twelfth Purgatory . . . These things tell me not only that he loved, but that he delighted in his immortal task. From the temper of his mind, as much as from his own words,[1] I should have judged that he planned every curve of the ornament before he set pen to paper, and should not be surprised at any time to learn that he worked out his similes on the same orderly plan." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, pp. 178, 64.)

To Dante, Mr. Hewlett ascribes imagination of the highest order:—

". . . imagination . . . is more than conceiving, inventing, an act or a person outside experience: it is seeing this act or person *in the doing*, and so minutely as to be able to describe him. It is intellectual second sight . . . Dante . . . is full of that." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, p. 60.)

The two processes which together constitute this imaginative power are first, very close observation of typical features in the actual world, and second, the use of things thus closely observed to figure things imagined. Mr. Hewlett multiplies examples of such observation and such figuring:—

> "Come le pecorelle escon del chiuso
> A una, a due, a tre, e l'altre stanno,
> *Timidette atterrando l'occhio e'l muso;*"

"Thus he saw Sapia of Siena, standing as

> Se volesse alcun dir, Come?
> *Lo mento a guisa d'orbo in su levava.*

That pitiful, anxious gesture of the blind—who does not know it?;" "Bertrand de Born with his carried head, 'pesol con mano a guisa di lanterna.'" (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, pp. 57, 58, 60.)

Mr. Hewlett finds one essential factor in Dante's power to be his insistence upon internal rather than external nature, his penetration to the inmost, essential humanity:—

". . . he strikes quick into the heart of life, and his effects are so overmastering precisely because they depend so lightly upon the æsthetic and so deeply upon the ethic base. Moving as are the sights and sounds about him, poignant as the play he makes with them—the wailing story of Francesca, the knotting of snakes about the thieves, the pity of La Pia, or terror of Ugolino at pasture upon his enemy; greatest of all, the reddening of the East and veiling of the sun when the cry goes up on the Purgatorial slopes, *Veni, sponsa de Libano*, and

> Sopra candido vel, cinta d'oliva,
> Donna m'apparve, sotto verde manto,
> Vestita di color di fiamma viva;

it is neither the wringing of hands nor the shuddering of breath, nor the sight of red teeth or lascivious worms, nor the loveliness of woman, nor the piety of her love, which makes these images exquisite art and sublime poetry. No; it is the inner vision of the heart of them all, the well of tears, the seeding-pit of shame and sin, the leaping core of the fire of love; it is that second-sight of his which lifts him above us." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, pp. 48–49.)

Mr. Hewlett seeks to render evident the marvellousness of Dante's creative power by contrasting the limitation of Dante's actual material with the unlimited universality of the truths he derived from it:—

"He travelled, but not far; he read, but not . . . widely . . . The souls he sees sousing in Hell, the painful initiates on the Mount of Purgation, the white-stoled Convent of Heaven, are gathered from a square of thrice ten-score miles, and represent the memories of a hundred years, or the thumb-marks of a few classics. And yet his grip is so sure, and his scope so wide, you think that you see the whole world under his span." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, pp. 63–64.)

(*To be concluded.*)

Ernest H. Wilkins.

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[1] Mr. Hewlett here refers by a footnote to Purg. XXXIII, 139–141.

ICELANDIC LITERATURE.

The Thrymskwitha (The Lay of Thrym). Translated from the Edda by FRANK EGBERT BRYANT. Lawrence, Kan., 1904–5. 8vo., 15 pp.

There have been several previous translations of the Thrymskwitha. But whilst the original form has been at least six times reproduced in German, no such attempt had been made hitherto in the English language. We therefore appreciate all the more this recent publication where the alliterative form has been preserved.

As Mr. Bryant remarks in the Introduction, he has endeavored "to reproduce as far as possible the ideas, the form, and the spirit of the original poem." He certainly succeeded in accomplishing this difficult task. The slightly forced and far-fetched character of one or two alliterations could scarcely be avoided; cp. st. 12, 4: Me wouldst thou think Man-crazy quite; st. 16, 3: Me would all Ases Unmanly call.

The footnotes in the present translation are instructive; yet we feel that, on the whole, more allowance might have been made for the reader's intelligence as well as for his knowledge of Germanic mythology.

Let us hope that Mr. Bryant will find leisure to continue his work in the near future, so that we may look forward to an English rendering in alliterative form of the whole Edda.

KLARA HECHTENBERG COLLITZ.

Bryn Mawr, Pa.

DR. HANS GERHARD GRÄF: *Goethe über seine Dichtungen.* Versuch einer Sammlung aller Aeusserungen des Dichters über seine poetischen Werke. Zweiter Theil: Die Dramatischen Dichtungen. Erster Band, Frankfurt, Rütten & Loening, 1903. 8vo., pp. xxii, 443. Zweiter Band, ibid., 1904, pp. vi, 643.[1]

In the second part of his great work on Goethe Gräf undertakes to present all of the poet's utterances concerning his dramatic works. He has now accomplished half of this task with the same wonderful control of his vast material and an even more pronounced tendency towards most minute accuracy than was shown in the first part. The utterances on Faust, *e. g.*, which in Pniower's *Goethes Faust*—which paved the way for that part of Gräf's work—numbered 977 and with running commentary filled 295 pages, here amount to 1132, and with explanations occupy over twice as much space, there being among the additions such important unpublished material as Goethe's autograph marginal notes in the *Soufflirbuch* for the first performance of *Faust* in Weimar in 1829 and two choruses composed by him for the same occasion. The conversations are no longer given according to the latest editions of Eckermann and the great collection of Biedermann, but more accurate readings are secured by always going back to the original prints. Events in the diary are not simply given under the date when they occurred, but an effort has been made to define the exact part of the day when they took place, and accordingly the time between 4 or 5 in the morning, when Goethe used to rise, and 11 in the evening, when he retired, has been divided into eight sections. On the other hand the vast mass of accumulated material has forced the author, much to his own regret, to follow a less satisfactory plan with regard to the letters from Goethe's correspondents, reviews and other matters which served to illustrate the poet's own utterances. A mere bibliographical reference and a short summary have often taken the place of a full extract, but in the case of *Faust*, the reader will be happy to notice, these restrictions have not been so rigorously adhered to as to be seriously felt.

Since Goethe's dramatic works, completed and fragmentary, number almost one hundred, they have been distributed over four volumes. Volume one contains the 16 dramas which come first in the order of the alphabet, most space being allotted *Epimenides Erwachen*, *Egmont*, and *Claudine von Villa Bella*. Volume two is almost entirely taken up by *Faust* and closes with *Die Geschwister*. All dramas except *Faust* must here be passed over without going into detail. Their treatment is up to the standard of the rest of the work, and particular acknowledgment is due to the author for the attention he has paid to their performances on

[1] Cp. *M. L. N.*, vol. XVI, p. 182, and vol. XVII, p. 217.

the Weimar stage during the time of the poet's own management. About *Faust* first a few suggestions of additions and changes, then a word concerning some of the many matters of interest in which it abounds.

There would not have been any need of the following remarks, as far as they refer to *Faust* itself, if the author had known Minor's excellent review of Pniower's *Goethes Faust*, Gött. gelehrte Anzeigen, 1900, vol. 162, 1, pp. 220–245, a simultaneous article in Mod. Lang. Notes, 1900, pp. 129–134, and a study in Americana Germanica, vol. III, pp. 1–26, entitled, *The Evolution of the Classical Walpurgis-Night and the Scene in Hades* followed by *Additional Remarks on the Evolution, etc.*, in the same volume, pp. 212–218.

P. 11, l. 23. Add a reference to Minor, l. c., pp. 222 f., where attention is called to the fact that with writers of the time between 1720 and 1769 allusions to the Faust legend and the 'Volksschauspiel' are 'geradezu typisch.'

Pp. 58–59. Pniower's plea (l. c., pp. 44–53) that the appearance of portions of Schink's *Faust* induced Goethe to resume work on his own drama, and that, contrary to all contemporary evidence, this was done as early as 1796, is cited without a hint as to its untenability. Pniower's arguments, both with regard to Schink and a resumption of the work in 1796, were disproved by Minor, l. c., pp. 237 ff., and Mod. Lang. Notes, l. c., pp. 129 f.

P. 112, note 1. Compare Minor's refutation of Pniower, l. c., p. 241 f.

P. 275, note 1. Gräf suggests that the distinction of an 'Oben,' 'Hüben und Drüben' and 'Unten' made by Schubarth, *Zur Beurtheilung Goethe's*, vol. II, pp. 14 f., between the qualities of man[1] recurs 'in einem etwas anderem, aber doch verwandten Sinne' in the 'drei Ehrfurchten' for what is 'über uns,' 'uns gleich' and 'unter uns' in the pedagogical province of the *Wanderjahre*, which Goethe wrote a few months after having read Schubarth's thoughtful book with warm appreciation. This suggestion does not bear close investigation, for Schubarth here simply distinguishes between the moral, intellectual and material (sensual) qualities of man, while Goethe's three references are said to form the basis of the pagan, philosophical, and Christian religions. Moreover the moral, *i. e.* highest part of human nature, would correspond to the pagan, *i. e.* lowest form of religion, and *vice versa* the material (sensual) part of man to the Christian, *i. e.* highest religion which has as yet been attained.

P. 550, note 3. For more than one reason it would not even seem possible that the Faust Goethe handed to Eckermann April 14, 1830, comprised all of acts one and two. It is all but certain that it was the 'Heft' entitled '*Classische Walpurgisnacht erstes Mundum*'' still extant as H 74. (Amer. Germ., l. c., pp. 9 ff.)

P. 553, note 1. The supposition that Goethe's 'Neue Resolution wegen Faust' of June 15, 1830, might perhaps concern the scenes sketched in Paralip. 157 is entirely correct. Considering all circumstances, the new resolution was that those scenes which had always been intended for the second act should be transferred to a prologue of the third. (Amer. Germ., l. c., p. 25.)

These are all matters which have seemed to call for a slight change or addition. In the following attention will be drawn to some of the very many details which render Gräf's work particularly valuable.

Pages 8–10 present a survey of the most important 'Bühnen-Einrichtungen' of *Faust* up to the present time.

Pages 22–31 furnish very useful comparative tables of the separate scenes and their sequence in

[1] The passage, which is not quoted *in extenso* in Gräf's work, reads as follows:

[p. 14:] 'Denn, um . . . . den Werth jener verschiedenen menschlichen Anlagen zu bezeichnen, so lassen sich dieselben in ein dreyfaches Verhältniss bringen, und in einem Oben und Unten, Hüben und Drüben vertheilt finden.

Das Oben nehmen die sittlichen Eigenschaften des Menschen ein; der Gipfel, das Höchste menschlicher Natur bezeichnet sich hier von selbst.

Sodann nehmen das Hüben und Drüben [p. 15:] bald mehr realer, bald ideeller Art, die sämmtlichen geistigen Eigenschaften des Menschen ein. Alle Richtungen derselben, als Expansion gegen Welt und Natur, erzeugen das Wissen und die Wissenschaft; wie die Sammlung in derselben Sphäre die Kunst, die Poesie bewirkt.

Endlich bilden die sämmtlichen sinnlichen Eigenschaften des Menschen das Unten seiner Natur. Hier ist also die Base enthalten, wie in den sittlichen Anlagen der Gipfel.'

the *Urfaust*, the *Fragment*, and the completed First Part; they are followed on the next page by a short survey of the most important external differences of the three versions.

Pages 474–500 deal principally with the preparations for the first representation of the First Part of Faust at Weimar, and it is in this connection that the marginal notes in the 'Soufflirbuch' and the two choruses referred to above are published. The Weimar Soufflirbuch, Gräf explains, is a manuscript copy of the 'Bühnen-Einrichtung,' devised by Klingemann for the first actual performance of the First Part of *Faust* on the stage, which memorable event had occurred at Braunschweig in the beginning of 1829. It was purchased by the manager of the Weimar Theatre together with the music belonging to it in view of the intended performance. The text of the book was carefully looked through by Riemer, perhaps in connection with Durand and Eckermann, and then submitted to Goethe, who only gave his opinion on some mooted points and for the rest, as he expressed it elsewhere, was 'passiv, um nicht zu sagen leidend.' The music was passed on by Eberwein who, finding it too meagre, was called upon to compose some himself. Goethe was satisfied with the final result of his efforts, promised him some additions and in consequence sent him the two new choruses, the text of which has only been preserved in Eberwein's partition. The first is a chorus of spirits beginning *allegro* after l. 1740, 'Blut ist ein ganz besondrer Saft.'

'Und er wird schreiben?
Ja, er wird schreiben.
Er wird nicht schreiben.
Nicht! nein, nein!
Er schreibt! er schreibt!
Und zwar mit ganz besonderm Saft.'

The other chorus is a chorus of angels which begins *andante dolce* after the voice 'Ist gerettet,' and is preceded by other music announcing 'die grauen volle Handlung des weltlichen Gerichts.'

'Im Wolkenschoos gebettet,
Im Wolkenschoos gebettet.
Heran! Heran!
In Engelsarmen
Entsühnt zu erwarmen,
Find' Erbarmen,
Erbarmen, Erbarmen.'

Not only Klingemann's direction 'sinkt sterbend nieder,' but also Margaret's last exclamation 'Heinrich! Heinrich!' is crossed out in the Soufflirbuch, so that the chorus closes the tragedy. (That this does not imply that Margaret escapes the supreme penalty on earth will perhaps be shown on another occasion).

Pages 503 f. Gräf proves the fictitious character of an interview Alexander Dumas the Father claims to have had with Goethe in summer, 1829.

Pages 526 f. A passage from Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*. Berlin, 1841, vol. I, p. 346, not recorded among the 'Conversations,' makes it probable that the Mothers found in Plutarch's Moral Writings have hovered in Goethe's mind ever since he read of them in Karlsbad in 1811.

It is difficult to resist the temptation of continuing these extracts, but this review must close. There is a great number of works and commentaries which are full of subjective statements concerning Faust, many of them quite valuable, but there is no greater storehouse of objective facts bearing upon the growth of the poem and, it may be added, furnishing more new touches towards the picture of the poet himself than the book under discussion, and, although the information it gives is disconnected, the reader never misses an experienced and trusty hand which cautiously guides him through the labyrinth of details.

A. Gerber.

Jena.

Thackeray in the United States, 1852–3, 1855–6. Including a record of a variety of Thackerayana. By James Grant Wilson. *With six score illustrations. And a bibliography,* by Frederick S. Dickson. 2 Vols., 6½ x 9½, pp. xviii + 372, and x + 403. $10, *net.* Dodd, Mead and Company. New York. MDCCCCIV.

In the *Century Magazine*, for December, 1901 (vol. 63, pp. 221–237), appeared an article by J. G. Wilson, entitled "Thackeray in the United States. The First Visit;" and in January, 1902, the same periodical (vol. 63, pp. 334–354) contained "The Second Visit." Out of, or about, these two brief accounts have grown the two volumes

under review,—probably the most remarkable and valuable single contribution yet made to the literary and personal history of Thackeray. Not that the work contains much that is new (for most of the materials therein have appeared in one or another form), nor that it is arranged and presented in a new light (for the compilation is especially faulty in its hurried and frequent incohesions); but the immensely rich and various experiences of which the book is composed, collected by one who knew Thackeray and his friends personally, makes it, out of comparison, the fullest Thackeray store-house thus far in print. A glance at the mere external features of the contents of the two handsome volumes under consideration will convince one of the comprehensiveness, as well as the character, of their collected materials.

There are seven main divisions of the book, although, so far as the text is concerned, there are no clear reasons why the partitions are made, inasmuch as the contents of the various portions are drawn from similar (and often identical) materials, and thrown together with little regard to analysis and order. A partial exception should be made of "The First Visit (November, 1852–April, 1853)" and "The Second Visit (October, 1855–April, 1856)," comprising the bulk of the first volume; for the natural distinctions of time and place (itinerary) separate these and form in each the essential unifying elements. As indicated by the titles, these two sections give an account of Thackeray's two lecture tours in the United States, covering a period from the time he first conceived the idea of coming to America until his final return to England. The author with admirable taste leaves the narrative largely to letters, diaries, newspaper and magazine criticisms of Thackeray's visits and lectures, accounts of dinners and smokers and balls, told by Thackeray and others, and reminiscences gathered by the editor, for his purpose, from every available quarter where Thackeray was known and entertained. These two parts form the most complete, connected personal history of Thackeray in the United States yet collected for publication.

The third division, "Letters to American Friends, and *The Virginians*," differs little in character from the first two parts, the correspondence, anecdotes, and criticisms simply relate to Thackeray after his return to England, the materials being largely an overflow from the "First Visit" and "Second Visit." And, indeed, the same may be said of the fourth, and last, division of the text proper, "Thackerayana." As already suggested, the sections of this book are largely arbitrary, the materials of one part readily lending themselves to any other without marring the context, The very unconventional, orderless nature of the book is probably its greatest charm, as by it we are enabled to get so much nearer to Thackeray, the chief object, than we would through the ordinary third-personed biography, in which almost everything appears except the personality of the subject of the sketch.

The "Illustrations" are, of course, of universal interest, some of which are reproduced here for the first time from the originals. The title-page lays claim to 'six score illustrations.' There are in fact no fewer than 132 (91 in volume I, 41 in volume II), of which 50 are full-page, and 32 are illustrations in the text. Of all these, twenty-two are copies of portraits and busts of Thackeray, including four by Laurence, one by Stone, the Johnson etching, the Devile bust (1822), the Count D'Orsay portrait (1848), the Boehm full-length statuette (1860), the Marochetti-Ford bust (Westminster Abbey), the Edwards (London) full-length photograph, the Alman (New York) photograph (1856), and Thackeray's last photograph, presented to Bayard Taylor by Mrs. Anne Thackeray Ritchie, after Thackeray's death. The three photographs just mentioned, together with that Laurence portrait of the great novelist reading a paper held near the face, are probably the best likenesses of Thackeray ever made. It is needless to add that the collection of copies of Thackeray portraits contained in these two volumes is the greatest yet published. Fifty-three of the illustrations in Mr. Wilson's book are sketches from Thackeray's pencil, ranging from the Lord's Prayer on a three-penny piece to a full-page drawing. Among the other illustrations is a fac-simile cover of *The Virginians*, also one of the title-page of the first (American) edition of *The Yellowplush Correspondence* (1838).

The "Index" (II, 207–222) is, with a single exception to be noted, made up wholly of page references to names and places, with no attempt at analysis. On cursory examination it appears of little value to the reader, but when one gets

down to "Thackeray," one finds a remarkably lucid, concise and inclusive index to the essential features of the two volumes. A few examples, taken at random, will suffice to give a clear idea of this part of the book :

"Thackeray, W. M.,—quoted, 1, 1 ; his lectures, 2 ; his age and manuscripts, 3 ; note to Doyle, 4 ; first lecture, 5, 6 ; . . . Bryant's tribute, 24 ; . . . Yonkers lecture, 41 ; visits Irving, 42 ; . . . In Savannah, 142 ; . . . praises Cooper, 11, 16 ; . . . original Colonel Newcome, 92 ; etc."

From this short extract it will be seen that a synopsis of the text is made, not alphabetically, but page by page. At first this arrangement would seem to be not the best possible, but on a more careful examination its advantage appears in the chronological development of Thackeray's itinerary in the United States, followed by a similar trend of criticism, appreciations, after-dinner speeches, and so on. A separate place in the Index is devoted to an alphabetical list of those to whom Thackeray addressed letters referred to in the book ; and still another to the Ballads and Poems of Thackeray quoted or mentioned in the text. So that, everything considered, the Index must be pronounced an excellent one.

There still remains to be mentioned the "Bibliography," the compilation of Mr. Frederick S. Dickson, who, probably, has made the most complete Thackeray bibliography in existence. Leaving to one side Mr. Dickson's compilation, the most extensive Thackeray bibliography is that of Mr. Anderson, appended to Merivale and Marzial's *Life of Thackeray*, in the "Great Writers Series." This cites 71 books referring to Thackeray, and 202 European and American periodicals. The immense bibliography printed in *Thackeray in the United States* (II, 225–403) is primarily intended to cover American publications alone, but it includes some volumes originally published in England and afterwards re-issued with new title-page in the United States ; also, such editions of Thackeray's works as have been published as 'English Editions' but set up in the United States. In a brief introduction to the Bibliography here reviewed, Mr. Dickson makes the modest announcement that 'the compiler of this bibliography makes no pretence of completeness for his work, . . . nor does he lay claim to inerrancy. He has simply done his best to make his work both complete and accurate.' As a matter of fact it is the most accurate piece of work of its kind one has yet seen. It represents three classes of publications, in some instances overlapping :

a. *The writings of Thackeray published in the United States.* This division comprises 301 titles, ranging all the way in importance from the mere extract or sketch quoted in some magazine article about Thackeray, to a set of his complete works. In the latter instance, of course, the separate volumes are not listed as distinct publications, but the complete set counts for but one in the grand total.

b. *Thackerayana.* This includes all book references to Thackeray, published in America, known to the compiler, encyclopaedic and dictionary articles, whole books devoted to Thackeray, as well as simple mention of Thackeray in books of general literature and history. When needful, the compiler offers his opinion of the value of the reference. Under this head there are 218 titles.

c. *Periodicals.* Mr. Dickson makes out 1462 of these, but by actual count there are 1515 periodical citations, a most appalling array. It should be remembered, too, that this list is confined to American periodicals alone ! In practically every instance the date, volume, and page of the reference are given.

There is but a single criticism to this overwhelming compilation of titles, authors and editions : it should have been made a Thackeray Bibliography, rather than a Thackeray-in-the-United-States Bibliography, notwithstanding the title of the book to which it is appended. There has never been a better opportunity for a 'complete' Thackeray bibliography, and none so capable of compiling it as Mr. Dickson.

In this connection should be mentioned the accounts given in the text (II, 93–126) of the American editions of Thackeray's works, also of first editions, original manuscripts, and other collections of Thackerayana, notably, those of Messrs. Halsey, Hoyt, Morgan, Read, Smith, and Trowbridge, of New York City, and those of the Drexel Institute, Mr. Frederick S. Dickson, and Major W. H. Lambert, of Philadelphia. The last

named, to whom Mr. Wilson dedicates his book, has, probably, the greatest collection of Thackerayana in existence.

As a general criticism on *Thackeray in the United States*, in addition to the one of hurried compilation and composition, already mentioned, one might suggest the numerous repetitions and redundancies. Paradoxical as it may seem, this fault is probably due to the thorough acquaintance of the author with his materials, linked with the law of associated ideas. In relating a series of incidents in which an episode is associated with a particular person, any recurrence of the same name at once starts a train of ideas in the memory of the author, inevitably leading up to, and the re-telling of, the old story, the repetitions in some cases amounting to four or five in the course of the book. A few citations will make the stricture apparent: Thackeray's dislike of Sydney Smith (I, 74) recalls to our author the remark of the second Duke of Wellington who also had an aversion for Sydney, 'for he was noisy, tyrannical and vulgar.' Later, in the same volume (p. 239), Sydney Smith's name again occurs, and the identical story is repeated, occupying fourteen lines. Again, (I, 93), referring to Lady Holland's discourteous remark that 'the majority of Americans were the descendants of convicts,' Ticknor reminded her that 'her own family, the Vassalls, were of American extraction.' One hundred and fifty pages further on (I, 244), the incident makes its second appearance, losing for us nearly an entire page in its re-telling,—albeit the story is a good one. The habit increases as the work progresses: Willis's criticism of *The Four Georges* is quoted twice in the identical terms (I, 220 and 242); Thackeray's pun on his broken nose, 'that he could not get over it because it had no bridge,' his high regard for Cooper's Leather Stocking hero, the 'Adsum' scene in *The Newcomes*, and numerous episodes, bon-mots, etc., are extremely ubiquitous in their nature. These repetitions, furthermore, are not needed to furnish entertainment, for the book is fairly teeming with the liveliest interest.

The criticisms of the book are of slight importance, however, when one considers the perfect mine of valuable reminiscences incorporated in these two volumes. And above all, the constant presence of Thackeray's personality, peering through the details of the materials, and pervading the entire mass as well, is amply sufficient to cause one to forget the few unimportant faults of the book.

WATSON NICHOLSON.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

A NOTE ON NASALIZED VOWELS.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—That nasalized vowels are found in the English of the United States seems to be but imperfectly known. Professor Emerson,[1] indeed, has noted the occurrence of *sə̃ṗĭn* for "something" and of the interrogative *hə̃*, *hẽ*, in the speech of the common people of Ithaca; but he is the only one who appears to have pointed out the existence of such sounds in an American dialect. Of the words which he has cited, *hə̃* is not peculiar to Ithaca, being found in Louisiana, Virginia, and, I presume, in other parts of America: *hẽ*, is heard usually as *hæ̃* in the South: and "suthin'," also printed "su'thin'," "su'thin," is regularly used by Charles Egbert Craddock in her stories of life in the Tennessee mountains,—whether to indicate merely the loss of *n* or the sound of a nasalized vowel, I do not know.

If *sə̃ṗĭn* is confined to the speech of the illiterate, and the place of *hə̃*, *hẽ*, *hæ̃*, is taken by such an expression as "I beg pardon" in polite conversation, there are words to which, in rapid speech, even cultured Americans give nasalized vowels. Thus, a Southerner frequently pronounces the words "can't," "shan't," as, for instance, in "I can't (shan't) do it," with loss of the final *-nt*, and, at the same time, with a genuine nasalized vowel, allowing the breath to escape by the nose as well as by the mouth. The vowel so produced lies about midway between the *æ* of "man" and the *e* of "men," being neither so low as the former nor so high as the latter; the lips are not so tense or retracted as in the French "vin."

[1] *Dialect Notes*, III, p. 160.

Kæ̃, šæ̃—with a rather high *æ̃*—represent, naturally, a weakening of the strong forms *kænt, šænt.* When followed by a *g* or a *k* in the next word, as in "go," "come," "can't," "shan't," have not a nasalized vowel, but are commonly pronounced *kæ̃ŋ*, *šæ̃ŋ*, with assimilation of *n* to ŋ.

For the sake of comparison, it may be worth while to call attention to the fact that nasalized vowels occur also in German. Viëtor[2] speaks of their existence in the dialects of Middle and South Germany; and Jespersen[3] cites Viëtor's note as a possible explanation of Goethe's rime:

> Es war einmal ein König,
> Der hatt' einen grossen *Floh:*
> Den liebt' er gar nicht wenig
> Als wie seinen eignen *Sohn.*

William A. Read.

Louisiana State University.

The Sources of *Volpone.*

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—With reference to Mr. Holt's communication in the February number of your journal, three considerations present themselves:

1. It will be observed that while the Rev. Thomas Francklin was probably the first to point to Lucian as the author from whom Jonson borrowed, his note refers only to *Dialogue* III (in the usual order, no. V); whereas Mr. Adams shows conclusively that the material for *Volpone* was taken from not fewer than six *Dialogues* (nos. V–IX, XI). The quotation from Davies is not especially important, since he does not seem to have been aware of the significance of his own remark; he uses the dialogue between Pluto and Mercury (no. V) merely to illustrate a general truth. No one in the nineteenth century appears to have brought up Lucian in connection with *Volpone.*

2. In justice to Mr. Adams, it should be stated that he was perfectly well aware of Francklin's note and had appended it to his article in the form of a note. The note was mislaid in the office of *Modern Philology,* and the article was printed before Mr. Adams could possibly return his corrected proof; in consequence the note did not appear in print. In letters dated November 9 and 19, 1904, the editors tendered a courteous explanation of and apology for the omission.

3. In reply to Mr. Holt's communication to *Modern Philology* (October 21) supplying the note from Francklin, both the editors and Mr. Adams informed Mr. Holt that the omission was due to a printer's error; and on December 10 he acknowledged the receipt of their letters. Mr. Holt's failure, in a letter to *Mod. Lang. Notes,* published nearly two months later, to give Mr. Adams due credit for knowing of Francklin's remark, is regrettable.

Clark S. Northup.

Cornell University.

[2] *Elemente der Phonetik*[4], p. 154.
[3] *Lehrbuch der Phonetik,* p. 55.

On the Wearing of Hides by the Devils of the Medieval Stage.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—In Rabelais's *Pantagruel* (IV, 13) occurs a description which should have been quoted or cited in the thirteenth footnote to my second article on exorcism with a stole (See *Mod. Lang. Notes,* for April, 1905). This description can hardly be offered as evidence that the devils in French drama had from their earliest appearance on the stage worn the hides of various beasts, but scores of manuscripts to be seen at the Bibliothèque Nationale and other great European libraries are adorned with miniatures which prove that medieval folk almost invariably thought of the "enemy" and his imps as creatures nearly or quite human in form and bearing, yet hybrids of man and beast because they had hides instead of human skin.

The passage in Rabelais tells how Villon (not the real Villon, but the Villon of some legend pleasing to Rabelais) "fit la monstre de la Diablerie parmy la ville et le marché. Ses diables estoient tous capparassonnés de peaulx de loups, de veaulx et de beliers, passementées de testes de mouton, de cornes de boeufz, et de grands havetz de cuisine; ceinctz de grosses courraies, esquelles pendoient grosses cymbales de vaches, et sonnettes de muletz à bruit horrifique, etc."

Richard Holbrook.

Columbia University.

Hrsg. v. Geo. Brandes.) *Berlin:* Bard, Marquardt & Co., 1905. 8vo., 70 pp. M. 1,25, cloth 1,50, Pergam. M. 2,50.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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NOTES ON SHELLEY.

SHELLEY'S *Ozymandias*.

In Alexander's *Select Poems of Shelley* (Athenæum Press Series), in the notes on *Ozymandias*, occurs the following (p. 311): 'The Greek historian Diodorus gives an account of the statue referred to in the poem. It was reputed the largest in Egypt, the foot exceeding seven cubits in length; the inscription was, "I am Ozymandias, king of kings; if any one wishes to know what I am and where I lie, let him surpass me in some of my exploits" (see Diodorus 1. 47; or Wilkinson's *Ancient Egypt*, vol. I, chap. II.).'

In Baedeker's *Egypt*, 4th ed., pp. 277–9, we learn that the Ramesseum at Thebes, the large temple built on the west bank of the Nile, and dedicated to Ammon, may in all probability be identified with the tomb of Ozymandyas described by Diodorus, although his description does not tally in all points with the extant remains. We read also: 'In front of the ancient W. gate [of the First Court] lie the remains of the colossus of Ramses II, the hugest statue in Egypt. The name of Ramses II appears in well-preserved hieroglyphics on the upper arm and on the seat of the statue. The face is unfortunately completely destroyed. The remains (breast, upper arm, one foot, etc.) still testify to the care with which this gigantic monument was chiseled and polished. . . . The total height seems to have been 57½ feet, and its total weight over two million pounds.' Baedeker adds that the savants of the French expedition carefully measured the various parts, and subjoins the measurements (*e. g.*, breadth of the foot across the toes, 4½ feet). *Ozymandias* 'is a corrupt form of *User-ma-rē*, the prænomen of Ramses II.'

There seems to be no 'lone and level sands' near Thebes. Baedeker says (p. lxv): 'From the northernmost spur of the Arabian desert (the Mokattam near Cairo) to a point above Edfu, both banks of the Nile consist of early tertiary nummulite limestone.' On p. 225 he adds: 'On the left bank, as we draw near Thebes, rise high limestone hills, presenting precipitous sides to the river, from which, however, they are separated by a strip of fertile land. The right bank is flatter, and the Arabian hills retreat farther into the distance.' Were we on the plateau of which the hills on the west bank form the edge we should find, it is true, the white sand of the Libyan desert, passing into 'the endless sand-regions of the eastern Sahara, whose moving ranges of dunes have as yet been crossed by no explorer' (Erman, *Aegypten*, p. 21); but these are too far away and too high to be visible from the Ramesseum.

As, according to Baedeker, the face is completely destroyed, and there are no 'vast and trunkless legs of stone,' Shelley's description of its expression must not be regarded as a transcript of reality; nor is it true that 'nothing beside remains.' But notwithstanding all these deviations from fact, *Ozymandias* remains a noble poem, true at least to the Egypt of our dreams.

It is interesting, by the way, to note the remark of Thackeray, *From Cornhill to Cairo* (*Sketch Books*, pp. 729–730): 'Shelley's two sonnets are the best views that I know of the Pyramids—better than the reality; for a man may lay down a book, and in quiet fancy conjure up a picture out of those magnificent words which shan't be disturbed by any pettinesses or mean realities.'

What are these two sonnets? *Ozymandias* is very likely one; *To the Nile* might be thought of as the other, were it not that this first appeared (see Cambridge ed., p. 357) in the *St. James Magazine* for 1876. Neither contains, however, a word about the pyramids. For these one must compare passages like *Q. Mab* 2. 126 ff.; 9. 26 ff.; *Alastor* 111 ff.

BYRON, *Manfred* 3. 4. 36–41, AND SHELLEY, *Hellas* 696–703.

In 1817, Byron, describing the Coliseum, wrote (*Manfred* 3. 4. 36–41) as

Leaving that beautiful which still was so,
And making that which was not, till the place
Became religion, and the heart ran o'er
With silent worship of the great of old—
The dead but sceptred sovereigns, who still rule
Our spirits from their urns.

Shelley may have remembered this when, in 1821, he wrote (*Hellas* 696–703):

But Greece and her foundations are
Built below the tide of war,
Based on the crystalline sea
Of thought and its eternity;
Her citizens, imperial spirits,
Rule the present from the past;
On all this world of men inherits
Their seal is set.

SHELLEY, *Hellas* 1060 ff.

The commentators on the final chorus of *Hellas*, though they refer in a general way to Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, to which they were directed by Shelley himself, fail to point out specific borrowings. Such are (1060):

The world's great age begins anew

from *Ecl.* 4. 5:

Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo;

The golden years return (1061)

perhaps from (4. 9):

—surget gens aurea mundo;

then (1072 ff.):

A loftier Argo cleaves the main,
Fraught with a later prize;
. . . . . .
A new Ulysses leaves once more
Calypso for his native shore,

imitated from (4. 34–6):

Alter erit tum Tiphys, et altera quæ vehat Argo
Delectos heroas; erunt etiam altera bella,
Atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles.

Perhaps also (1074–5):

Another Orpheus sings again,
And loves, and weeps, and dies,

from (4. 55–6):

Non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus,
Nec Linus.

The lines (1062–3),

The earth doth like a snake renew
Her winter weeds outworn,

are not from Virgil, but may possibly be a reminiscence of some other ancient writer; cf. Ovid, *Art. Am.* 77:

Anguibus exuitur tenui cum pelle vetustas;

with which may be compared Statius, *Theb.* 4. 93–8:

Ecce inter medios patriæ ciet agmina gentis
Fulmineus Tydeus, jam lætus et integer artus,
Ut primæ strepuere tubæ—ceu lubricus alta
Anguis humo verni blanda ad spiramina solis
Erigitur liber denio et squalentibus annis
Exutus lætisque minax interviret herbis.

Add Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 9. 65.

In general, the earlier part of the chorus has a certain resemblance to the close of Act 2, Scene 3, of Seneca's *Medea*, which I give in Miss Harris's new translation (Henry Frowde, 1904):

The sea forgets its former wrath; submits
To the new laws; and not alone the ship
Minerva builded, manned by sons of kings,
Finds rowers; other ships may sail the deep,
Old metes are moved, new city walls spring up,
On distant soil, and nothing now remains
As it has been in the much-traveled world.
The cold Araxes' stream the Indian drinks;
The Persian quaffs the Rhine; a time shall come
With the slow years, when ocean shall strike off
The chains from earth, and a great world shall then
Lie opened; Tiphys shall win other lands—
Another Tiphys—Thule cease to be
Earth's utmost bound.

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ANOTHER WORD ON DANTE'S CATO.

Perhaps it will not do to say anything more about Cato. And yet in the recent flood of literature on that worthy, a passage from Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto*, which seems to bear somewhat remotely on the subject, has apparently escaped observation. Much discussion has, of course, been aroused by the great age which Dante gives his Cato; for the historic character committed suicide in the prime of life, aged about forty-eight. D'Ovidio,[1] to be sure, asserts that when the poet makes Cato an old man, he is not inconsistent

[1] *Studii sulla Divina Commedia*, Palermo, 1901, p. 378, n.

with the historical facts, but rather in full accord with his own doctrine (Conv. IV, 24), which makes *la Senettute* begin with the forty-sixth year; but the appearance of Cato is so venerable as to suggest that he surely would belong in Dante's classification to the fourth age of life called *Senio*, which begins in the seventieth year. Scartazzini's[2] conjecture "O si deve forse intendere che Catone s'invecchiasse nell' altro mondo?" can hardly be taken seriously. Again, it does not seem probable, as Chistoni[3] thinks, that Dante might have confused the two Catos[4]: nor is the passage in Lucan's *Pharsalia* (II, 373–375) a sufficient source for the venerable figure which the guardian of Purgatory presents; on the contrary, the very context suggests vigor and sturdy manhood. It seems to be necessary, then, to account in another way for the undoubted inconsistency; and a most reasonable explanation is found in the suggestion of Professor Grandgent[5] that "the figure of Cato has been super-posed in Dante's mind upon an earlier image of Elijah."[6] It is also important to remember that conventionally in medieval literature guides and guardians are often old men. Moreover, when a person rises to a place of any significance, it is the usual popular and literary tradition to advance him in age: thus Charlemagne at thirty-seven, appears in many romances as an old man with white locks and a flowing beard.[7] May not, then, the age which Dante gives his Cato be affected by literary reminiscences of traditional guides, guardians, and presiding spirits?

Just as the legendary figure of Elijah was doubtless in Dante's mind when he drew old Cato, so also he may unconsciously have been influenced by a passage in the last chapter of Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto*, which not only presents the traditional features of the guardian of a special realm, but also bears certain striking resemblances to the actual situation in the first canto of the *Purgatorio*. It is needless to emphasize how well Dante knew the works of the one who taught him *come l'uom s'eterna*.

In the twenty-second chapter of the *Tesoretto*, the poet using the first person, after travelling through a forest, finds himself suddenly

> In sul monte d'Olempo
> Di sopra in sulla cima.[8]

There he is pausing in contemplation of 'tutt' il mondo'[9] somewhat in the same way in which Dante in those incomparable lines at the opening of the *Purgatorio* is watching the approach of dawn. Then, Brunetto goes on:

> Or mi volsi da canto,
> E vidi un bianco manto
> Così dalla sinestra,
> Dopo una gran ginestra.
> E io guardai più fiso,
> E vidi un bianco viso
> Con una barbe grande,
> Ch 'n sul petto si spande.

The poet then goes before him, salutes him, is well received, plucks up courage to ask his name and finds he is Tolomeo,

> "Mastro di storlomia,
> E di filosofia."[10]

There are differences in plenty between these bare lines and the rich beauty of the first canto of the *Purgatorio*; but there are interesting resemblances. The poet in a strange imaginary place, the turning to the left,[11] the sudden appearance of an old man alone, the venerable bearing, the white beard, the hesitation on the part of the poet, the reverent salutation—all these simi-

[2] Note on *Purgatorio*, I, 31.

[3] *Le fonti classiche e medievali del Catone dantesco* in *Raccolta di studii critici dedicata ad Alessandro d'Ancona* (1901) p. 97.

[4] Cf. N. Vaccaluzzo in *Giorn. Stor. della Let. It.*, XL, p. 140 sq.

[5] *Cato and Elijah*, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Asso.*, new series, X, p. 71 sq.

[6] P. 81.

[7] Vaccaluzzo, *op. cit.*, p. 142. There is an interesting example of this very process in an eighteenth century poem by Saverio Bettinelli, "Le Raccolte. Poemetto al nobilissimo signore Andrea Cornaro Gentiluomo veneziano," 1755, where Dante himself is ironically made venerable.

> "Con lunga barba e con rugosa faccia
> Primo appariva il gran padre Alighiero,
> Che dopo tanta età par si compiaccia
> D'aver le forze, e il vigor anco intero."

Del Balzo: *Poesie di Mille Avtori Intorno a Dante Alighieri*. Volume VII, p. 95.

[8] *Il Tesoretto di ser Brunetto Latini*, ed. Zannoni, Firenze, 1824, Capitolo XXII, l. 6, 7, p. 229.

[9] L. 11. [10] ll. 41, 42.

[11] Cp. *Purgatorio*, I, 29.

larities in situation suggest at least that when Dante was drawing Cato on the shores of Purgatory, the mental image of Brunetto's Ptolemy may have flashed across his mind along with reminiscences of Elijah and perhaps of other venerable guides. Whether this was so or not, of course we shall never know: at any rate, it may be interesting to Dante scholars to note that there is something in common between the sudden appearance of Cato to Dante on the shores of Purgatory and the sudden appearance of Ptolemy to Brunetto on the peak of high Olympus.

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NOTE.—In the prologue to the *Tesoretto*, Capitolo I, ll. 61, 62, Brunetto refers to Cato, coupling his name with that of Seneca. The poet says to Rustico di Filippo:

"Appresso tutta fiata
Avete accompagnata
L'adorna costumanza
Che 'n voi fa per usanza
Si ricco portamento,
E sì bel reggimento,
Ch' avanzate a razione
E Seneca, e Catone."

an allusion which escaped the attention of G. Wolff in his article on *Cato der Jüngere bei Dante* in *Jahrbuch der deutschen Dante Gesellschaft*, II, 230; but which is mentioned by Arturo Graf in his discussion of Cato in *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del M. Evo.*, II, 268.

NOTES ON BEN JONSON'S *Volpone*.

Date of Composition.

With the aid of the title-page and a few internal references to contemporary events, we are able to place the date of the production of *Volpone* with a considerable degree of accuracy. The title-page reads: 'Acted in the yeere 1605.'[1] The year 1605 extends from March 25, 1605 to March 25, 1606 according to more modern dating. Fleay has pointed out[2] the importance of the *whale* reference in connection with this inquiry. The reference is:

[1] All references and quotations are from the 1616 Folio.
[2] F. G. Fleay: *Biog. Chron. Eng. Drama*, I, 373.

PER. The verie day
(Let me be sure) that I put forth from *London*,
There was a whale discouer'd, in the riuer,
As high as *Woolwich*. (II. I, 46–49.)

The date of this discovery is to be found by comparing the account above with Stow's *Annales* for January 19, 1605–6:

The 19 of January, a great Porpus was taken aliue at Westham, in a small creeke, a mile and a halfe within the Land, and presented to Francis Gofton Esquire, chiefe Auditor of the Imprests, and within few dayes after, a very great Whale came up within eight mile of London, whose body was seene diuers times aboue water, and iudged to exceede the length of the longest Ship in the River, and when she tasted the fresh water, and sented the land, she returned into the Sea.

A great whale came up as high as Woolwich.

The date of this whale, as Fleay says, determines one limit for the production—it must have been later than January 19, 1606; but what neither Fleay nor any other, so far as I am aware, has noted is that only a few lines above a very direct hint is given as to the length of time which ensued between the date of the whale's appearance and the date of the production of this play. In line 17 of this same act and scene, Sir Politique asks:

How long, sir,
Since you left England? PER. Seuen weekes.

Compare this with the passage just quoted:

PER. The verie day
(Let me be sure) that I put forth from *London*,
There was a whale discouer'd, etc.

In other words, Peregrine is represented as holding this conversation with Sir Politique in Venice just seven weeks after January 19, 1606—*i. e.* March 9, 1606. If this were an isolated instance, we might take it for granted that Jonson merely wrote seven weeks to give adequate time for Peregrine to reach Venice from London, but a significant passage in the prologue mentions approximately the same length of time in discussing the composition of the play:

this his creature,
Which was, two months since, no feature;

> And, though he dares giue them fiue liues to mend it,
> 'Tis knowne, fiue weekes fully pen'd it: [3]
> Prologue, 14–17.

Jonson's exceptional care in the minor details of his art warrants us, I believe, in using the seven weeks or two months which he has mentioned, as accurate means for determining the date of production.

Two contingencies should be mentioned, but cannot, from their very nature, be dealt with at any length or at all conclusively: first, that the phenomenal appearance of the whale occurred while the play was in the course of composition; second, that Jonson, in revising the play for printing—the first quarto appeared in 1607/8—inserted these lines. If either were true, it would invalidate our conclusions, but there is no reason for suspecting such a thing. The mention of the whale comes early in the play; it is introduced in a perfectly natural manner with a number of other prodigies collected in Jonson's memory from the reports of the preceding year or more; and it forms an apt climax, a local hit, with which the audience were supposed to be familiar, having occurred only 'seuen weekes' before.

The importance of the date, March 9, 1606, as the earliest possible for the production of the play is manifest when we come to examine Fleay's contention that Jonson and *Volpone* are referred to in the additions to Mucedorus.[4] Putting aside his practically unsupported declarations that these additions to the old play were made in 1606; and disregarding also his impossible identification of "a lean and hungry meagre cannibal" with the known mountain-bellied Jonson then just rising to the height of his fame: the date he mentions, Shrove Sunday, March 2, 1606, as the date of the production of *Mucedorus* is a week earlier than the earliest possible date for the production of *Volpone*. To state this briefly: The period of time between the appearance of the whale, January 19, 1606, and the date which Fleay assigns to *Mucedorus*, containing (he says) an apology for the *Volpone*, is just six weeks. Now Jonson himself says his play 'was, two months since, no feature,' and one of the characters in the play discusses the appearance of the whale which, according to his own words, he saw seven weeks before.

Placing the earliest possible date as March 9, 1606, we have the latest possible supplied by the end of the year, March 25. Somewhere between these two dates we may place the first production of *Volpone:* nearer than this it is hardly possible to come.

The Character of Mosca.

Jonson owes his conception of Mosca's character not to the parasite of the Latin comedies, but to the tradition of the English stage, which had developed a type of a different kind, though called by the same name. And there is no doubt in my mind that Jonson recognized this difference when he put these words into Mosca's mouth:

> I meane not those, that haue your bare towne-arte,
> To know, who's fit to feed 'hem; haue no house,
> No family, no care, and therefore mould
> Tales for mens eares, to bait that sense; or get
> Kitchin-inuention, and some stale receipts
> To please the belly, and the groine; nor those,
> With their court-dog-tricks, that can fawne, and fleere,
> Make their reuennue out of legs, and faces,
> Eccho my-Lord, and lick away a moath;
> III. 1, 16–24.

Now this description of what Mosca does *not* mean by the parasite is exactly what Plautus and Terence *did* mean by the name. To Mosca's mind he himself, a parasite, is an example of:

> . . . . your fine, elegant rascall, that can rise,
> And stoope (almost together) like an arrow;
> Shoot through the aire, as nimbly as a starre;
> Turne short, as doth a swallow; and be here,
> And there, and here, and yonder, all at once;
> Present to any humour, all occasion;
> And change a visor, swifter, then a thought!
> III. 1, 25–31.

How different this conception is from those miserable, fawning, half-starved creatures who haunt the plays of Plautus and Terence under the name of Parasite, and whose sole end and highest ideal is a good dinner! Mosca follows the English tradition in combining with this ideal a rare genius for strategy and wickedness. The ancestor

[3] The difference between two months and five weeks is probably the difference between the time when the first conception of the play came to his mind, and when he had actually put pen to paper.

[4] F. G. Fleay: *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 155–6; *Chron. Hist. of the Stage*, p. 190; *Biog. Chron. of the English Drama*, I. 348; II. 50–51.

of the English parasite is Mathew Merygreek of *Roister Doister*, originally intended, in all probability, to be modelled strictly on classical lines, but as a matter of fact partaking more of the nature of the Latin slave than of the Latin parasite. Readers of the classical comedies will remember that inevitable slave, often apparently the only character of ordinary intelligence in the whole cast; whom master and master's friends find an ever ready help in necessity; to whom all business, public or private, is entrusted; the go-between on all occasions; and finally the *deus ex machina* by whom all the tangled threads of the plot are separated and arranged. Jonson, impregnated as he was with the classics, could not follow the varying English tradition without a kind of protest that he realized the name parasite was here applied to a character not drawn on conventionally classical lines. He made his protest by putting into the mouth of Mosca a careful definition of the difference between the parasite of classic convention and himself, the former a mere appetite, himself joining to that a rare genius for knavery.

The Dedication.

It is generally believed that the indignation expressed in the dedication to this play is caused by the *Eastward Ho* trouble, which brought about the imprisonment of Jonson, Marston, and Chapman, and by the famous stage quarrel between Jonson on the one hand and Marston and Dekker on the other, but a letter found by Dr. Birch among the Hatfield State papers and given by Mr. D'Israeli to Gifford, who published it *in toto* in the notes to his introduction, seems to disprove this. The date of this letter is 1605, and several phrases in it bear so remarkable a resemblance to passages in the dedication to this play that it is worth while quoting them here.

'My noble lord, they deal not charitably who are witty in another man's works, and utter sometimes their own malicious meanings under our own words. I protest to your honour, and call God to testimony, (since my first error, which, yet, is punished in me more with my shame than it was then with my bondage) I have so attempered my style, that I have given no cause to any good man of grief; and if to any ill, by touching at any general vice, it hath always been with a regard and sparing of particular persons. . . . . .

I beseech your most honourable lordship, suffer not other men's errors or faults past to be made my crimes; but let me be examined both by all my works past and this present; and not trust to rumour but my books . . . . whether I have ever (many things I have written private or public) given offence to a nation, to a public order or state, or any person of honour or authority; but have equally laboured to keep their dignity as mine own person, safe. If other have transgressed, let me not be entitled to their follies.'

In an earlier passage of the letter Jonson explains that he is 'committed to a vile prison, and with me a gentleman, . . . one Mr. George Chapman, a learned and honest man. The cause . . . is . . . a play.'

The stage-quarrel was a thing of the distant past at the end of the year 1605, and Jonson had collaborated with his opponents in the years between. Furthermore, in the parenthesis quoted —(since my first error, etc.)—Jonson specifically mentions the *Eastward Ho* trouble as distinct from the present. The coincidence of date and the striking similarity of expression as illustrated by the above extracts, make it probable that the dedication to our play and the letter quoted were written under the same provocation—an imprisonment for libel sometime in 1605.

Pyrrhus, of Delos.

In the weird interlude furnished by Volpone's misshapen creatures, the following lines have never been satisfactorily accounted for:

Hermotimus was next (I find it, in my charta)
To whom it did passe, where no sooner it was missing,
But with one Pyrrhus, of Delos, it learn'd to goe a fishing.
I. II, 17–19.

Previous commentators have followed Upton blindly in ascribing the whole tale of the various transformations of Pythagoras' soul to the influence of Lucian's dialogue entitled *The Dream or The Cock*, but in this dialogue the soul is represented as leaping from Euphorbus to Pythagoras, omitting all mention of Hermotimus and Pyrrhus of Delos; indeed, it is expressly stated that 'in the meantime' (between Euphorbus and Pythagoras) 'it remained without a home.' The key to this difficulty is found by consulting Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, Bk. VIII, § 5. The passage reads:

ἐπειδὴ δ' Εὔφορβος ἀποθάνοι μεταβῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἑρμότιμον . . . . ἐπειδὴ δ' Ἑρμότιμος ἀπέθανε γενέσθαι Πύρρον τὸν Δήλιον ἁλιέα . . . . ἐπειδὴ δὲ Πύρρος ἀπέθανε γενέσθαι Πυθαγόραν καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων μεμνῆσθαι.

Furthermore, an examination of a contiguous section in the *Lives* would seem to show that Jonson derived the genealogy of the soul in its early stages, from Apollo up to and including Pythagoras, from this source, I append the Greek :

τοῦτόν φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς περὶ αὑτοῦ τάδε λέγειν, ὡς εἴη ποτὲ γεγονὼς Αἰθαλίδης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ υἱὸς νομισθείη· τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆν εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ ἑλέσθαι ὅ τι ἂν βούλοιτο πλὴν ἀθανασίας. αἰτήσασθαι οὖν ζῶντα καὶ τελευτήσαντα μνήμην ἔχειν τῶν συμβαινόντων. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ζωῇ πάντων διαμνημονεῦσαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀποθάνοι τηρῆσαι τὴν αὐτὴν μνήμην. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον εἰς Εὔφορβον ἐλθεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ Μενέλεω τρωθῆναι. ὁ δ' Εὔφορβος ἔλεγεν ὡς Αἰθαλίδης ποτὲ γεγόνοι καὶ ὅτι παρ' Ἑρμοῦ τὸ δῶρον λάβοι καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς περιπόλησιν ὡς περιεπολήθη καὶ εἰς ὅσα φυτὰ καὶ ζῷα παρεγένετο καὶ ὅσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν ᾅδου ἔπαθε καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τίνα ὑπομένουσιν.

(§ 4.)

Tongue, and bable are his treasure, (I. II, 77.)

In Jonson's *Discoveries* we find :

'The treasure of a fool is always in his tongue, said the witty comic poet.'

In a note upon this, Schelling in his edition writes : 'I cannot identify this passage in Plautus, Terence, Menander, or other "witty comic poet."'

The reference is, perhaps, to Plautus' *Poenulus* III. III. 625–626 :

> Istic est thensaurus stultis in lingua situs,
> Vt quaestui habeant male loqui melioribus.

Whose skin is whiter then a swan, all ouer!
Then siluer, snow, or lillies!

I. v, 112–113.

Commentators have not noted that this little description of Celia by Mosca is a direct recollection of Martial (I. cxv.) :

> Quaedam me cupit, invide Procille
> Loto candidior puella cygno,
> Argento, nive, lilio, ligustro.

your Lombard prouerb

Volpone, acting the mountebank, in excusing himself for his supposed absence from his customary haunts, says :

'I am not (as your Lombard *prouerb saith) cold on my feet.'*

II. II, 43.

I am indebted to Dr. Kenneth McKenzie for the discovery of this proverb in Cherubini's *Vocabolario Milanese-Italiano* (Milan, 1814) vol. II, p. 28, s. v., *Pe* (Milan is, of course, in Lombardy.)

'Ave o ave minga i pee frecc . . . . (Avere [o non avere] i piedi freddi) vale essere o non esser ricco di danaro, di beni di fortuna.'

Jonson must have heard it from some of his traveled friends.

stale Tabarine, the fabulist, II. II, 53.

Tabarin's name here deserves somewhat more attention than commentators have devoted to it. Jonson mentions him (1605/6) as 'stale Tabarine,' and yet, if he be the same as the farceur of Mondor, all authorities agree that no trace of him has ever been discovered before the end of the year 1618 at Paris, and that he did not reach the height of his popularity until about 1622, sixteen years after this play appeared. Two solutions are possible : first, that possibly in the unknown years of Tabarin's life before 1618, he had wearied Italian cities with his buffoonery, and his name and reputation had come thence to the ears of Jonson. The only support for this argument is the persistent tradition that he was an Italian by birth, but so uncertain is the authority that no two commentators agree upon the same city. The designation of fabulist may readily be understood to mean this Tabarin, for in his published works many of his answers take the form of a fable. The second solution to be suggested is that Jonson refers to an entirely different character, from whom, perhaps, this 'Jack-pudding' (as Gifford terms him) borrowed his name. For this theory no tangible support has been found, but we can point to the numerous Italian companies sojourning in France during the last years of the 16th and the first of the 17th centuries, and the possibility that one of them contained such a character. Perhaps the name was derived from the traditional 'tabarrino' carried by all the Zani or Corvielles of that period. Jonson shows elsewhere in this

play an astonishingly thorough acquaintance with some of the works then occupying the French stage, and if a 'Tabarine' had been among these companies he might have known of it.

the Danish Gonswart. II. II, 118.

Both Whalley and Gifford put themselves on record as unable to discover who '*the* Danish Gonswart' was. I am indebted to Professor Palmer of Yale for the suggestion that it was John Wessel, a noted predecessor of Luther, who gained in addition to his theological fame, the reputation of being a great physician. For his career, consult Dr. C. Ullman's biography *Johann Wessel ein Vorgaenger Luthers.* For the appellation Gansfort ('Gonswart' Jonson writes) compare Brockhaus' *Konversations-Lex.* under *Wessel:* 'Johannes Wessel, auch Gansfort genannt'; also *Encycl. Brit.*: 'Wesselus Gansfortius (the surname is from Gansfort or Gösewort, a Westphalian village from which his family came.')

Signior Flaminio, will you downe, sir? downe?
What is my wife your Franciscina? sir? II. III, 6–7.

The allusion is probably to the Flaminio and the Francischina of the French stage at the end of the 16th century. Flaminio was at the head of the most famous troupe of actors of the 'commedia dell'arte' in Italy, and was summoned with his company in 1576 by Henri III of France to Blois just as *les Etats generaux* were to assemble. The greatest success was achieved by Silvia Roncagli in the role of 'servante (fantescca) ou, comme on dit plus tard en France, de Soubrette . . . . Son nom de guerre était Franceschina.' (Consult: Moland, *Molière et la Comedie Italienne.*)

The Celia Plot.

One of the crucial points in the plot is Mosca's success in persuading Corvino to give up his wife, Celia, to the use of Volpone, saying the physicians have prescribed:

> That, to preserue him, was no other meanes,
> But some yong woman must be streight sought out,
> Lustie, and full of iuice, to sleepe by him;
> II. IV, 35–37.

Commentators have passed this with a reference to I Kings I, 1 ff., but a sentence in Hazlitt's *The Venetian Republic* (II, 557), is so striking as to suggest that perhaps Jonson took this incident in his plot from Italian history of a comparatively recent date: 'It is scarcely desirable to lift the curtain from the scenes portrayed in official papers, and by writers of a reliable character, as occurring in the Venetian capitol, and even within the precincts of the ducal palace, not many years after the time of Francesco Foscari (1422–1457); for there is even a story of a Doge who in his old age felt the same chill which crept over holy King David, and thought of the same antidote.'

We will take, vntill my roofe whirle round
With the vertigo. III, VII, 221, 222.

Compare Juvenal VI, 304,

> cum bibitur concha, cum iam vertigine tectum
> ambulat.

My onely ayme was, to dig you a fortune
Out of these two, old rotten sepulchers.
III. IX, 41, 42.

The figure is taken from Plautus' *Pseudolus* I. IV, 410–413:

> erum eccum uideo huc (meum) Simonem una semel
> cum suo uicino Calliphone incidere.
> ex hoc sepulchro uetere uiginti minas
> Acfodiam ego hodie, quas dem erili filio.

wherein, I pray your father-hoods,
To obserue the malice, yea, the rage of creatures
Discouer'd in their euils; and what heart
Such take, euen, from their crimes. IV. V, 53–6.

Compare Juvenal VI. 284–285.

> nihil est audacius illis
> deprensis, iram atque animos a crimine sumunt.

. . . . his vice
That can beguile so, vnder shade of vertue. IV. V, 66.

Compare Juvenal IV. 109.

> fallit enim vitium specie virtutis et umbra.

. . . . vicious persons when they are hot, and flesh'd
In impious acts, their constancy abounds. IV. VI, 53–54.

Compare Juvenal XIII, 237.

> cum scelus admittunt, superest constantia.

It were a folly, beyond thought, to trust
Any grand act vnto a cowardly spirit. V. II, 10–11.

Compare Plautus, *Pseudolus* II. i, 576.

nam ea stultitiast, facinus magnum timido cordi credere.

. . . . if Italy
Haue any glebe, more fruitful, then these fellowes,
I am deceiu'd. V. ii, 33–35.

Compare Plautus, *Epidicus* II. iii, 306–7.

nullum esse opinor ego agrum in agro Attico
aeque feracem quam hic est noster Periphanes.

. . . . Now, you begin,
When crimes are done and past, and to be punish'd,
To thinke what your crimes are. V. xii, 149–151.

Compare Juvenal xiii, 237–239.

. . . . quod fas
atque nefas, tandem incipiunt sentire peractis
criminibus.

The seasoning of a play is the applause. Epilogue, 2.

Compare Plautus, Poenulus V. vi, 1370–1371.

nunc, quod postrememst condimentum fabulae,
si placuit, plausum postulat comoedia.

Lucius Hudson Holt.

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NOTES ON THE FINNSBURG FRAGMENT.

The theme of the Fragment is from the saga cycle that finds fuller treatment in the song of the scop, *Beowulf*, ll. 1070–1160, the killing of Hnæf, the Halfdane. The motive for this is suggested in the Episode where its subsequent developments are given; whereas in the Fragment we have but a single moment in this contest between Dane and Frisian.

The Finn saga belonged to the saga cycle of the North. There was a genetic reason for its selection by the scop, in his wish to do honor to Hroðgar's guest. Through Ongentheow, the husband of Elan, Beowulf was related to Hroðgar, son of Healfdene; Hnæf, the Hocing, had kinship with the Danes. Any commemoration of his glorious deeds in life would but reflect credit on all that had blood-relationship with the Danes; any account of the treachery at his death would make them feel more keenly the tie of relationship.

There was ample evidence of treachery in this tribal feud between the Hocings and the Eotenas, momentarily stayed by the marriage of Hildeburh, Hnæf's sister, to Finn. As Möller (*Das altenglische Volksepos*), suggested, the giving of Hildeburh to Finn would be an atonement for the killing of Finn's father, Folcwalda, by Hnæf or Hnæf's father, Hoc. Hildeburh is sinless in the death of Hnæf and her son (cf. l. 1070 of *Beowulf*). On Hnæf's fall, succession was given to Hengest in the fight, at the conclusion of which Finn, robbed of nearly all his men, had been compelled to sue for peace. To the Danes, *þeodenlease*, equal rights were given with the Frisians; Finn was to govern all alike and no Frisian, under penalty of death, was to mention Danish loss; Hnæf is burned together with the son of Hildeburh, in the presence of all; Hengest remains and is afterward put to the sword, as likewise happens in time, to Finn.

This is the sequence admitted by all scholars. ten Brink (*Grundriss* ii. 548), in speaking of the Episode, says that we have the picture of a rhapsodist, a complete master of the material in hand, dwelling on those points to which he wishes to give prominence, merely suggesting or alluding to others; as, the sorrow of Hildeburh and the treaty, Hengest's death and Finn's fall.

While there is but little that accords between Möller's *Liedertheorie* and ten Brink's interpretation, their agreement shows that the real difficulty enters when the attempt is made to explain certain lines of the Episode by the readings of the Fragment, and *vice-versa*. It is only then that conjectural readings become possible for ll. 1126–1128 and 1138–1153. Möller further increases the difficulty, in his treatment of the Fragment, by his liberal supply of gaps, consonant with his strophic theory. Notwithstanding the fact that frequent abrupt transitions are found to so great an extent in Old English poetry that they have almost developed a canon of criticism, yet he demands a logical connexion between the lines to the point of chastened perspicuity. We find him saying, "nur wenn wir dies annehmen ist die Erzählung dramatisch, sonst ist sie ein planloses Hervorkehren von Einzelvorgängen ohne Zusammenhang!"

Bugge (*P. B. B.* xii, 20) holds that the Frag-

ment treats of Hnæf's fall, and instead of inserting it after l. 1142 with Schilling (*M. L. N.* I. 178), or after l. 1146 with Möller, would have it precede the Episode. After the analogy of the Hrolfr-Kraki saga, he infers that Guðlaf and Oslaf, after they return over the sea, meet with Hengest and avenge Hnæf's death. The poet that inserted the Episode in *Beowulf* would not have omitted the Fragment at l. 1147. It is more natural to infer that the poet does not relate the event preceding that of which he treats, and only mentions it at the beginning of the Episode.

With the exception of some minor variances, these are the principal views that obtain for the incorporation of the Fragment within the Episode. The contrariety of view must necessarily result as soon as any attempt is made to consider the Episode and the Fragment as having origin at the same time and place. As parts of a great cycle the treatment in each is different; the fuller treatment in the Episode is due to the scop. The ballad characteristic is seen however here (cf. l. 1160, *leoð wæs asungen, gleomannes gyd*).

The worth of the saga is shown in the Fragment. Its essential poetic quality and its spirited dialogue lend support to the interpretation of it as a late Old English ballad. This is seen in its vivid poetic pictures and its sensual symbolism. The stirring pregnant words of the battle-young king (ll. 3–7) have rare poetic force and are strikingly paralleled in some of our best imaginative verse. The rhetorical use of the juxtaposition of opposites, so common in all passionate verse, is beautifully shown in l. 3. *ne þis ne dagað eastan, ne her draca ne fleogeð*. Similar situations pointed to by the writer in *M. L. N.* VIII, 5, may be found in Sir Richard Burton's use of Oriental imagery in *False Dawn*, or in the initial strophe of the *Rubaiyat* itself.

With these readings in mind one is tempted to suggest the duplicate of *hrœfn* for Bugge's meaningless emendation in l. 34. *Hrœm* could be read for *hrær* as well as *hrœw* and no violation of the words or their government be made; there would be simply the use of the duplicates for the sake of intensity, a further evidence of the high poetic quality of the Fragment (cf. the lyric line "no bird or beast of wood or wold"). This reading will also permit l. 5 to remain as in the MS. No subject is necessary for *berað*, since the meaning is evident. The attempt to read *fugelas* as 'arrows' and *græg-hama* as 'grey birnie' seems to me to disregard the characteristic introduction to a battle by the vivid portrayal of the gathering of the wolf, raven and eagle.

With ten Brink (*Grundriss* II, 549) we must ascribe an early origin to the saga, but from metrical considerations of the Fragment a composition not earlier than the late ninth century. The freer verse treatment is due to its transmission as a ballad. The absence of religious matter and love for worldly song indicate Essex as the place where such a saga would be fostered and transmitted. The tenth century *Byrhtnod's Fall*, the song of king Horn, and the beginnings of Old English literature have origin here. Again, Möller sees in the East-Saxons the inheritors of the *Secgans* and in East-Saxon documents the names of *Hoc*, *Secga* and *Garulf* are found. The prominence given to *Sigeferð*, the warrior at the door, lends strong support to ten Brink's final words: "Bis auf weiteres dürfte die Annahme berechtigt sein, dass die Dichtung vom Kampf zu Finnsburg, von der uns jenes Bruchstück erhalten ist, sich bei den Ostsachsen entwickelt und fortgepflanzt und hier—etwa in der zweiten Hälfte des zehnten Jahrhunderts—zur Niederschrift gelangt sei."

In this way one can reconcile the variance that obtains between the Episode and the Fragment. *Ordlaf* and *Guðlaf* in the latter are unquestionably Oslaf and Guðlaf of the former, although in the Episode, if we read with most editors, they avenge Hengest's death and in the Fragment fight side by side with him. It would also explain the difference in time between the battles, although the period of five days may be merely for rhetorical effect as is sixty in l. 38, *sixtig sige beorna*. The place of battle is not necessarily a different one. Nothing definite can be determined from *meðelstede;* the *Fres-wæle* of the Episode is simply a place where many Frisians fell; *under swegle*, l. 1079, together with *morgen com* is used to express a period of time just as in the Fragment, l. 8, *þes mona* is associated with *under wolcnum*. As ten Brink says, the idea of the place of battle may have changed; yet this does not demand a solution for the identification of the Episode and the Fragment.

From internal evidence the Fragment seems clearly to treat of Hnæf's fall. *Cyning*, without doubt, refers to Hnæf, and the picturesque epithet applied to him shows us that we have here the description of the first of the series of battles. The specific use of the epithet was felt by the scop when he spoke of Hengest as *þeodnesþegn*, even though he became, on Hnæf's death, the leader of the latter's band, *þeodent-lease*. The use of such words as *gold-hladen*, *drihtlic* and *driht-gesiða* attest to the nobility of the leader. In l. 40 *guldan* and *hægstealdas* are of interest. The latter term, in the sense of dependent or retainer, has a decided thane tinge to it and, as such, can only be applied to one during the life-time of the person on whom one is dependent. The term is glossed as *cælebs* and *mercenarius*. Further *gyldan* or *forgyldan* seems to be a term used to express some overt act between two parties during their life-time. As we look through *Beowulf* this seems to be true in nearly all cases and has led me to suggest, despite the metrical lack, *gyldan* for *byldan* of l. 1095 of the Episode. The latter is an umlaut form from the adjective *beald*, and disturbs the sequence here; *gyldan*, however, accords more with *weorðian* 'to honor' or 'to endow,' and is more in line with Finn's professed munificence. To assume with Möller a gap or break just before l. 43 is not necessary. From his argument *wund hæleð* refers to Finn's warrior, *Hunlafing*. By accepting Bugge's breaking by referring *Hun* to a person and *Lafing* to a sword, one could not read such a sword into the possession of Hengest. As the famous sword *Laufi* or *Lövi*, it demands a more noble owner. L. 1146 shows us further that the sword was the property of the Frisians. The interpretation of *wund hæleð* is closely linked to that of *folces hyrde* in l. 46. ten Brink has the latter term refer to Hnæf and pictures him standing in the centre, questioning the wounded warrior. *Hyrde* must, however, refer to Finn. *Folc* cannot refer to so small a band as is within the hall. *Hyrde*, from its meaning, could either refer to Finn or to the leader of the attacked party. We are told in the Episode that Hildeburh and Finn lost a son, and if we accept the Fragment as telling us of Hnæf's fall, we should certainly look for some account of the death of this son. *Hysse* refers to a young man and usually one's relative. The alliteration does not demand that it be used here for warrior, since *hæleð* could be better used for that. L. 1117 *ban-fatu*, pl. is no support of *suna* for *sunu*, since the term refers to the son of Hnæf and Hildeburh. L. 1075 does not convey the idea of more than one son, any more than it does more than one brother. I would, therefore, suggest for the break of the last half line of the Fragment, the phrase *hild swefede*. This reads better than Bugge's *hild swebrode*, since by that *hwæðer* becomes conjunctival. Were it not for l. 33 where *Garulf* is mentioned as a son of *Guðlaf*, one could refer to *Garulf* and *Guðere* as Finn's sons. That they are Frisians is beyond doubt, despite what seems to be this one direct proof to the contrary. ten Brink explains the line that reads *Garulf*, the son of Guðlaf' as a hidden tragic trait of the saga, or as a textual error. This admitted, it is easy to refer the parentage of Garulf to one person as to another. That both boys are of most noble parentage is shown by *freolic feorh*. L. 2041 of *Beowulf* shows that *feorh* can refer to a plural subject. Heedless of Guðere's admonitions that they refrain from fight, Garulf plunges boldly into it and falls first of all the land-dwellers. It is of interest to note that in l. 1156 (cf. the Episode) Finn is referred to as *eorð-cyning*, the only place in which it is found. Bugge's emendation of *hyt* to *hie*, referring to *hyrsta*, is not demanded, since *hyrsta bæran* may be merely an example of the frequent use of concrete phrases for more abstract expressions. If *hyt* could be read as *nyt*, possible as far as the initial letter is concerned, we could have a reading that would fit well with the sense of ll. 18–24, with translation as follows:

> And again did Guðere admonish Garulf,
> That they, such noble life, for the first time
> Go not to the doors of the hall,
> Now that duty was to take away the brave in battle:
> But, impetuous warrior (as he was)
> He asked, above all, openly,
> "Who was holding the door."

Glen Levin Swiggett.

University of the South.

MAURICE HEWLETT ON TUSCAN LITERATURE.

II.

Mr. Hewlett finds the poetry of the Dolce Stil Nuovo to be worthily serious in its treatment of love as solemn mystery, and very cunning in conventional artifice, but devoid of sincere emotion.

His estimate of this poetry is most clearly presented in the fourth story in *Little Novels of Italy*, entitled "Messer Cino and the Live Coal." Of this story Cino da Pistoia is hero, and the Selvaggia of his verse is heroine. The story is, in effect, an essay in reconstructive criticism, a product of the coöperation of the critical and the creative faculties. Mr. Hewlett has first gained intimate knowledge of the man Cino da Pistoia, by study of his poetry and of external sources, intimate knowledge of the special Pistolese environment, by that same careful historical investigation already referred to, and intimate knowledge of the general Tuscan spirit of the time, as composite result of historical and literary studies. Then, instead of recording in formal critical statements the knowledge of Cino and of his environment thus gained, Mr. Hewlett recreates the Pistolese environment, informs it with the Tuscan spirit of the time, and in the environment thus informed recreates the personality of the man Cino, leaving him free to act and speak as an independent agent in response to the imaginary circumstances of the story.

The story draws its dramatic interest from the conflict of the realities of life with the remote love-lore of the Dolce Stil Nuovo. Cino, already arid with legal study, made aware, by a chance gleam of sunlight, of the golden beauty of fifteen-year-old Selvaggia, turns poet, finds the occupation absorbing, and sends Selvaggia sonnet after canzone. Selvaggia receives poetry and service with wondering simplicity, never doubting the emotional sincerity and the marital intention of the love professed by Cino, but never stirred to love herself. An outbreak of factional strife in Pistoia makes it expedient for Cino, a Ghibelline, to avoid Guelfish hostility; he marries, merely as a matter of political precaution, a staid Guelfish dame of Lucca, leaves her in her father's house, and returns to Selvaggia and his sonnetteering. The brothers of Selvaggia—fighters, scorners of Cino and of poetry—find, in a sonnet Cino has sent Selvaggia, the words

> ". . . thy poet, that feels the living coal
> Flame on his lips and leap to song . . ."

They come to Cino, confront him with these words, express their desire and determination to hear song thus produced, and torture him, submissive, by pressing a live coal against his lips. Selvaggia's discovery of the cruelty wakens in her pity so compelling that in its turn it wakens love. With childish impulsiveness she hastens to Cino, and seeks to atone for the cruelty he has suffered by blushing avowal of her love for him. Cino, utterly confounded and dismayed, stammers explanation of the proper poetic conception of Love as a dread lord, mysterious and immaterial in nature, and incidentally discloses the fact that he is married. Selvaggia, trembling with the reality of her emotion, is overwhelmed by the disillusion, and turns in flight on Cino's mention of his marriage.

The following passages are of especial critical interest:—

"The fire set blazing by those lit green swords of hers was in the heart of an Assessor of Civil Causes, a brazier with only too good a draught. For love in love-learned Tuscany was then a roaring wind; it came rhythmically and set the glowing mass beating like the sestett of a sonnet. One lived in numbers in those days; numbers always came. You sonnetteered upon the battlefield, in the pulpit, on the Bench, at the Bar. Throughout the moil of his day's work at the Podestà those clinging long words, in themselves inspiration, *disìo, piacere, vaghezza, gentilezza, diletto, affetto*, beautiful twins that go ever embraced, wailed in poor Cino's ears, and insensibly shaped themselves coherent;" "There is hardly a sonnet, there are certainly neither *ballate, canzoni* nor *capitoli* which do not contain some reference to Monna Selvaggia's fine eyes . . . They scorch him, they beacon him, they flash out upon him in the dark . . . they are lodestones, swords, lamps, torches, fires, fixed and ambulatory stars, the sun, the moon, candles. They hold lurking a thief to prey upon the vitals of Cino; they are traitors, cruel lances; they kill him by stabbing day after day." (*Little Novels of Italy*, pp. 231–232, 236).

Cino is the only poet of the Dolce Stil Nuovo to whom Mr. Hewlett devotes particular criticism. Guido Cavalcanti is of interest to Mr. Hewlett rather as man than as poet. In *A Masque of dead Florentines* Guido enters "with a lute, and a peacock's feather stuck in his cap," and speaks :—

"My way was best.
From lip to lip I past, from grove to grove:
I am like *Florence*; they call me Light o' Love."

Mr. Hewlett's estimate of Petrarch is severe. While he credits him with full Tuscan share of refinement in artistry and of fancifulness, he finds him totally lacking in sincerity of emotion. Hard words he has for him : "the greatest equivocator of them all," "that sugar-baker *par excellence*," "Petrarch's looking-glass languishings." Kinder words appear in *A Masque of dead Florentines*, in the greeting of the Chorus to Petrarch and Laura :—

"'Merci,' she laugh'd him once; a glove discarded,
A parting, and a meeting :
With these his poet's hunger was rewarded ;
But in her greeting,
Or when the light of her died down and flutter'd
As stars at dawning,
Or at her coming various song-birds utter'd
The rosy birth of morning ;
Or when he knelt and took her hand's warm sheathing,
His heart on fire
Shot golden words unto his lips, which breathing
Did lift him higher
Than ever long assuagement of desire."

Mr. Hewlett insists upon the power of Petrarch's influence through the following centuries, and fixes upon him responsibility for the replacing of emotion by unreal conventionality in the poetry of the Renaissance :—

". . . every philosopher, statesman, painter, poet, sculptor, and builder for five hundred years to come was avowedly a disciple of Boccaccio or of his colleague Petrarca ;" "Petrarch, and after him all Tuscany, dallied with light thinking, and beat all the images of Love's treasury into thin conventions." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, p. 264 ; *Earthwork out of Tuscany*, p. 69.)

Mr. Hewlett holds Sacchetti the greatest of the novelists. He finds him essentially a humorist, typically Florentine in his "sharply splintered jests." In *The Road in Tuscany* he quotes largely from Sacchetti, and declares him to be, after Dante, the best companion for Tuscan travel.

Mr. Hewlett finds Boccaccio essentially a miniaturist, inferior to Sacchetti as story-teller, but his superior in artistry. In Boccaccio Mr. Hewlett notes a single example of that power of imagination so constant in Dante :—

"The example . . . is of Isabella cutting off her dead lover's head with a knife, 'il meglio che potè'—'as well as she could.' That is real second sight : he must have seen her at it." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, p. 60.)

Reference has already been made to Mr. Hewlett's ascription to Boccaccio of the determination of the definitive phase of the 'theory that the world is a garden,' and a passage recently quoted contains Mr. Hewlett's estimate of the extent of Boccaccio's influence in the Renaissance.

The Medicean Renaissance of the fifteenth century has peculiar fascination for Mr. Hewlett. He knows intimately the men of the Medicean court—rulers, Humanists, scientists, poets, painters, architects, sculptors,—and from the sum of these intimate personal acquaintances has woven a very complete and very definite conception of Florentine art life throughout the period,—its varied, interrelated interests, its common essential temper, its love of learning, its love of beauty, its love of love. He glories in the splendid enthusiasm of its youth, and yet all his feeling for it is poignant with the realization of its transitoriness, its failure to endow Italian life with permanent good.

In the last pages of his chapter "Concerning the Theory that the World is a Garden," Mr. Hewlett sets forth the various results of the acceptance of the theory in the fifteenth century :—

"Next, man being lord, and God his creature, it was considered a dozen different kinds of garden. Some said it was a garden of simples, where secret herbs grew which gave secret knowledge, to make men still more wise and powerful than they had been. Nicholas Machiavel was one of this kind, who had no *à priori* respect for anything beautiful, precious, or rare, but subjected everything to the test of man's conveniency. Lorenzo Medicis was another of this sort, though he could not help admiring the softness of fine turf and the gleam of women's white necks in shady groves. Near to him in opinion were that simpler sort of men—like Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini of Siena, and the poet Beccadelli, and the likes of him, who would have frankly turned the world into a garden of Armida, and disported in its deliciousness so long as their senses remained quick. . . Some made the world a grove of Academe, some put up a loggia and called it a

porch. . . In one word, given the existence of the world as a pleasure resort, God as the servant and man as the master, there was nothing which men did not feel themselves competent to do, or which they did not think open to them." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, pp. 265–266.)

Mr. Hewlett's conception of the art life of this period is most clearly presented in the first section of the seventh chapter of *Earthwork out of Tuscany*, entitled "Quattrocentisteria." [1] The chapter is an essay in reconstructive criticism, similar in process to the study of Cino da Pistoia already considered. The first section, in which alone the *litterati* appear, is merely introductory to the story which occupies the rest of the chapter. The persons of the first section are Lorenzo de' Medici, Giuliano his brother, Simonetta the beloved of Giuliano, Politian the poet, and Botticelli the painter. The scene is the garden of the Fiesolan villa of Lorenzo, the time a cool morning in April, the olives just whitening to silver. The morning passes in conversation and song, with slight by-play in action. The single incident of note is the improvisation, by Politian, of a discourse on the power and the rights of Beauty,—a discourse eloquent, impassioned, to which all listen with eager deference.

The critical value of the section lies in its subtle conveyance of the atmosphere of Renaissance art life. Two passages will serve to illustrate the sympathy in conception and the delicacy in treatment :—

"The poet was leaning against an ancient alabaster vase, soil-stained, yellow with age and its long sojourn in the loam, but with traces of its carved garlands clinging to it still. He fingered it lovingly as he talked. His oration was concluding, and his voice rose high and tremulous ; there were sparks in his hollow eyes ;" "There was a pause. The name of Plato had had a strange effect upon the company. You would have said they had suddenly entered a church and had felt all lighter interests sink under the weight of the dim, echoing nave. After a few moments the poet spoke again in a quieter tone, but his voice had lost none of the unction which had enriched it." (*Earthwork out of Tuscany*, pp. 120, 122.)

[1] Reprinted in the *Bibelot*, vol. II, no. 5, and published in separate book form by Mosher, Portland, Maine, as no. XII in his Brocade Series and as no. VIII in his Vest Pocket Series.

The two men who constitute the centers of interest in Mr. Hewlett's conception of the Florentine Renaissance are Lorenzo de' Medici and Politian.

In Lorenzo Mr. Hewlett finds dual phases of personality clearly developed :—

"He had a bent for many things, some foolish, some wicked, some swinish ; but among them he had one for quiet happiness which would be amazing to read of, unless one could understand how easily a man keeps the comely and the vile in separate lockers of his soul, and can dip in either at will." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, p. 306.)

It is the nobler phase of Lorenzo that finds place in the chapter "Quattrocentisteria" : his graceful kindliness as host, his sensitiveness to what is beautiful, his encouragement of Politian and his sincere deference to him, his eager sympathy with the poet's exposition of the power and the rights of Beauty. In *A Masque of dead Florentines*, on the contrary, the light is thrown on the other phase. Lorenzo's quatrain summary is bitter with futility, and the Chorus greets him with curses for the shame and the cruelty of his rule.

To Lorenzo as poet Mr. Hewlett ascribes the usual characteristics : adroitness and shallowness, emptiness and melody. A long quotation from the *Commento* is interrupted by the remark :—

"This is to write like a gentleman and an artist, with ear attuned to the subtlest fall and cadence, with scrupulous weighing of words that their true outline shall hold clear and sharp. It is *intarsiatura*, skilful and clean at the edges. He goes on to play with his hammered thought, always as delicately and precisely as before." (*Earthwork out of Tuscany*, p. 71.)

In the fifth story in *Little Novels of Italy*, entitled "The Judgment of Borso," a minor episode consists of the recitation by a young minstrel, before Duke Borso of Ferrara and certain members of his court, of Lorenzo's poem, *La Caccia col Falcone*. The description of the effect of the recitation upon the listening Duke evinces Mr. Hewlett's own admiration for the spirited freshness of the poem, and his estimate of its adaptation to contemporary effectiveness. The guard of indifference maintained by Borso at the start is broken down by the stanza in which the hounds are called,—seven resonant lines consisting solely of name after name. His attention to the rest of the poem is unfailing :—

"Every muscle of the keen old hunter was now quivering; his eyes were bright, his smile open and that of a child. To the last word of the poem—and it has length—he followed without breath the checks, the false casts, the bickering of the huntsmen, the petty incidents of a breezy morning in the marshes, nodding at every point, missing nothing, cracking his fingers, cheering under his breath, with delight undisguised and interest unalloyed." (*Little Novels of Italy*, pp. 289–290.)

Mr. Hewlett's present estimate of Politian, as expressed in *The Road in Tuscany*, is much less favorable than his earlier estimate, as expressed in *Earthwork out of Tuscany*.

In the chapter "Quattrocentisteria," the portrait of Politian as the young Humanist, eager in his enthusiasm, sincere in his reverence, is very sympathetic. In the later work Mr. Hewlett suggests that Politian chose humanistic studies rather because he saw therein a chance for personal success at court than from sincere devotion to Humanism. Mr. Hewlett still recognizes absolute value, however, in the actual humanistic product:—

"Poliziano wrote letters like Cicero, and odes like Horace, and erotics like Anacreon, and pastorals like Theocritus." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, p. 36.)

As writer of Italian verse, Mr. Hewlett ranks him just higher than Lorenzo:—

"Politian was but little more poet than Lorenzo, while he was no less dextrous as a rhymer and fashioner of conceits;" "He was, of all the versifiers of the Quattrocento, the most dextrous and the best able to 'pretend,' as children say; he had learning, too—but he had little else." (*Earthwork out of Tuscany*, p. 73; *Road in Tuscany*, vol. II, p. 278.)

In the earlier work Mr. Hewlett held that Politian "really did catch some echo of other times, and of manners more primal than his own, and did instil something of it in his *Orfeo*." (*Earthwork out of Tuscany*, p. 66.) In the later work Mr. Hewlett says of the *Orfeo*:—

"It is . . . a compendium of every mode known to pedantry—your historical-pastoral-epical-tragical-threnodical-bacchanal, cut up into the infantine passages of a Mystery Play. It reads gaspily as they do, but is none the better for that." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. II, p. 279.)

In the chapter "Of Poets and Needlework," Mr. Hewlett treats of Luigi Pulci as the typical Tuscan versifier. His stanzas, Mr. Hewlett says, are "about the idlest of make-believe love affairs, full of . . . the merest commonplaces of gallantry." Mr. Hewlett quotes as typical the quatrain,

> "Chi gode goda, che pur io stento;
> Chi è in pace si sia, ch'io son in guerra;
> Chi ha diletto l'habbi, ch'io ho tormento;
> Chi vive lieto, in me dolor afferra;"

and says of it:—

"Poetry, which has a soul, we cannot call it. Verse it assuredly is, and of the most excellent. . . . Balance is there. Vocalisation, adjustment of sound, discriminate use of long syllables and short, of subjunctive and indicative moods. Unpremeditated art it is not: indeed it is craft rather than art; for Art demands a larger share of soul-expenditure than Pulci could afford." (*Earthwork out of Tuscany*, pp. 64–65.)

With regard to Luigi's epic Mr. Hewlett says:—

"Luigi was . . . the very best of all those tragico-comico-romantics, poets of embroidery, after-supper trouvères, whom the time and the taste called forth. If you love romance, the *Morgante Maggiore* will wound you in a tender part; if you are devout, you will not read very far. You must, in fact, be a persistent trifler to be pleased." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, p. 332.)

Mr. Hewlett, as has been noted, exempts Macchiavelli from that charge of absence of thought-value which he makes against the Tuscan prose writers in general. Mr. Hewlett devotes no single critical passage to Macchiavelli; two effective characterizations have already been quoted.

In the sixteenth chapter of the second volume of *The Road in Tuscany*, entitled "The Heart of the Country," Mr. Hewlett deals with Tuscan folk-poetry.

He delights in it as living poetry, poetry of fresh, constant growth among Tuscan peasants in love-season:—

". . . there are golden lads and girls who, when they long for one another, sigh in rhythm and fall, when they have bliss of each other thrill like thrushes on April evenings, when they part moan in music, and when they hate give wild lyrical utterance to their heartaches;" "Words and music of the song are theirs, the music mainly traditional, the words not all traditional, but varying with the poets and their place in time. Modern

things—the *vapore*, the railway, the threshing-machine, conscription, emigration—come in." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. II, pp. 349, 353.)

Mr. Hewlett has many portraits of the peasant makers of this folk-poetry. The most finished is that of "Nencina" and "Beppino" in the chapter just referred to,—as delicate a piece of work as "Quattrocentisteria" or the story of Cino, and even more intimately sympathetic.

In this Tuscan folk-poetry Mr. Hewlett finds an artistry which clearly differentiates it from the common love-rhyme of all nations,—an artistry scarcely inferior to that of the Tuscan court poets,—and he finds, further, what he has sought in vain in Tuscan art-poetry,—deep sincerity of emotion :—

"And if it is objected to me that all young people of every age and clime are poets too, I reply that these Apennine children are explicitly poets, with a severe technique, a complicated prosody, an expressiveness of manner, a style which Petrarch, remarkable lover, could not better;" "It reveals, it articulates, it informs, pierces, lifts up. It shows, beyond any cavil, that at heart this mountain people is what the upland Scots have been, what the Icelanders and Norse have been—natural singers, self-revealing only in art, and artists only (like the best of us) when their hearts are touched;" "In . . . this native poetry . . . you may run the whole keyboard of the heart of man and woman, under the stress of the one primal passion of love." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. I, pp. 109–110; vol. II, pp. 353–354, 349.)

Mr. Hewlett notes particularly the thoroughly Tuscan refinement of sentiment throughout this poetry :—

"Chivalry, assuredly, never made of fleshly love a more dainty ethereal business. Dante never rarefied his Beatrice, Petrarch his Laura, more utterly than Beppino his 'bionda e delicata testa,' than Nencina, the little barefoot girl, her 'bel gelsomino.'" (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. II, p. 366.)

St. Francis of Assisi is the only non-Tuscan Italian writer to whom Mr. Hewlett devotes particular consideration. To him, as has been noted, Mr. Hewlett attributes the first proclamation of the 'theory that the world is a garden,' and in the *Cantico del Sole* Mr. Hewlett recognizes the lyrical firstfruits of the theory.

Reconstructions of the art life of the Renaissance in Padua and in Ferrara appear in *Little Novels of Italy*, in the second and fifth stories respectively. The persons are for the most part imaginary.

To the Italian epic in general, Mr. Hewlett gives low rating :—

". . . the two *Orlandos* . . . the *Gerusalemme*, and all the rest of the frothy affairs glorified nothing but the writer's wit." (*Road in Tuscany*, vol. II, p. 348.)

Mr. Hewlett's earlier estimate of Bojardo was more favorable : in *Earthwork out of Tuscany* he held Bojardo's *Orlando* the least unworthy of later Italian poems to rank with the *Divina Commedia*. Mr. Hewlett recognizes the "silken quality" of Ariosto, and calls him "so nearly a poet that real poets like Byron and real critics like Landor and Stendhal have thought him one."

Guarino is dismissed as "sugar-cured," and Metastasio as a jigster. Leopardi is classed with Dante and with Burns as one of those "true poets, whose rhythm seems to represent the heart of the people at the highest beat."

In the estimation of the value of Mr. Hewlett's criticism, it is to be borne in mind that throughout his critical work his creative instinct remains active. Not only does his creative instinct determine the form of presentation of his critical judgments, but to a very large extent it determines those judgments themselves.

In several ways this activity of the creative instinct militates against the justice of Mr. Hewlett's critical results. It has been stated that Mr. Hewlett's primary intellectual delight is in the manhood of particular men and the womanhood of particular women. In all his reading, in all his travel, he is constantly searching for manhood and for womanhood. The Tuscan poets, as Mr. Hewlett points out, found, in all the episodes and phases of life, "buona materia a un sonetto": Mr. Hewlett himself is as persistently seeking, in life present, and in all records of life past, "buona materia" for a reconstructive study of humanity. In the consideration of a given literature, his approbation tends to follow where his creative interest leads. He instinctively estimates the products of the past by their yield of creative possibility for the present. The presence or absence of self-revelation in the work of art thus becomes to him an abnormally important criterion of its value. The severity of his criticism of Tuscan literature

in general depends directly upon his feeling of its impersonality.

As creative artist, moreover, Mr. Hewlett instinctively judges earlier creative artists by their likeness or unlikeness in creative spirit to himself. Dependence upon such source of judgment tends to produce somewhat excessive enthusiasm in positive approbation, and to give a distinctly sarcastic tone to adverse criticism. The results of such judgment are necessarily heterodox,—and Mr. Hewlett glories in heterodoxy. Hence his peculiar delight in assailing Petrarch, or in the exaltation of Sacchetti. When he is orthodox, as in his admiration for Dante, we may be sure that he is overwhelmingly sincere.

An interesting by-product of Mr. Hewlett's dependence upon this source of judgment is his tendency to ascribe to favorite authors characteristics to be found in his own work. Thus he insists that Dante, in treatment of such figures as Ugolino, Sapia, Guido da Montefeltro, is consciously personifying the districts they represent—Pisa, Siena, the Romagna. So also he insists upon Dante's high esteem for the common people, the "staple." Such personification and such esteem are much more evidently traits of Mr. Hewlett than of Dante.

Mr. Hewlett's criticism becomes most effective and most valuable when the critical and the creative faculties work in conscious, deliberate accord. Such coöperation of faculties appears, with limited scope, throughout *A Masque of dead Florentines*, and in many characterizations scattered through the other works. The finished products of such coöperation are the several essays in reconstructive criticism particularly noted above. Since Mr. Hewlett is so exceptionally accurate in his acquisition of knowledge, and so very subtle in the humanity of his re-creation, the Cino, the Lorenzo, the Politian of his fiction satisfactorily represent the truth of the historic Cino, Lorenzo, Politian. Mr. Hewlett's reader is thus enabled to make the acquaintance of these men, not by repetition of the acquisitive process necessary to Mr. Hewlett himself, nor through formal biographical statements, but, as though in real life, by familiarity with the spontaneous conversation and action of the men themselves.

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ENGLISH LITERATURE.

A Study of the Sources of Bunyan's Allegories, with special reference to Deguileville's Pilgrimage of Man. A dissertation submitted to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, by JAMES BLANTON WHAREY. Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company, 1904.

By way of introduction, Dr. Wharey gives a brief review of the work already done in the study of Bunyan's sources,—from Dr. Johnson's observation that Bunyan may have read Spenser, to Kötz's comparison of the *Pilgrim's Progress* with the *Faerie Queene* in 1899,—and then proceeds to investigate the question of Bunyan's supposed indebtedness to Deguileville,—a question, which though proposed by Dibdin almost a century ago, and carefully considered by Offor (1853) and Hill (1858), has hitherto never been satisfactorily answered (pp. 1–5).

Of the three Pilgrimages of Deguileville, *Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*, *Le Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, and *Le Pèlerinage de Jhesucrist*, only the first bears any resemblance to Bunyan, and hence a detailed comparison is made between it and *Pilgrim's Progress*. This first *Pilgrimage* was composed in 1330–31, and at once became very popular. It was translated into English by John Lydgate in 1426, and an anonymous prose rendering, a slavish translation of the French original, appeared in 1430. Seven MSS., supposed to represent this version or a modernized form of it, are extant. Of these seven MSS., a modernized seventeenth century version, Camb. Ff. 6.30, was selected by Dr. Wharey as a basis for comparison with Bunyan, since this version circulated in manuscript, and may possibly have fallen into Bunyan's hands. An elaborate and exhaustive comparison of the two allegories is made, and to exhibit clearly every point of likeness or of difference, copious extracts are given from each. Though Dr. Wharey brings out many points of similarity between the two allegories, and finds not a few striking parallelisms, these resemblances he easily accounts for as a natural result of the treatment of a common theme; and in no instance

does he consider the correspondences so close as to warrant the conclusion of any direct borrowing on the part of Bunyan. Further, as Bunyan could not read French, and was too poor to purchase a MS., it is extremely improbable that he had any personal acquaintance with the writings of Deguileville (pp. 8–68).

In order, however, to sift the matter still more closely, and settle the question whether Deguileville's influence may not have been transmitted to Bunyan through intervening allegories, Dr. Wharey examines Jean de Cartheny's *Voyage of the Wandering Knight* translated from French into English in 1580 or 1581, and appearing in at least five editions before the end of the seventeenth century; Richard Bernard's *Isle of Man*, written in English in 1627, and printed in no less than six editions before the close of the year; Bolswert's Dufykens ende Willemynkens *Pelgrimage*, written in Flemish and edited several times before 1641, translated into French and frequently printed, but never in English; and finally Simon Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim*, written in 1663, and published in several editions before 1687 (pp. 69–98).

The resemblances between the *Pilgrim's Progress* and the *Voyage of the Wandering Knight* are only of a general kind; but as there are many points of similarity between Cartheny and Deguileville, Dr. Wharey concludes that though "Bunyan does not show distinct traces of Cartheny's influence, Cartheny did owe much to Deguileville" (pp. 68–77).

With regard to Bernard's *Isle of Man*, though "both in spirit and in style, it strongly resembles the allegories of Bunyan," and though it is "just the book that would have received the hearty approval of Bunyan," the conclusion is reached that the germ of the *Pilgrim's Progress* is not to be found in it, nor is it even suggested. It appears evident, however, from the comparisons adduced, that the *Isle of Man* "does contain the germ of Bunyan's second great allegory, the *Holy War*" (78–91).

Bunyan's supposed indebtedness to Bolswert, contemptuously dismissed by Southey, was revived by Dunlop in his *History of Prose Fiction* (1876), who declared that if Bunyan borrowed from any source it was most probably from this allegory. Dr. Wharey, however, concludes that "no one who had ever read Bolswert's book could for a moment suppose that Bunyan was indebted to it" (pp. 92–93). Nor can any claim be made as a possible source for Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim*. "All that can safely be said is, that the same idea which underlies the *Pilgrimage of Man* and the *Pilgrim's Progress* underlies the *Parable of the Pilgrim*, and that it is given the same setting as in these two allegories" (pp. 94–98).

Having examined thus in detail the suggested and supposed sources of Bunyan's allegories, and having clearly established his originality, at least in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, Dr. Wharey traces back to the eleventh chapter of *Hebrews* the ultimate source of all allegories representing the Christian life as a pilgrimage. The first attempt, however, at a detailed, symbolic representation of the "changes and vicissitudes of life," he carries back to a much earlier period, to the well-known Tablet of Cebes, in the fifth century B. C.; and an early parallel to Bunyan and Deguileville he discovers in a passage in Lucian's *Hermotimus*. Thus the "specific form of allegory in which life is symbolized as a pilgrimage" is shown to be very old, antedating Deguileville by many centuries. To the influence of Deguileville, however, is due the popularity of the idea in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries (pp. 99–102).

Finally, Dr. Wharey classifies and examines such books as "from their subject matter or from their titles suggest a possible connection with the allegories of Bunyan." Among these are included *Accounts of Pilgrimages, real or imaginary, Religious Homilies, Allegory other than that of Pilgrimage, Allegorical Pilgrimages.* More than seventy-five such works are listed, and in many instances outlines of the stories are given (pp. 102–135).

In conclusion, Dr. Wharey sums up the results of his study of the whole problem as follows:

"1. Bunyan was among the last of a long line of authors to treat the course of man's spiritual life under the symbolism of a journey to Jerusalem.

"2. The idea of an allegorical pilgrimage, hinted at in the Bible, is distinctly expressed in several books not allegorical. It was even treated in sustained allegory prior to Deguileville, but its wide popularity during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries must be attributed to his influence. Several allegories belonging to this period reveal distinct traces of that influence.

"3. The *Pilgrim's Progress* contains resemblances, not only to the *Pilgrimage of Man*, but to these later allegories as well. These resemblances, however, are too general to justify the selection of any particular allegory as the prototype of the *Pilgrim's Progress.*

"4. The most reasonable supposition seems to be that the idea of an allegorical pilgrimage had become common property and the treatment of it conventional by the middle of the seventeenth century, and Bunyan knowing that others had treated the same theme determined to try his hand at a similar allegory. In doing so, he adopted the frame work which had been handed down to him from Deguileville through other allegorists, relying for the details of his allegory, however, not

upon the works of his predecessors, but upon his own invention.

"5. One allegory alone stands as an exception to the foregoing statement—Bernard's *Isle of Man*. It is highly probable that Bunyan was familiar with this little book, and that he was induced by it to write his second great allegory, the *Holy War*."

Dr. Wharey's dissertation is a careful and creditable piece of work, scholarly in method, accurate, clear-cut, and comprehensive in its results. It settles once for all the question of Bunyan's indebtedness to his predecessors, it comes as a welcome contribution to the study of Bunyan, and it furnishes an interesting and valuable chapter on the history of the religious allegory in English literature.

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SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE.

Scandia, Maandblad voor Scandinavische Taal en Letteren, onder Redactie von Margaretha Meijboom, s'Gravenhage; Prof. Dr. H. Logeman, Gent; Mevr. D. Logeman van der Willigen, Gent, I, 1–6. (January–October, 1904.)

Under ovenstående titel udkommer siden januar 1904, et månedligt tidsskrift i Groningen, Holland, hvis indhold skal behandle udelukkende skandinaviske emner. Af redaktionens redegjørelse for tidsskriftets mål og omfang i januar heftets to første sider får vi vide, at dets almindelige formål skal bli at give hollændere et tro billede af Skandinavien og hvad som der foregår på alle områder. For at kunne gjøre dette skal indholdet afdeles i følgende rubriker: 1. literatur, 2. sprogstudie, 3. billeder og stemminger, prøver af skandinavisk litteratur af forfattere selv eller omfortalte, 4. krønike, en oversigt af hvad som foregår i Norden med hensyn til litteratur, sociale tilstande, kultur og kunst, 5. spørgsmål og svar, 6. for lærlinge, hvori nu og da danskens, norskens og svenskens udtale skal gjengives i lydskrift efter 'maître phonétique.' Tidsskriftet, der udgives som biblad til det hollandske litterære ugeblad *Lente*, trykkes i foliant format, hvert nummer indholder 34 to-spaltes sider, og det udkommer otte gange om året (det udkommer nemlig ikke i juni, juli, august og september). Bidrag trykkes naturligvis, for det meste, på hollandsk, men det er hensigten at optage fra tid til anden artikler skrevne på et af de nordiske sprog, således er der, *e. g.* i første nummer en kort afhandling over Jonas Lies litterære virksomhed af den bekjendte norske kritiker Chr. Collin, hvori han spørger og søger at svare på spørgsmålet: hvad godt har Jonas Lie gjordt os i alle disse fire og tredive år? Dr. C. N. Starcke behandler i mars heftet 'Det danske skolevæsen;' Professor Dr. Adolf Noreen leverer en kort oversigt over 'Ortnamnforskningen i Sverige og Norge' i april nummer, og i mai skriver dialekt forskeren Dr. A. B. Larsen angående 'Folk og sprog på Færøerne.' Af andre på hollandsk skrevne artikler bør nævnes specielt: 'Deensche Volksliedern' af Margaretha Meijboom; 'Het finsche Vragstuck' af 'Een Fin;' 'Oudnoordsch utlagi, Englisch outlaw,' i etymologisk og semasiologisk henseende behandlet af Prof. Dr. H. Logeman; 'De Færøer Eilanden' af Hulda Garborg (oversat); og 'De Alcoholstrijd in Norwegen' af Borgermester H. E. Berner i Kristiania (også oversat), foruden en redaktions-artikel om 'De deensche Stöd (stødtonen i dansk) og flere særdeles interessante boganmeldelser.

Det her anførte vil være tilstrækkelig til at vise tidsskriftets karakter. Det befatter sig ikke specielt med det sproglige eller med litterære spørgsmål men søger at lægge lige stor vægt på alle områder, som kunde ha interesse for den fremmede læser. Selvsagt kommer det til at indholde meget af interesse også for skandinaver. Det blir populært i bedste forstand, selv den strengeste fagmand vil her ofte kunne finde det som kan ha speciel værdi. Under rubrik 6 vil der bli anledning, for dem som ønsker, ved selvstudium at tilegne sig det hollandske sprogs udtale, idet nu og da korte læsestykker på hollandsk skal gjengives i skriftsproget og i lydskrift.

Forhåbentlig kommer *Scandia* til at få mange læsere også her i landet.

George T. Flom.

University of Iowa.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

The Temper of the Seventeenth Century in English Literature. By Barrett Wendell, Professor of English at Harvard College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904.

That there should be a difference between the form in which lectures are delivered from the platform and that in which they issue from the press will strike almost any reader of Professor Wendell's recent work on seventeenth century literature.

The book is a reproduction practically without change of the Clark lectures as delivered before Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1902–3. The author's original design of treating the second half of the century with the fulness of the first was prevented by the circumstances under which the lectures were given. His reasons for not reverting in his book to his original plan are that these are the first lectures on English literature ever delivered by an American at an English university, that to change them into a formal treatise would radically alter their character and require years of work, and that in their present form they best fulfil the author's purpose to show how the temper of England changed from a temper ancestrally common to modern England and America to one specifically English.

The Clark lectures, one is heretical enough to venture, are not part of an inspired canon that they should not be altered. Moreover, in their present form, one sees constantly the adaptation of the material to the requirements of an audience; matter is repeated and reinforced for the benefit of hearers whose memories need refreshing from week to week, and remains unchanged to the annoyance of the less dependent reader. Judicious excision would, of course, not have made a balance between the two parts of the book, but it would have given more room for the portly figure of Dryden to expand himself in. For Dryden and his age are cramped into a single chapter, whereas the rest of the book runs from a brief survey of Elizabethan literature to a review of Milton. The consequence is that the first part of the author's task is worked out with unquestioned clearness. The integrity of Elizabethan literature, its spontaneity, enthusiasm, and versatility, is illustrated from the various forms in which it appeared; its disintegration is shown in the drama, in the lyric, and in prose. But what is not so fully demonstrated is the reintegration of the national spirit in the literature of the age of Dryden. The author throws out suggestive hints which might have been elaborated but for repetitions in the first part of the work.

Apart from this the general plan of the work is admirable and the treatment of the subject illuminating and suggestive. The integrity of Elizabethan literature, dramatic, lyric, and prose, is made to stand out in contrast to the disintegration and decay of the literature which followed. The early Elizabethans and Shakspere are part of this integral dramatic literature; Chapman, Jonson, Dekker, and Haywood mark disintegration; Marston, Middleton, Beaumont and Fletcher, Webster, Ford, Massinger, and Shirley have entered into decay. They appealed to audiences who no longer represented the nation—"fastidiously cultivated, perhaps, both in the graces and in the vices of acknowledged fashion, but with hardly a trace left of that eager strenuousness which had animated the robust integrity of the elder time." [1]

In the same way the Elizabethan lyric was integral. Spenser and Jonson and Donne were the divergent masters of the lyric at the beginning of the century, yet each was part of the Elizabethan integrity. Not so with their followers. The influence of classical Italian, which Spenser represented, the permanent poetic principles of the ancient classics expounded by Jonson, and the native English manner, all his own, of Donne became more and more divergent as the genius of the master was replaced by the talent of the imitators. The lyric, however, did not go down to ignominious death as did the drama, for the last great lyric writers like Herrick and Vaughan and Herbert were men apart from the world who cherished their muse and sang out of the fulness of their hearts, though not independently of their masters.

The translation of the Bible and the works of Bacon and Raleigh represent the prose of this integral Elizabethan literature; that of Burton, Browne, and Fuller shows disintegration in that it represented not the full English life but the work of the scholars, who like the later lyricists were solitary and apart. These latter men spoke for themselves and not for all England. "Disintegration of national temper, it all shows, and . . . weakening of power." [2]

The most satisfactory chapters in the volume are those dealing with Puritanism. There is an admirably succinct statement of the creed of Puritanism, with its dogmas of depravity and election based on facts which we call the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, and its subtle appeal to the insidious weakness of humanity which let a man "look with a grim humor at the passing pageant and triumph of those whose infernal sufferings should presently and permanently enhance his saintly joy." [3] It was in religion not in art that the Puritan gave free course to his emotions. As our author eloquently says:—"There are few more wonderful experiences possible than that which will come to you if you have patience to pore over some musty, crabbed Puritan sermon until the words begin to swim, and their meaning to fade even beyond its harsh obscurities, and, of a sudden, you are aware that this is only another daring, futile, fleeting effort to express in the passing terms of earth an ecstatic sense of the eternal mysteries above—those mysteries amid whose glories the spirits of the saints may triumphantly and securely emerge from the errors and distortions of corrupt human will into everlasting communion with the vast justice and mercy of Omnipotence." [4]

[1] P. 99. [2] P. 206. [3] P. 221.
[4] P. 228.

No less lucid is the exposition of the divergency in the courses of English and American Puritanism. The early Puritans held that right, the "obligation sanctioned by duty and by ideal justice, springing from the heavens above," should not be opposed by rights, the "privileges and duties assured mankind by the human laws under which they live;" and a small band of them emigrated to America where right and rights should agree. This act and "the still vital historical growth which has sprung from that seed" [5] were the great expression of Elizabethan Puritanism. Here we see the ancestral oneness of England and America. In America the idea persisted that human rights should be controlled by Divine right, but in England after the turbulence of the civil wars it was realized that "in rights lay the true safety of the nation." This divergence in thought partly accounts for the inability of the Americans in 1775 to see any authority in Parliament, since this authority was the natural expression of human rights.

Milton's relation to the temper of the century forms the basis of the treatment of the great Puritan poet. His early work relates him to the divergent masters of lyric poetry, Spenser, Jonson, and Donne. Soon, however, he began to assert his own mastery, and as he did so he became a being solitary and apart. His is the "inevitable solitude of his disintegrating time." In his political and prose work he was an illustrious type of the Puritans who sought to control rights by right, but his own opinions, which he regarded as those of the elect, he could not force upon the unelect, and so as a reformer he ended in failure. In his great poems he is more than ever solitary; he is the "one true poet of the national disintegration of England."

Professor Wendell is nothing if not suggestive. He notes Jonson's remarkable visualizing powers, and shows how these manifest themselves in his plays, so that as a dramatist he is to be regarded not as a poet but as a painter. Again, he seeks to account for our impression of Pepys as a rather elderly person when he wrote his Diary, by showing him to belong partly to an age that has past and partly to the present, so that he seems like a garrulous grandfather. Ingenious this is, but not convincing.

There are certain occasions when Professor Wendell's English makes us sit up with amazement. In one place he says:—"Except, of course, that novelties go out of fashion almost as swiftly as they come into the same." [6] The pun, let us hope, is unconscious in—"You feel in the lines . . . . an elaboration of overstrained metaphor wherein Donne, though not exactly imitated, is clean out done." [7] "Harshening stanzas" [8] makes us grit our teeth, and "none of them seem precisely the most typical man of their time" [9] is remarkable grammar. The frequency with which favorite words appear, such as 'crescent,' 'pristine,' 'immutable,' 'ecstatic,' 'exacerbation,' and, of course, 'integral,' with its derivates, does at times weigh upon one's soul. "Keat's" [10] and "Pepy's" [11] are misprints for which any author might wish the printer hanged.

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[5] P. 235. [6] P. 20. [7] P. 276. [8] P. 209. [9] P. 146. [10] P. 59. [11] P. 331.

SOME RECENT STUDIES OF *La Tía Fingida.*

About the year 1606 the Cardinal-Archbishop of Seville received from one of his clergy, Don Francisco Porras de la Cámara, a manuscript collection of diverting miscellany that had recently been going the rounds of the city; the gift comprised nine documents, the first six being witty odds and ends, partly by Porras and partly of his editing, duly credited. But the three pieces concluding the collection were three anonymous *novelas;* the first in order was *La Tía Fingida,* second *Rinconete y Cortadillo,* third *El Zeloso Estremeño.* The last two were published by Cervantes a few years later (1613) with his other *Novelas Ejemplares.* Thus of all the Porras collection the only piece remaining unaccredited and unclaimed was *La Tía,* slipped in between the six Porras miscellanies and two of Cervantes' novelas.

The plot of *La Tía* is as follows:

Doña Claudia, a second Celestina, is the putative aunt of pretty Esperanza, whom she has several times sold for what she is not, being herself thorough in the wiles of pandery. The pair arrive in Salamanca with all outward respectability, taking a house in a disreputable street. The incongruity attracts the curiosity of two university students, who quickly divine the situation and with their fellows give Esperanza a serenade. Incited by the repulse of an instructed serving-maid, they plan another way to gain entrance, resorting to Don Felix, a type of gilded youth for whom Doña Claudia lies in wait. Suitably bribed, the maid lets Don Felix secretly into Esperanza's bedroom, where he overhears the two women in earnest dialogue, in which are cunning characterizations of Spanish provincials and a salacious exposition of Doña Claudia's craft. In the midst of this Don Felix is betrayed by a sneeze; discovery and a wordy tilt ensue. The two students slip in with the aroused patrol, who arrest the women and march them jailward. Running ahead, the students with their fellows surprise the police, rescue Esperanza and escape. In quarreling for first

possession of the girl, one finally declares he will marry her; she consents and the other departs. The pair find a lodging and next morning leave for the student's home, where the youth tells his father a plausible tale of Esperanza's high birth, obtains the parental blessing and marries her. The bride proves a dutiful daughter-in-law, and although the facts come out, the old gentleman remains well content. Doña Claudia is thrown into jail and, being accused of witchcraft, gets a flogging besides. And here the tale ends.

From the time the Porras MS. amused the Archbishop it is almost two centuries to the beginning of its short modern career in 1788, when it was found in Madrid by the eminent scholar Bosarte, who barely mentions *La Tía* in announcing his discovery. Presently Bosarte published *Rinconete* and *El Zeloso*. He did not here mention *La Tía*, but later began to prepare it for the press, and not till then, apparently, was he convinced that Cervantes wrote this tale also. He expected, it seems, to prove the same by comparisons "tomadas de las demás obras de Cervantes," as his friend Arrieta quotes him, "y que son idénticas con otras que se registran en la presente novela." But he died without completing his project, leaving to Arrieta such materials as he had. This literary heir proved profligate, however, and although he printed the *Tía* in 1814, he made no use of Bosarte's memoranda, saying in the preface that he could prove Cervantes' authorship "pero esto sería hacer bien poco favor al discernimiento del lector." Arrieta's temerity went farther, and he made two large cuts from the dialogue between Doña Claudia and Esperanza, besides frequently altering the text elsewhere as his taste dictated.

When the Arrieta edition had appeared, and its mutilations were remarked, the German scholars Wolf and Franceson decided to print a faithful text; this they did, at Berlin, 1818, having obtained their copy from the distinguished cervantist Navarrete.[1] The Porras codex now went astray, but ere long was found by another ardent cervantist, Gallardo, but only again to be lost and forever, in the course of the insurrectionary atrocities of 1823. Gallardo, however, had studied *La Tía*, carefully comparing the MS. with the two published texts, the Columbine MS.[2] and with Cervantes' works. Hence he published a paper (the first number of his *Criticón*, 1835) declaring, even more strongly than Arrieta, that Cervantes wrote the story. This opinion had already been adopted by the publishers of Cervantes, for in 1821 a Madrid edition of the *Novelas Ejemplares* appeared containing *La Tía*. Since then until recently the practice and the theory have been uniform, save for a few sporadic dissents, to be mentioned.

The first effort to discredit a century of say-so is the highly admirable study by M. Foulché-Delbosc, *Étude sur La Tía Fingida*.[3] Here is given for the first time a complete, concise and clear history of the tale and its criticism, or lack of it. The accompanying comment is spirited but well within the bounds of fairness; no theory is advanced and it is sought merely to show that all the strenuous briefs for Cervantes are unintelligent, proving nothing but ardent admiration for a great genius. The following are salient points of M. Foulché-Delbosc's study:

As to Bosarte his critical method is variously shown, including a full presentation of his letter written to *El Diario* on discovering the codex. Arrieta's attempts at criticism, and his remarks as to source of his copy are shown by his own words to be hopelessly self-contradictory. The mutilations of the text are declared to be Arrieta's own and not Bosarte's work, and Arrieta's minor alterations are shown to number two hundred and eighty, and to be puerile and unwarranted. Rosell is sharply criticised for his clumsy preparation of the text (Arrieta's 2d edition) for the Rivadeneyra edition. Gallardo is freely quoted; "in place of impartial investigation there is only foolish invective" in his words. It is impossible here to present adequately M. Foulché-Delbosc's deft confrontation of blunders and rhetorical flights; he thus concludes of the whole body of this criticism:

"Rarement controverse littéraire fut discutée avec un plus évident parti-pris et un sans-gêne plus absolu pour l'opinion d'autrui. . . . Il est probable que Bosarte conçut l'idée d'attribuer *La Tía* à Cervantes parce qu'elle se trouvait dans le même manuscrit que *Rinconete y Cortadillo* et *El Celoso Estremeño:* les ressemblances de style, l'air de famille et autres pseudo-preuves ne vinrent qu'ensuite. Une telle déduction est inacceptable: le fait qu'un même manuscrit contient trois Nouvelles et que l'on connaît l'auteur de deux d'entre elles n'implique nullement que la troisième soit du même auteur que les deux autres. C'est pourtant cette théorie qui a prévalu dans le cas. . . . Quant aux ressemblances, quant aux analogies de phrases ou de locutions, il est toujours aisé d'en trouver avec un peu de savoir-faire et beaucoup de bonne volonté. . . . Mais ces sortes de rapprochements ne sauraient tenir lieu de preuves, d'autant qu'il serait aisé d'en établir d'autres pour soutenir la thèse contraire. . . . Ces rapprochements . . . . ont-ils du moins été tentés pour *La Tía Fingida?* Même pas. . . . L'idée que *La Tía* est de Cervantes est profondément enracinée chez les cervantolâtres . . . . *La Tía Fingida* est-elle ou n'est-elle pas de Cervantes? Tant que l'on ne disposera pas d'autres éléments de discussion que ceux dont on s'est servi jusqu'ici, la question ne pourra être résolue ni par l'affirmative ni par la négative. . . . Il est sage de professer parfois un agnosticisme résigné."[4]

[1] *La Tia Fingida. Novela inédita de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.* This edition, and one printed from it in 1842 at Madrid, both very rare, are the only ones in which the Porras text still exists.

[2] The Colombine MS. of *La Tía*, an incomplete one, is still preserved at Sevilla, and its text is that printed in the Rivadeneyra *Cervantes*. The date of this MS., though unsettled, is known to be too late to bring it into the present connection.

[3] *Revue Hispanique*, IV, 1899, pp. 256–306.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 282–289.

M. Foulché-Delbosc has made it unnecessary to dwell on any but such studies as have appeared since his article. Among these is the work of Señor D. Francisco A. de Icaza,[5] whose few words on the present subject (pp. 225–7) are here quoted almost in full.

"Con el *Coloquio de Cipión y Berganza*, quiso cerrar Cervantes la serie de sus Novelas. . . . No iba á imaginar que había de agregarse á su obra, siglos después, por los mismos que pretendían despojarle de aquellas que declaraba 'suyas propias' . . . otra novela cuya paternidad gratúitamente se le hubiera de atribuir."

The words "pretendían despojarle" etc., allude to Bosarte; and, to leave no doubt, a footnote adds, in brief, this: It is very odd that Bosarte and Estala should have suggested to Arrieta that *La Tía* belonged to Cervantes, since by precisely the same reasoning they had denied to him *Rinconete* and *El Celoso*, their reasoning being "el aparecer las novelas juntas y anónimas" in the Porras MS. In other words, Icaza accuses Bosarte of stupidly reasoning in a circle. But compare the remark of Foulché-Delbosc: "Mais il n'accuse nullement Cervantes de n'en pas être l'auteur [of *Rinconete* and *El Celoso*], comme le prétendirent plus tard sans aucune fondement Gallardo et Fernández-Guerra, qui n'ont pas compris ce qu'avait écrit Bosarte," namely, the letter to *El Diario*.[6] Compare also his later words hereon: "Je ne suis pas de l'avis de M. de I. . . ce que Bosarte reproche à Cervantes c'est d'avoir refondu ces deux nouvelles au moment où il s'agit de les faire imprimer, et de les avoir alors 'echado á perder.'"[7] It may be, as M. Foulché-Delbosc politely says, that Gallardo and Fernandez-Guerra "n'ont pas compris" that letter;[8] but it would be hard for anyone to understand it as quoted by Señor Icaza (p. 60), seeing that, as the cited review observes, "M. de I. . . . en omet précisément les quelques lignes qui prouvent bien que Bosarte n'accuse pas Cervantes de plagiat," namely: "Sería ligereza pensar que un hombre del talento de Miguel de Cervantes incurriese en la abominable superchería de apropiarse piezas enteras compuestas y acabadas por otros. Lo que yo más bien creería es que estas dos novelas las compuso y adornó el mismo Cervantes, sobre memorias y apuntaciones que recogería en Sevilla, y le daría algún curioso."

Señor Icaza next says:

"Ningún documento demuestra que *La Tía Fingida* sea de Cervantes. Fúndase únicamente esa suposición en pretendidas semejanzas de estilo, apoyadas en ciertas locuciones, que el apasionado prejuicio de unos y la rutina ó ignorancia de otros han venido dando como cervantescas, cuando en realidad eran formas de expresión comunes á todos los escritores de aquel tiempo."

The supposition, in short, is based on the prejudice and ignorance of the whole Gallardo tribe. A footnote intimates, without citations, that as dissenters from the current theory "se cuenta en España D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, y se contó en la América hispano-parlante D. Andrés Bello." The latter statement is true, as shown by Foulché-Delbosc,[9] who cites from Amunátegui the scholar's words to Gayangos.[10] But he does not cite the other authority offered by Icaza, apparently not regarding Menéndez y Pelayo as a dissenter, for he says that "en Espagne l'opinion est unanime."[11]

Señor Icaza ends his short chapter thus:

"Los que se empeñaron en meter . . . . con las Novelas . . . . *La Tía* . . . . no se fijaron, ó no quisieron fijarse en los giros y frases que hay en ella y que Cervantes no usó jamás. Entraría yo en esos detalles si me propusiera hacer un estudio de las obras atribuídas al autor del *Quijote*, pero sólo he querido rendir un tributo . . . . á Cervantes, estudiando . . . . sus *Novelas Ejemplares*."

"Entraría yo . . . . pero" says Icaza, and "pudiera hacerlo . . . . pero" said Arrieta. The former *pero* seems the riper, and yet "aquí no hay pero que valga." Cervantophils will continue to ask: Who, if not Cervantes, could have written *La Tía* in view of its notable literary merit? Bello is said to have suggested Avellaneda as a possibility, but neither this hint nor any other (if any there be) has been acted on. The question is still pertinent, and Señor Icaza makes it more so by his researches, which permit him to find (pp. 231 *sq.*) that Spanish literature was not directly influenced by the *Exemplary Novels*, and not till long after did any one attempt to follow Cervantes in method or spirit. All the more, then, Who wrote *La Tía?*

"It must be confessed," says Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, who next takes up the discussion,[12] "that there is no external evidence to connect Cervantes with *La Tía Fingida*, and no conclusion can be

[5] *Las Novelas Ejemplares de Cervantes; sus críticos, sus modelos literarios, sus modelos vivos, y su influencia en el arte;* obra premiada por el Ateneo de Madrid. Madrid, 1901. 12mo, 279 pp.

[6] *Op. cit.*, 259, note 5.

[7] Review of Icaza's *Novelas Ejemplares*. *Revue Hispanique*, VIII, 551–2.

[8] Made accessible by Foulché-Delbosc's *Étude*, 289–293.

[9] *Op. cit.*, 285; also 296. The citation is from *Vida de don Andrés Bello* by Miguel Luís Amunátegui, Santiago de Chile, 1882, pp. 575–6.

[10] "No acabo de asegurarme. El motivo principal de mis dudas es la palpable diferencia que creo percibir entre el lenguage i estilo de *La Tía Fingida* i el de las obras de Cervantes que indudablemente le pertenecen." Amunátegui is quoted as saying that Bello was inclined to credit *La Tía* to Avellaneda.

[11] *Op. cit.*, 285.

[12] *Introduction to the Exemplary Novels* (pp. xi–xix), vol. VII of *The Complete Works of Miguel de Cervantes*. Edited by James Fitzmaurice-Kelly; translated by N. MacColl. 12 vols., Glasgow, 1902.

drawn from the internal evidence . . . .'' In the present light, then, ''none but a very rash man would venture to assert positively that Cervantes was, or was not, the real author'' of the tale. And yet ''it is certainly very difficult even to suggest the name of any other contemporary who was capable of writing it.'' Again, his latest remark, after once more noting the lack of evidence for Cervantes, continues: ''Cependant on croirait volontiers qu'il écrivit cette admirable histoire.'' [13] It is, however, quite clear that the eminent scholar takes agnostic ground with M. Foulché-Delbosc, whose *Étude* he admiringly mentions. The cited *Introduction* disproves the report that Cervantes spoke of sending Lemos thirteen tales. The explanation of the mistake is that Salvador Fauli, publishing the *Novelas* at Valencia in 1783, omitted the Letter Dedicatory, and printed *El Curioso Impertinente* with the twelve *Novelas Ejemplares*, and under that title. Fauli then reissued his edition in 1797, restoring the dedication, but substituting ''trece'' for ''doce.'' In consequence some who have used the second edition have been misled by Fauli, all the more readily in that he supplied ''an apparently specious argument in favour of assigning *La Tía Fingida* to Cervantes.'' Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly touches a point on the other side of the problem, by rejecting as a quite unworthy argument ''that the few loose passages in this story could not have been penned by Cervantes,'' in view of his own writings, Spanish literature generally, and the moral tone of the times.

But neither the non-committal attitude of M. Foulché-Delbosc and Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, nor the attack of Señor Icaza, have daunted the followers of Gallardo, or at least not Señor D. Julián Apraiz, the beginning of whose labors in this field appears in his *Curiosidades cervantinas*,[14] but being replaced by later publications is merely noted here in passing; M. Foulché-Delbosc barely mentions it, in three minor connections, and adversely. In his *Estudio histórico-crítico*,[15] which, simultaneously with Señor Icaza's essay, won the Charro-Hidalgo prize on January 26, 1901, Señor Apraiz dwells on *La Tía* at length, and credits the story to Cervantes as emphatically as his rival scorns the idea. He breaks away, however, from the time-worn vituperative method; he evolves a theory and applies it. Indeed, whether his argument be adjudged vain or not, it is still argument—indeed the first published attempt to do, though much more elaborately, what Bosarte had in mind.

In placing *La Tía* with the *Novelas* Apraiz uses his general theory of Cervantes. With copious illustration he argues for the essential unity of Cervantes' whole work; then, turning to the *Novelas* and severally analyzing them, he seeks to show their harmony with each other and with all of Cervantes' writings. In upholding the thesis that these form a single organism, he notes the recurrence of identical incidents in various pieces and points out an infinity of detail possessed in common by all, but especially observes that Cervantes, almost in every instance, *treated each of his inventions in two different ways*, converting a novela, for example, into a sainete or comedy, or *vice versa*. Far from being a new idea, it was Avellaneda who ''calificó de comedias á las *Novelas Ejemplares*. Furthermore, Arrieta asked, as to *La Tía*: ''¿Qué le falta para ser una hermosa comedia, sino dialogarla y suplir é intercalar algunas escenas preparatorias?''

Accordingly Señor Apraiz finds the twin-brother of *La Tía Fingida* in the entremés *El Vizcaíno Fingido*. The theory is outlined in Señor Apraiz' most recent contribution to the study of Cervantes.[16] The points of his arguments follow. First, similarities of construction: title, *dramatis personae*, scene, and various features of the action (bribery of the maid, entrance of galán, entrance of officers, the ensuing row, etc.). Second, miscellaneous similarities, such as: the assumed respectability of the courtesan of each piece; both of these are from Sevilla and both refer to the university of Salamanca; the sonnet of *La Tía* is in Cervantes' usual metre and rhyme-scheme; the dialogue between Doña Claudia and Esperanza (on ways to renew virginity and attract customers) has an ''indubitable family likeness'' to that of Brígida and Cristina (on the forbidding of carriages and compulsion of veils for fast women). Third, similarities of vocabulary, whereof space does not here allow a full summary of the dozen instances cited. In discussing them no attempt is made to show in *La Tía* a peculiarly cervantine use of words and phrases, unless perhaps this: ''oficial vecino, pared en medio'' (T. F.); ''pared en medio, un platero'' (V. F.).

Continuing, Apraiz makes a comparison of *La Tía* with the *Quijote*. Sancho frequently mispronounced words; the dueña in *La Tía* says ''tres pringues'' for ''trilingüe.'' Again, there are twenty-four italianisms in the *Quijote*, and at least two in the *Tía*: ''pulcela'' and ''no que''

[13] *Littérature Espagnole*, Paris, 1904, p. 243.

[14] *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, Madrid, 1899, I, 223–251. The portion relating to *La Tía* comprises pp. 240–251; the article is dated January, 1898.

[15] *Estudio histórico-crítico sobre las Novelas Ejemplares de Cervantes*. Obra premiada por el Ateneo de Madrid. Vitoria, 1901. 8vo, 175 pp.

[16] *Don Isidoro Bosarte y el centenario de La Tía Fingida*, Vitoria, 1904; 8vo, 109 pp. Reprinted, with slight additions, from the *España Moderna*, July and August, 1904.

("quince sentidos, *no que* cinco"), both occurring in the same senses in the *Quijote*.[17] Sancho asks, "¿*Por ventura* son *mis carnes de bronce*?" Cf. Esperanza: "¿Soy yo *por ventura de bronce*? ¿No tienen sensibilidad *mis carnes*?" The foregoing are probably the most favorable likenesses offered. Other arguments deduced by Apraiz are the following: Doña Claudia is another Celestina, gold chain, needlecraft and all; Cervantes' delight in Celestina is well known. In the *Tía* appears a nautical proverb; Cervantes was fond of the sea. "Dozens of times" his works record his affection for Salamanca and its university, but among the twelve *Novelas* there is no exclusively Salamancan story; the *Tía* is such a one. In the redemption of Esperanza (to take a wider view) is the imagination of a genius sporadic in its age, where no similar human sympathy occurs save in the *Quijote*, the *Novelas* and—the *Tía*. On the whole, *La Tía Fingida*, according to the Spanish critic, comprises in miniature the *Quijote's* graces and freshness, its contrast of comic upper-structure and grave philosophical basis, "incólume de la indecencia y groserías rabelescas."

In winding up his argument Señor Apraiz offers these further deductions. Cervantes affirmed (prologue to the *Novelas*) that he was the author of "otras obras que andan por ahí descarriadas, y quizá sin el nombre de su dueño." This is clearly an allusion to *La Tía*. Cervantes knew of the Porras MS. presented to *the Archbishop of Seville*, because in *La Española Inglesa* the vicar asks Isabella to write out her story so that he might send it to his superior *the Archbishop of Seville*. The three novelas of the Porras MS., being grouped together and all anonymous, were all from the same hand, by the very reasoning of Father Pérez where in the *Quijote* he finds *Rinconete* and *El Curioso Impertinente* together in a valise. And finally, Cervantes habitually gave forth his stories as chronicles of fact; so *La Tía's* title affirms the tale a fact.

But supposing for the moment, says the writer, that all his labors are in vain, yet is there, he asks, no longer any such thing as prescriptive right? And how, furthermore, are we to ignore the verdicts of such a long array of scholars (mentioning about seventy), from Bosarte to the present? These questions asked, Señor Apraiz relaxes a little and facetiously orders, adjudges and decrees that Cervantes continue in pacific possession of his precious little story.

To avoid interrupting the review, Apraiz' scattered mention of other writers has been postponed to this point. At the outset he says: "trataré solamente ahora de Bosarte y de *La Tía*, tanto para solemnizar el centenario de ésta como para aprovechar la ocasión de combatir las aseveraciones del Sr. D. Francisco de Icaza." He likewise comments on the fact that Icaza's statements are often lacking in proof. Of Menéndez y Pelayo, although he wrote "no poco de Cervantes y sus obras, jamás ha creído conveniente publicar (según mis noticias) esas dudas á que alude el Sr. Icaza." As to Señor Rodriguez Marín,[18] "su excesiva modestia y el aplomo del Sr. Icaza . . . . le hacen resignarse á admitir la posibilidad de un litigio que ya no puede sostenerse." Again, "No hacemos mencion especial entre nuestros adversarios del Sr. Cotarelo, por limitarse á decir que, á su juicio, este cuento es 'de autenticidad muy dudosa';[19] ni del distinguido cervantista francés Mr. Foulché-Delbosc, que cree aventurado el resolverse por la afirmativa ó la negativa." The foregoing is essentially all that Señor Apraiz says of his contemporaries; but it should be mentioned that he includes with his own partisans at least one who, as already appears, is not of them; namely, Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, whose later studies were doubtless unknown to him when he wrote.

But it should here be said that Señor Apraiz disclaims attempting a conclusive study in offering what he calls his "descosido trabajo," merely pointing out tentatively "algunos cervantismos, y aun meras analogías con otras frases cervantinas, de esta niña desheredada."

In fine, the reception of Señor Apraiz' work promises ill for future labors with the internal evidence. In spite of the meagre testimony, there are probably few stones left unturned. But after all, if one is to believe Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, no conclusion can be drawn from such evidence anyway. However, there seems to be another last chance to be taken there, in a comparison of the syntax of *La Tía* with that of Cervantes, especially in his earlier work, as Señor Apraiz believes the story to belong to that period.

Another and probably more hopeful study would be that of showing how Cervantes' residence at Salamanca would affect the question, if such residence should ever be proved. Sr. Apraiz does hardly more than mention the incongruity of Cervantes' affection for the university and frequent reference to it, with the lack of a tale exclusively Salamancan among his *novelas*.

There is little hope of finding the documents, which alone will satisfy non-partisans; nevertheless a very interesting article by Doña

[17] Apraiz does not claim these terms as purely cervantine, but Foulché-Delbosc says (*op. cit.*, 298) of *pulcela* that "à ma connaissance" it is such; adding that *menjurges* (not cited by Apraiz) occurs only in *La Tía* and in Garcilaso, as he thinks. But he draws no conclusion from "ces quelques rapprochements."

[18] *El Loaysa del Celoso Estremeño*, Sevilla, 1901, p. 220.

[19] *Revista Española*, x, 319 (May 15, 1901).

Blanca de los Ríos de Lampárez[20] shows that at least circumstantial evidence is not lacking. The writer does not make use of *La Tía* in presenting the testimony, confining the argument to the following. 1) The documents[21] negatively show in Cervantes' life three and a half unrecorded years (June, 1581–December, 1584), completely blank save for one appearance in Madrid in 1583, not at all conflicting with the term-times at Salamanca. 2) In the González-Navarrete correspondence,[22] the then professor of rhetoric assures Navarrete that he had seen Cervantes' name set down in the University register for a two years' course in philosophy. 3) The style and contents of *La Galatea* (1583) strongly suggest its production in an academic atmosphere. 4) Cervantes never mentions the University of Alcalá, although his first youth was spent near it; every mention he makes of students and student-life is exclusively Salamancan. 5) In the University's records, of or about the time in question, occur student-names which figure unmodified in Cervantes. 6) The relations between Bobadilla and Cervantes probably began at Salamanca, as a study of the former's *Ninfas y Pastores de Henares*, and the estrangement consequent to its appearance, seem to show.

But the point of special interest is this: Late in 1581, after an election to a certain professorship at Salamanca, appeared some lame verses by the disappointed candidate, satirizing his successful rival. This satire was included by Porras in his *Archivo de Poesías*. Four lines of it occur in the preliminary verses to the *Quixote*, and one line in the *Persiles*. In view of these facts many questions arise. How came it that some verses occasioned by a strictly Salamancan quarrel were so familiar to Cervantes that he could aptly quote them twenty years later? Did he witness the professorial election, follow up the faculty row, and memorize or copy the satire? And then did he, on one of his numerous trips to Seville, carry a copy of the verses with him, along with other manuscript, including mayhap *La Tía?* And did he there give them to the industrious Porras; or did he lose them or leave them behind on his departure? At any rate both the bad verses and the picaresque story came into Porras' hands, and one he placed in the *Archivo de Poesías*, while the other he inserted in his gift to Niño, beside two of the *Novelas Ejemplares*.

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[20] *¿Estudió Cervantes en Salamanca?*, in the *España Moderna*, April and May, 1899.

[21] *Documentos cervantinos, hasta ahora inéditos, recogidos y anotados* por Cristóbal Pérez Pastor. Madrid, 1897.

[22] Navarrete's *Vida*, 12 and 271.

SPANISH GRAMMAR.

A Spanish Grammar, by E. C. HILLS and J. D. M. FORD. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1904. ix–292 pp.

The aim of the authors is set forth in the opening sentence of the Preface: "to present to English-speaking students the more important facts of pronunciation, inflection and syntax in a clear and adequate way." The first twenty pages are devoted to general matters relating to Pronunciation, Orthography, Accentuation, etc. The letters are discussed on scientific phonetic principles with ample illustrations. The Castilian sounds are, of course, presented as the standard, but the authors also give an account of the deviations from this standard in the different parts of the Spanish-speaking world. The chapter on Accentuation deserves special mention because of its brief, but exhaustive presentation.

In the Preface the authors also state, that this grammar was prepared "with a view to facilitating the early reading of Spanish texts." Quite properly, therefore, the Verb is taken up in the very first lesson. The Present Indicative of all three conjugations is presented. The advantages of this method are obvious. The student is trained from the very beginning to exercise his faculty of discrimination by the handling of a variety of forms, and the authors are enabled to offer sensible and varied sentences from the very start. The radical-changing verbs make their appearance in lesson III,—a departure from the usual mode of presentation that cannot be too highly commended. The student thus learns at once, that such verbs as *temblar* or *dormir*, because they obey a fundamental sound-law of Spanish, are *not* irregular.

The verbs *tener* and *haber* are introduced in the same lesson (IV), and their use is set forth concisely, but exhaustively, for all practical purposes. *Ser* and *estar* are also treated in one lesson (VI), as well as the Imperfect and Preterit tenses (VIII). Such treatment is bound to develop the student's faculties of reasoning and discrimination. If each of these topics were presented in a separate lesson, the student might be tempted to use quite mechanically that particular verb or form which happens to be the subject-matter of that lesson.

In the lesson on the Comparison of Adjectives (XV) one point is particularly well brought out, viz.: that the principle of superlative formation is the addition of the definite article to the comparative (whether the comparative is formed by *más* or not). This at once explains why irregular comparatives (e. g. *mejor, peor*) when preceded by the article not only are real superlatives, but have practically driven out such forms as *óptimo, pésimo*. In fact, the authors do not even mention

these forms. We also regard it as a distinct merit that the purely arbitrary distinction between Relative and Absolute superlative has been abandoned. In § 74 (*d*) we read: "When there is no real comparison *most* is usually expressed by *muy* or the suffix *ísimo*." This simple statement presents the case in full.

The treatment of the Personal Pronouns (lessons XVIII, XIX, XXI, XXII) is extremely lucid. In § 102 the *se* which serves as a substitute for *le*, *les* is explained on historical grounds; and the following paragraph, illustrating the redundant use of the personal pronoun, may be pointed out as a model of clear presentation. We only regret that the authors have not given a full synopsis of pronominal declension in tabular form.

In lesson XXIII the Future subjunctive is introduced. The authors very happily call it "Hypothetical subjunctive,"—a name that at once characterizes the function of the mood. But in view of the fact that this mood has practically disappeared in modern Spanish, we believe that too much space has been devoted to its discussion. It was hardly necessary to give in full the conjugation of ten verbs. What is said in § 114 is really all that is needed. But the method adopted in §§ 115, 116 for illustrating the various forms of conditional sentences is above criticism. Instead of lengthy explanations ten representative sentences are given, each illustrating a special type.

Augmentatives and Diminutives are very properly reserved for the last lesson (XXXIV). The intelligent use of these words presupposes not only a natural feeling for language (*Sprachgefühl*), but also a considerable familiarity with the Spanish idiom. Not until the student has acquired the ability of handling ordinary words with a full consciousness of their precise value is it advisable to allow, much less expect, him to use words which often make demands upon the power of subtle discrimination.

A great number of idiomatic expressions is presented in various lessons. All of these idioms have evidently been chosen from the standpoint of practicability. We call attention to the felicitous English rendition of these phrases.

A practical test of the exercises in the classroom has convinced us of their excellence and eminent practicability. Both English and Spanish sentences are thoroughly idiomatic. The extreme care with which these sentences must have been prepared becomes evident from the fact, that we have not met a sentence which involves a point not previously explained. Every practical teacher knows that an author sometimes unconsciously inserts a sentence that will puzzle the student, because it anticipates something explained later on, or even presents a special difficulty—not present in the consciousness of the author—which it would be better to avoid altogether at that particular stage. In avoiding such sentences the authors of the present book have been especially fortunate.

Quite original is the presentation of the Verb. Instead of scattering the subject-matter through the various lessons,—a proceeding that not only interferes with ready reference, but also renders it difficult for the student to grasp the subject as a whole—the authors have devoted the second part of their book to a compact and succinct treatment of the Verb, uninterrupted by exercises or any extraneous matter. But this second part is not intended to be studied as a whole after the student has completed the thirty-four lessons into which the first part of the book is divided. In each lesson of the first part certain paragraphs of Part II are indicated for study; and in this manner the entire subject-matter of the verb has been judiciously distributed among the various lessons.

The Spanish Verb is considered under five headings: 1. The regular verb. 2. The verb with inceptive endings. 3. The radical-changing verb. 4. The *üir*-verb. 5. The irregular verb, under which are included the seven defective verbs. This classification reduces the total number of really irregular verbs to thirty, as against the usual formidable list of some eight hundred, of which about one-half are primitive and the other half derivative verbs. The advantages of this new classification are self-evident. Already at the beginning of this review we have expressed our concurrence in the view of the authors, that radical-changing verbs, because they obey a general sound-law of the language, cannot be regarded as irregular. The very slight deviation of inceptive and *üir*-verbs from absolute regularity is also explained by the operation of a general principle.

Before proceeding to give a list of the necessary orthographic changes required in certain verbs, the authors state the underlying principle with emphasis and clearness: "It is an inviolable rule of Spanish conjugation that the consonantal *sound* occurring at the end of the infinitive stem shall be preserved throughout the verb." To apply this principle in practice requires nothing more than a knowledge of Spanish pronunciation.

From the above classification it becomes evident that only those verbs are regarded as really irregular—and with this view we agree entirely—that form their preterit from a different stem than the fundamental stem of the infinitive, viz.: *querer, quise; ser, fuí; tener, tuve*, etc.

The inflection of each irregular verb is given in full. But the authors are not satisfied with a mere enumeration of the forms. A comparison with the Latin forms, added in small type, furnishes most valuable aid to the student, and at the same time cannot fail to impress him with the fact that

even irregularities are not the result of chance or caprice, but of language laws. This part of the book gives evidence of sound judgment and rare discretion, both as to the things said and those left unsaid.

It seems to us that in a grammar based upon scientific principles, it might not have been amiss to have added a short chapter discussing some of the principal sound-laws of the Spanish language and their practical application to the study of cognates. We believe that nothing aids the student so much in the acquisition of an extensive vocabulary. Even a student having no knowledge of Latin can make use of the Latin element in his mother-tongue. Let us look at the following list of words taken at random: *hijo*, son; *mejor*, better; *año*, year; *señor*, mister; *pueblo*, people; *abogado*, lawyer; *creer*, believe; *llamar*, call; *llorar*, weep. For the average student there is nothing else to do but to commit these words to memory mechanically. But after a little help has been given, the student will develop the habit of looking for related words, and remember this list somewhat as follows: *hijo* (filial); *mejor* (ameliorate); *año* (annual); *señor* (senior); *pueblo* (populous); *abogado* (advocate); *creer* (credible); *llamar* (ex-clam-ation); *llorar* (de-plore). This habit of study once developed not only reduces mere memory work to a minimum, and thus saves much time and irksome work in learning Spanish, but also aids the student very materially in his study of English by developing his sense for the subtler distinctions of meaning of the words of his mother-tongue.

After a detailed and critical examination of the book, we do not hesitate to pronounce the present grammar a work of singular merit. The explanations are concise, clear and absolutely accurate, besides being illustrated with numerous examples. The sentences for translation are well graded, sensible, natural and abundant in quantity. They furnish the student with a practical working vocabulary of some 2,000 words and some 200 important idiomatic phrases. The book, moreover, derives a special value from the fact that its usefulness does not end after the primary object of mastering the elements of the Spanish language has been attained. Because the authors have explained fundamental principles, and not detached facts, they have succeeded in bringing into a small compass not only all the inflections, but also the essentials of syntactical construction; so that the book is fully adequate to the demands made upon a reference grammar by the advanced student. A full index enables the student to find any desired information without loss of time.

The typographical excellence of the book is attested by the fact, that a most careful reading has disclosed only two insignificant errors, viz.: a misplaced accent in § 169 (*d*), *Léon* instead of *León*; and in § 202 (*c*) the word *autorcillo*, which should have been inserted under (*b*).

If any proof were needed that in an elementary text-book scholarship and practicability do not necessarily interfere with one another, this present grammar furnishes conclusive proof. The whole subject matter is presented on a sound philological basis, and the individual points are set forth with clearness. By the aid of judicious comparison with Latin forms, the authors cannot fail to impress the attentive student with the fact, that Grammar is not a dry collection of arbitrary forms and rules, but a rational presentation of the phenomena of language; and that language is not made by grammarians, but is a spontaneous growth and development in accordance with certain fundamental principles of the human mind. If a student is repelled by the difficulty and dryness of Grammar, we believe that the fault lies almost invariably with the teacher or text-book, in as much as these fail to bring to the students' consciousness the universal and immutable principles underlying all language. When once the rational basis of Grammar is discovered, even the less gifted student becomes interested. That Hills' and Ford's Spanish Grammar tends to arouse this kind of interest we consider not the least of the merits of this excellent book.

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NOTES ON RECENT FRENCH TEXT-BOOKS.

English Colloquialisms with their French Equivalents, by Arthur H. Smith. Hachette & Co., London, 1904. iv and 120 pp.

En Voyage, Conversations in French and English for the Use of Tourists and Classes, with vocabulary, by T. M. Clark. Wm. R. Jenkins, New York, 1904. iv and 120 pp.

Molière: Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme, edited, with notes and vocabulary, by P. A. Roi and W. B. Guitteau. American Book Co., New York, 1904. 135 pp.

Dumas: Les Trois Mousquetaires, edited, with notes and vocabulary, by C. Fontaine. American Book Co., New York, 1904. 208 pp.

Sandeau: Mlle. de la Seiglière, edited, with notes and vocabulary, by Elizabeth M. White. American Book Co., New York, 1904. 163 pp.

A Concise Dictionary of the French and English Languages, by F. E. A. Gasc. 941 pp. H. Holt & Co., New York, 1904.

The collection of *English Colloquialisms with their French Equivalents* which Professor Smith has gathered promises to be one of the greatest helps for class-room instruction that has appeared in several years. We have here listed upwards of two hundred and fifty English expressions in daily use, not translated literally into French, but with the equivalent French idiom. There are included not only a great number of colloquial phrases, such as: He is at it again, *Le voilà qui recommence;* To beat about the bush, *Tourner autour du pot;* You can't get blood out of a stone, *On ne saurait tirer de l'huile d'un mur;* but also many names of games, (Blind man's buff; *Colin Maillard*), names of certain feasts of the Church (All Souls' Day, *Le Jour des Morts*), legal terms (To all whom it may concern, *A tous ceux que ces présentes regardent;* Contempt of court, *Outrage aux magistrats*), commercial expressions (Carriage-paid, *Franco à domicile*, Sale by auction, *Vente aux enchères*), and military commands (Right-about face, *Demi-tour à droite*, Fall in, *A vos rangs*). The phrases are arranged in alphabetical order according to the key-word, which is further indicated by bold-faced type. To the average American student a few of the English expressions are unfamiliar, such as: Once in a blue moon, *Tous les trente-six du mois;* I am a dab at it, *J'y suis passé maître;* An apple-pie bed, *Un lit en portefeuille;* but these are very few indeed, and almost all of the phrases listed are as well-known on this side of the sea as in Great Britain. As the editor suggests in his preface, the idioms are particularly suited to conversational work in the class-room, where the reviewer feels sure this excellent collection will be appreciated by students and instructors alike.

The little phrase-book, *En Voyage*, is intended to serve simply as an aid to conversation. It contains some thirty very brief dialogues relating to the affairs of daily life. The subjects are well-chosen, the French is idiomatic. However, as is stated in the preface, the book is to be used for study of English as well as of French, and the French dialogues are followed by a set of English equivalents, which are no more than literal translations of the French dialogues, and in which the language is in no wise idiomatic. The addition of word-lists seems almost ridiculous. To the reviewer, the value of the work would have been greatly increased, as it might also have served for purposes of composition, had the two sets of exercises been differentiated so that one could have been used as a vocabulary, but not as a translation for the other.

In *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, the editors have evidently sought to prepare an edition of Molière's famous comedy that will suit the requirements of secondary school work. The text is clean, the notes are limited, but concise and sufficient to enable the ordinary student intelligently to comprehend the text, and there is a fairly complete vocabulary. In the course of reading, the following points were noted. Misprints: page 60, line 22, *aller* for *allez;* 112, 21, *veut* for *veux;* vocabulary, page 120, *diner* for *dîner*. Omissions from the vocabulary: *auprès*, 97, 7; *bailler*, 48, 17; *enbas*, 43, 22; *enhaut*, 43, 24; *ensuite*, 96, 13; *lieu*, 49, 17; *marquis*, 80, 7; *mémoire, m.*, 58, 15 (the translation is given under the feminine); *prétendre*, 79, 20; *réussir*, 106, 10. As a whole, this edition is admirable, the only part open to criticism being the vocabulary, which is practically confined to the list of words with one or two direct translations, with almost entire omission of idiomatic phrases. Of course it is largely a matter of individual preference whether the student shall gain his knowledge of idioms through the vocabulary or through direct, personal instruction in the class-room, and a simple word-list, to be sure, gives the student greater opportunity to exercise his ingenuity. A real drawback to the vocabulary in question, however, is the frequent omission of the figurative or extended meanings of words, and cases occur where certain direct meanings of words are lacking. Such are: *apprendre*, to teach, 29, 1; *en*, like, as, 45, 15; *poudre*, dust, 53, 33; *gagner*, to overcome, 81, 13; *sentir*, to smell of, 89, 22. Again, French words that are used to explain idiomatic or obsolete expressions in the text are sometimes not in the vocabulary, as: *résultat*, 54, note 8; *élégant*, 56, n. 18; *s'acquitter*, 58, n. 2. Such slight imperfections as the foregoing in no way impair the usefulness of this excellent text. The reviewer had occasion to use it with a collegiate class during the past winter and found it entirely satisfactory.

It is with pleasure that we greet a second edition of Dumas' ever-fresh romance of the *Trois Mousquetaires*. It is surprising, indeed, that none has appeared long before, for the writer knows of no other text which will hold as well the attention of the average student, or which will encourage his interest to a greater degree. The present edition differs widely from the excellent edition by Prof. Sumichrast, both in the material offered and in the manner of its presentation. In Prof. Fontaine's edition the selections are taken wholly from the second part of the work, beginning with d'Artagnan's mission to England to recover the queen's pendant. The other episodes given are the adventures of the musketeers at the siege of La Rochelle, the pursuit and the final judgment of Milady. One misses with regret the opening

chapters of the book which describe d'Artagnan's bold, courageous nature, and the famous duel through which he won the friendship of his three companions. On the other hand several long and somewhat tiresome descriptions are well omitted, as, of course, the private adventures of Milady. A cursory reading of the text showed only the following misprints: *Bragelone* for *Bragelonne*, 5, 36; *aurez* for *aurait*, 71, 1; *did* for *dit*, 104, 26. Nothing is found which quite equals the biographical and geographical index of the Sumichrast edition and the notes are very few in number, but an admirable vocabulary leaves no room for complaint. Perhaps one may question the utility of listing words in the vocabulary which are identical in French and English, and one wonders why *Normand* is omitted when *Picard* is given.

Of the three texts here noted none is perhaps freer from errors and less open to criticism than Miss White's edition of *Mlle de la Seiglière*. The introduction, though very brief, is sufficient, a rapid reading of the text reveals no misprints, and the notes are correct. The only criticism one might offer is that the notes give the student too much help by constant reference to the idiomatic expressions listed in the vocabulary.

All of the text-books under discussion show the advances of the last few years in text-editing and also the tendency toward the vocabulary editions which seem to be universally demanded by the secondary schools. For college work the reviewer would be glad to see a series of texts in which the aid given would be wholly towards the literary interpretation of the text, while the student should be referred to his grammar and dictionary for the study of the language.

The new *Concise Gasc Dictionary* will find a ready welcome in schools and colleges everywhere; its convenient size, clear print, and flexible back would be sufficient to recommend it aside from the actual value of the word-list. The dictionary is a revised abridgment of the *Students'* and *Library Dictionaries*[1] by the same author; like the latter it is printed with three columns to the page. The scope of the *Concise Gasc* is about that of the *Bellows Dictionary*,[1] but, as will be seen from the comparison below, the number of words compares favorably with that of the usual school dictionaries, here represented by the latest addition, namely, that by James and Molé, revised by Tolhausen and Payn.[2] For purposes of comparison the sections *r-ral* (179 words) of the French-English part, and *n-nay* (94 words) of the English-French were chosen. The number of words in these sections in each dictionary not found in that upon the same line is indicated by the numeral which follows.

R-ral:	Concise Gasc,	2,	Students' Gasc,	139;
	" "	14,	James and Molé,	65;
	" "	32,	Bellows,	11.
N-nay:	Concise Gasc,	2,	Students' Gasc,	48;
	" "	10,	James and Molé,	23;
	" "	15,	Bellows,	0.

The words that are omitted in the *Concise Gasc* are either more or less unusual forms, the stem of which is to be seen in a word listed (e. g. *racitisme* not found, but *rachitique* given), or else technical and scientific terms rarely met with by the ordinary reader. In order to examine the definitions of the *Concise Gasc*, the section *r-radoucir* (about one hundred words) was compared with the corresponding section of the Darmesteter-Hatzfeld-Thomas *Dictionnaire général*,[3] and the only omissions found in the *Concise Gasc* were of obsolete or rare, technical meanings. In closing, attention should be called to the fact that there is little or no attempt to indicate pronunciation in the body of the work, but in the prefatory pages is to be found a list of the words which show the greatest variations from the ordinary rules. There are also tables of weights, measures, money, and irregular verbs, and a set of grammatical observations. From his examination of the *Concise Gasc*, the reviewer would not hesitate to recommend it for all ordinary school and college use.

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[1] H. Holt & Co. [2] Macmillan & Co., 1903. [3] Hachette et Cie.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LEXICAL NOTES.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes:

SIRS: I wish to suggest two corrections to *The New English Dictionary*. 1. BATTALIONS. In *The Valiant Welshman* by "R. A. Gent," 1615 (reprinted 1902 as No. 23 of the *Muenchner Beiträge zur Rom. und Eng. Philologie*) occur the lines:

> Twise, in two haughty set Battalions,
> The base vsurper Munmouth got the day.
> (I, ll. 71–2.)

"Battalions" must mean "battles" here. This meaning is not recognized by *N. E. D.* or by *The Stanford Dictionary of Anglicized Words and Phrases.*

2. LAC VIRGINIS. Defined by *N. E. D.* as a cosmetic. This is evidently not the meaning in Jonson's *Alchemist*, Act II, l. 272 :

. . . . F. [designation of a vessel] is come ouer the helme too,
I thanke my Maker, in S. Maries bath
And shewes *lac Virginis* . . . . ,

or in II, 394, where it occurs in a list of alchemical terms,

Of your *elixir*, your *lac virginis*,
Your *stone*, your *med'cine*, and your *chrysosperme*.

In both these cases it is evidently a term of alchemy. Both *N. E. D.* and *Stanford Dict.* are wrong in citing from Norton, *Ordinal*, chap. 5 (in Ashmole's *Theat. Chem. Brit.*, 1652, p. 77) the following passage as an occurrence of lac virginis = cosmetic. Norton begins, p. 76 :

Manie Liquors be requisit
To our *Stone* for his appetite.

Then, after citing the opinions of various philosophers as to the proper liquors to use, he says :

Some *Philosophers* said that ye shulde take
Milke for the Liquor *Elixir* to make :
And another sort said after their intent,
No Liquor so good for the Complement,
As Water of *Litharge* which would not misse,
With Water of Azot to make *lac virginis*.

Lac virginis is evidently either the philosophers' stone itself or a stage in its manufacture. It is at the present time, according to the *Lexicon of the New Sydenham Soc'y*, "Hagendorn's term for the white precipitate formed by adding water to an alcoholic solution of Benzoin." Syd. Soc. further defines : Lac virginale = "Gebir's term for the milky fluid produced by mixing acetate of lead with an alkaline solution ;" Lac virgineum = "Another term for acetum philosophicum ;" Virgins milk = "The white fluid produced when balsam is mixed with water. Sub-acetate of lead precipitated by water." These are not the alchemical meanings.

In Ruland's *Lexicon Alchemiae*. . . . Francofurti . . . . 1612, is this : "*Lac Virginis* ist *aqua Mercur.* [Ruland says "*Aqua Mercurii* ist der *lapis* zerlassen mit seinem eignen Wasser dass in dem Stein fix ist und läufft weiss wie Wasser] der Drachenschwantz wäschet und *coagulirt* ohn[e] aller Hand werck ; ist *Mercurius Philosophorum, succus Lunariae & Solariae*, aus Catholischer Erd und Wasser." I venture to render this : "Lac virginis is water of mercury. It is the mercury of the philosophers which washes and coagulates the dragon's tail by its own action. It is the juice of the solar element (gold) and the lunar element (silver). It comes out of the elements earth and water (not common earth and water, but earth and water *generally* understood)." What "Drachenschwantz" refers to I know not. "Dragon" sometimes means mercury, and "dragon's tail" in astrology means the descending node of the moon's orbit with the ecliptic. Neglecting this however we can determine that lac virginis is (1) the mercury of the philosophers, called also azoch, and referring to mercury as the essential first principle of all metals, the principle of luster and malleability, just as sulphur was the name of the other great principle of changeability ; (2) water of mercury.

It also means *acetum philosophorum*, which is thus defined by Ruland : "id est, lac virginis, siue aqua mercurialis, qua metalla soluuntur, hydor sophorum," *i. e.*, lac virginis is (3) the solvent for metals. Meanings 2 and 3 lap over, and are hardly distinguishable. H. C. Hart, in his edition of Jonson's *Alchemist*, London, 1904, p. 181, says : "It is a distillation of may-dew and *aquafortis* in which sublimated mercury is dissolved and putrefied for a month in warm horse-dung," and it "has nothing to do with the fucus prepared from benzoin and alcohol."

One of the greatest difficulties in dealing with alchemy is its lack of definite terminology. Lac virginis is one of the most indefinite of all their terms. It should not therefore be omitted from our dictionaries, but should be defined as far as possible. The term did not exist solely to befog the mind, but to denote something which medieval science regarded as existing. I offer this as an attempt toward a definition.

CHARLES M. HATHAWAY, JR.

Columbia University.

THE OLD NORTHUMBRIAN PLURAL IN *-eð*, *-es*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—In his review of Dr. J. D. Rodeffer's dissertation on *The Inflection of the English Present Plural Indicative with special reference to the Northern Dialect* (1903), in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. XX, p. 55, Professor Alphonso C. Smith mentions Dr. Rodeffer as the first to note the fact that the Old Northumbrian plurals in *-eð*, *-es* may have been formed on the analogy of the *-eð* and *-es* of the third singular. I take the liberty of pointing out

that, on different occasions, I have advanced the same hypothesis in a more or less categorical form. In my dissertation, *Die Sprache des Rituals von Durham* (Helsingfors, 1890), p. 77, I suggested that the plurals in *-eð* (*giscineð*, etc.) were "vielleicht eine Analogiebildung nach der 3. Sing." In my article "Über die Verbreitung des sogenanntren *u*-(*o*-)Umlauts in der starken Verbalflexion des Altenglischen" (Herrig's *Archiv*, Vol. 89, p. 143; 1892), on mentioning the plural forms *genimeð*, etc., in the Lindisfarne Gospels, I added: "dabei sind die singularen Endungen zu beachten, welche eine Übertragung der Singularform vermuten lassen." Finally, in my treatment of the language of the Rushworth Gospels in the *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, Heft x (1901), p. 129, in reference to the plural endings *-eð*, *-es*, I used the words: "Es handelt sich hier nicht um eine schwächung des endungsvocals, bezw. um eine übertragung der endung des sing., sondern wie die formen *cymeð*, *cweðeð*, u. s. w., beweisen, um die anwendung der singularformen in pluralischer funktion."

I beg to add that I have not yet read the dissertation of Dr. Rodeffer.

U. Lindelöf.

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Professor Bernays' Library.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—The library of Michael Bernays, late professor of German literature at Munich, has recently been presented to the University of Chicago. As Bernays worked entirely from the comparative point of view and specialized in the eighteenth century, his collection, which consists of some nine thousand volumes, is rich in original editions of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Wieland, Herder, Haller, Bodmer, Breitinger, etc., etc.; Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, Houdar de la Motte, Marivaux, etc., etc.; Metastasio, Alfieri, Gozzi, etc., etc., and in works on these authors, especially on Goethe and Schiller. The collection further contains many valuable German periodicals of this epoch, *e. g.*, "Discourse der Mahlern," "Horen," "Propyläen," "Thalia," also Musenalmanache, Taschenbücher, etc.

The romantic movement in various countries is represented by editions of Wackenroder, Tieck, the Schlegels, etc.; Chateaubriand, Madame dc Staël, Monti, etc., etc.; the "Athenäum," "Europa," etc.

In addition to eighteenth and early nineteenth century material, are found a few important works bearing on the Middle Ages and a considerable number dealing with the seventeenth century, especially in France; furthermore, an important Dante collection, several Petrarch editions, Tasso, Ariosto, etc., etc.

As ancillary to the main collection should be mentioned valuable matter on German philosophy, on political and church-history; moreover, several rarities, as Magnin's "Les Origines du Théâtre moderne," Adelung's "Magazin für die deutsche Sprache," Bayle's "Dictionnaire historique et critique," etc.

Camillo von Klenze.

University of Chicago.

Luftkegel.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—The game of *Luftkegel* (cf. 'Query,' *Mod. L. N.*, vol. xx, p. 126), is played with a set of regulation nine-pins, set up, as in the regular game of nine-pins, with the king at the centre. As I saw the game a year or two ago at Maulbronn, Württemberg, it was played in a garden, the pins being set up on a slab of stone, which had marks to indicate the proper position of the pins. The player stands some ten feet from the pins, while the ball, when at rest, hangs suspended from a point above and between the player and the pins. The length of the rope is such that the ball, when properly swung, can reach all the pins, while it never touches the ground, but gyrates through the air—hence the name. The player has three shots, and the scoring is not by the mere number of pins down, but according to the various more or less difficult combinations which remain—the highest possible score being, if I remember correctly, when the king pin remains alone. I am told that the game, in reduced size, can be had at toy-shops in this country, my informant, however, did not know the English name by which it passed.

W. Kurrelmeyer.

Johns Hopkins University.

CORRECTION.

In the May number of this journal, page 135, second column, second paragraph, read: The *Biographia Dramatica* records under "*Narcissus*" only the translation of the comedy of J. J. Rousseau, which is obviously out of the question, etc.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THE PRINTED TEXT OF FOUR FABLIAUX IN THE *Recueil général et complet des fabliaux* COMPARED WITH THE READINGS IN THE HARLEIAN MS., 2253.

Whatever the literary value of the Fabliaux may be, their value as records of the French language is incontestable. Perhaps no other documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries bring us so close to the every-day speech of that time. Hence the desirability of publishing them accurately,—though accuracy is desirable wherever knowledge is to be obtained. Old-fashioned editors have tampered and tinkered to such a degree in many cases that it seems as if they deserved to be described, not as editors, but as belated and unbidden collaborators of the original authors. For persons of this kind there is no harm in leaving out a verse or so from time to time, or even a page, if need be, and the omission is often made in silence. Others silently alter what they do not like or cannot understand.

But science looks askance on such methods nowadays. The documents of the past have won respect; to cite them wrongly is considered a misdemeanour, though the fairminded are always ready to allow for the difficulties that most scholars have to encounter, and the difficulties are numerous. Sometimes a manuscript has to be copied by whoever can be got to copy it; often the copy is less legible than the original; sometimes the printer is at fault, or eyes fail, or notes are lost. In short, a thousand difficulties lie in the road, and a thousand mishaps may occur before the work is finished.

For these reasons anything that might be taken amiss in the comparisons that follow may be considered to have arisen from a desire to state the facts as plainly as possible rather than from an intention to criticise unfavourably a valuable contribution to the stock of knowledge now at our disposal in the field of Romance literature.

Although no precise statement to that effect is to be found in the first, or even in later volumes, of the *Recueil général et complet des fabliaux*, it seems clear that the aim of Anatole de Montaiglon, and subsequently of his collaborator, M. Gaston Raynaud as well, was to print the one hundred and fifty or more extant fabliaux as they are found in the manuscripts, without attempting to edit them to any considerable extent. Indeed, no avowed alterations whatever were made in the text of the pieces printed in the first volume, all of which Montaiglon declares in his *Avant-propos* (XIV–XV) to be derived from the one manuscript that has preserved them—"le premier volume n'a pas de variantes parce que les pieces qui y sont contenues ne se trouvent que dans un seul manuscrit." In Vol. II, however, it comes to light that several of the said pieces are to be found in other manuscripts, and in Vol. II begin the *Notes et Variantes*, which occur in each later volume. Exactly what method is followed in printing the texts is not quite clear. One finds random remarks on this head scattered along infrequently. Whatever the truth may be, neither the text nor the *Notes et Variantes* of the *Recueil* show precisely and in a thoroughly trustworthy manner what is found in the Harleian MS. 2253, and therefore I shall try to set the matter straight for four fabliaux by simply printing the right reading under the false or misleading text of the *Recueil*.

The four fabliaux whose text we are about to deal with were taken, as has been said, from the Harl. MS. 2253. This manuscript is not described by Montaiglon, but information as to its age and character will be found in H. L. D. Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 813 ff. It will suffice here to remark that Harl. 2253 is not a difficult manuscript to read, a fact which makes it rather hard to understand why or

how so many mistakes should have found their way into the *Recueil*. Some of these mistakes are very insignificant, to be sure, but others are not, and it is well to add that in philology, at least, one can never know for sure that a trifling error may not turn out to be a deal less trifling than it seemed. In other words, there is no good reason for being inaccurate whether the inaccuracy seem great or small.

Following the order of my note-books, I shall take up the four fabliaux thus: (a) LII, *Le Roi d'Angleterre et le Jongleur d'Ely*, (b) XLVIII, *Le Dit de la Gageure*, (c) XLVII, *Du Chevalier à la Corbeille*, (d) XCIX, *Des Trois Dames*. In Vol. II, p. 356, of the *Recueil* occurs the statement that "Le ms. met toujours *n* a la place de *u*." *Souvent* or *en général* would be nearer the truth.

The first of these (*a*) is printed in Vol. II, pp. 242–256, and is numbered LII. I shall quote each inaccurate verse exactly as it appears in the *Recueil*. The manuscript reading will immediately follow. The verse-numbering of the *Recueil* is so meagre and often so inaccurate that I shall refer simply to the pages.

Page 251,

(1) Com il se tient valer fient de cheval!
chyual

(2) Si derra ascun de soun grée
dirra

Page 253,

(3) Si ele soit auqua hontouse
auque

(4) Rybaudz en dirront villeynie.
Rybaudz en dirrount uileynye

(5) Si dirra ascun qe vus regard:
regart

Page 254,

(6) "Cesti mavais chien recreant
recreaunt

(7) Si je su mesgre: "Bels douz cher,
belz donz cher

(8) Mort est de faim; il n'a qe manger."
faym

Page 255,

(9) Tost dirrount: "C'est un bercu."
boscu or *bescu*. At all events, not *bercu*.

(10) Cesti n'est mie matle, mès femmel."
madle

(11) E si petitz sei de estat,
se

(12) Car nulle rien ne purroi fere
Qar nulle rien purroi fere

(13) Vus dites voir, a mien ascient.
asscient

(14) Coment me puis countener

For *puis* the manuscript gives a character resembling j' if the apostrophe be curved over to meet the dot and the tail of the j be carried up so as to meet the bottom of the apostrophe. [As *suis* (< sum) is often represented by *su* in Harl. 2253, perhaps the abbreviation might reasonably be taken to mean *pu*. This, however, is purely a suggestion and *puis* is preferable, though *pus* occurs. See (19).]

(15) Si vus vostre estat veillez bien garder,
vueillez

Page 256,

(16) Car vos meymes savez bien
Qar

(17) E le latim est ensi:
latyn

The second (*b*), also from Harl. 2253, is printed in Vol. II, pp. 193–196, and is numbered XLVIII. I quote each inaccurate verse exactly as it appears in the *Recueil*. The manuscript reading immediately follows.

Page 193,

(18) E l'esquyer la daunoa,
daunea

Page 195,

(19) Puis pensout si a bon mester
Pus

[See (14).]

(20) Si l'a en my le coun donné:
done

The third (*c*), also from Harl. 2253, is printed in Vol. II, pp. 183–186, and is numbered XLVII. I quote each inaccurate verse with the correct reading underneath.

Page 183,

(21) S'entraimerent jadis d'amour
Sentramerent

Page 184,

(22) E mès q'il geytee ne l'aust,

Perhaps *la ust*—the MS. reading—(<*illam habuisset) would be a better reading, or even

l'ust,—to "edit" the text. At any rate *aust* could hardly be considered otherwise than as an orthographic variant of *eust;* for *habuisset* regularly gives *eust* in Anglo-Norman, as in Francian. For Anglo-Norman texts the versification test is most untrustworthy because Anglo-Norman scribes, and probably a majority of the Anglo-Norman writers, were far less scrupulous about having the right number of syllables in each verse than were their contemporaries in France. Proof of this statement is hardly necessary, yet I may cite a few verses from the fabliaux, choosing them at random :

Vol. II, p. 93,

S'ele seüst que il l'amast,

[But *el* often occurs instead of *ele.* Here, however, every syllable is needed to make the eight.]

Ib., p. 98,

S'el le séust, n'en pallast jà.

So much for *seust* (< sapuisset).

Ib., p. 259,

Quar pleust ore Dieu et Saint Leu

So much for a single example of *pleust* (< placuisset). Now as to *eust* (< habuisset).

Ib., p. 217,

Ne vodroient k'il eüst enui.

[*vodroient* probably is trisyllabic. If so, *eust* is a monosyllable, granting the versification to be correct.]

Ib., p. 218,

Ke de sa femme eust felt (*sic*) folie.

[Here, if the versification is correct, *eust* must count as a monosyllable.]

Ib., p. 222,

E s'il ne eust de li le amur.

[Here *eust* may count for two syllables ; for the definite article is no doubt elided.]

Ib., p. 228,

Com il ne eüst el cors grevance : [*eust* dissyllabic?]

The quotations seem to show clearly enough that *eust* had not yet become exclusively monosyllabic, but that it was often so. Hence the *laust* of the manuscript may justifiably be divided thus : *la ust*, a division which is furthermore authorized by the fact that *aust* would be either very archaic, if the *a* is not due to mere carelessness on the scribe's part. In *aust* the *a* would, of course, be atonic. See (24).]

Ib., p. 185,

(23) D'un affere qe ge repens."
de um affere qe ie pens

[Amended by the editors, as is done elsewhere, without their calling attention to the fact in the *Notes et Variantes.*]

Ib., p. 185,

(24) Qar s'el eust la langue trayte,
Quar si ele ust la lange trayte.

[Amended as above, and without acknowledgment.]

Ib., p. 186,

(25) Auxi de nuytz come de jurs.
iours.

Ib., p. 186,

(26) Um di qe veeille gent sunt sourdz,
dit

Ib., p. 186,

(27) Si Diu peüst mon cors salver,
dieu

Ib., p. 186,

(28) Q'uncore anuit seyenz seroi,
seynz serroi

Ib., p. 187,

(29) Qar, si saienz estoyez mis
sa eynz estoiez

Ib., p. 188,

(30) E que la gent se soit cochee ;
cochie

[Not *cochié* (which is impossible).]

The fourth (*d*), XCIX. (DES. III. DAMES), also from Harl. 2253, fol. 110 ff., is printed in Vol. IV of the *Recueil*, pp. 128–132. As before I shall cite each verse exactly as it is printed, then give the manuscript reading underneath.

Vol. IV, p. 128,

(31) Puisqe de fabler ay comencé,
Puis qe

[A most insignificant difference ; but why not show it, as is done elsewhere in the *Recueil?*]

Ib., p. 128,

(32) Ja n'yert pur moun travail lessé :
ia ny ert

[No note on this apparently correct alteration.]

Ib., p. 128,

(33) En pelrynage come vouué avoyent,
vowe [> English "vow."]

Ib., p. 128,

(34) La une garda en un sentier :
senter

Ib., p. 129,

(35) Devant nous est une mesons de noneynz,
mesonc

[Mr. Herbert of the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum, thought the final letter was meant for an *e*, and in Vol. II, p. 333, note 14, reads : "—*Meson ; ms., *Mesone.*" I doubt this *e* for etymological reasons. At all events, it would be a curious *s*. As for *mesonc*, cf. *ung*, with its useless *g*, occurring constantly in documents that also give us *un*. For this fabliau versification affords no criterion : it would be hard to find an example of greater irregularity, even in Anglo-Norman poetry. This dialect was already in an advanced state of decomposition, and it need hardly be said that the rules of versification were broken as often and as violently as were the rules of grammar. In other words, French was becoming unfamiliar to men who were hearing English spoken on every hand. The French now spoken in Canada and New England, and much of the German spoken in the United States, offer an unmistakable and convincing analogy.]

Ib., p. 129,

(36) Mout seinte, dames e chapeleynz
Qe Dieu servent nuit e jour.

[The manuscript is, of course, not punctuated, and it seems to me that the editors should have put no comma after *seinte*. Obviously *seinte* modifies *dames*. The lack of an *s* on *seinte* is not in the least astounding. It was silent in this case anyhow, and furthermore, such failures of ocular agreements are so common in Anglo-Norman documents that it is unnecessary even to cite examples.]

Ib., p. 130,

(37) E meyntenant ount demandez
demaundez

Ib., p. 130,

(38) Mès il ne urent qe poi esté,
estee [Riming with *desgree.*]

In the *Avant-propos* with which Montaiglon introduces the *Recueil* he cites, apparently as a statement of an ideal to be aimed at, these words, written by Victor Leclerc : "Il est permis de désirer encore une édition collective des Fabliaux, rigoureusement revue sur les manuscrits, correcte, méthodique, bornée au seul genre des contes, enrichie et non surchargée d'eclaircissements, de gloses, de parallèles avec les divers pays et qui apprenne à la France quel rang elle occupait dans la poésie narrative au XIII^e^ siècle." No doubt this ideal goal is in the main pretty constantly and faithfully aimed at throughout the *Recueil;* yet whoever compares the printed text with the manuscript known as Harley 2253 will discover at least the differences above noted. However small they may be or seem, these differences are worth pointing out in order that those who devote their energies to studying the Fabliaux may not rely all too trustfully on the printed text of the *Recueil général.* And may we not conclude that many a modern editor is after all only a descendant of the old scribes, who copied sometimes well, sometimes ill. Perhaps the main difference is that the modern scribe is more self-conscious. In copying some old document he is oftener and more keenly aware of an obligation to be loyal to it as a record of the past. Those who are to benefit by his work rely on him to be accurate. In studying old texts no suspicion is more annoying than the suspicion that this or that reading is not what the manuscript or printed book contains ; yet to the vast majority of scholars the original source is usually inaccessible. It seems desirable, therefore, that the original, if there be only one, should be accurately reproduced in every case, whatever textual revision is attempted outside the text ; and if there is more than one "original," then the editor should at least enable his reader to know the exact text of the original which the editor considers the best.

The movement set on foot by Prof. Gayley of the University of California, has received the cordial approbation of scholars far and wide. Genuine facsimiles, not humbugs like the *Pathelin* of Baillieu's Bibliothèque Gothique, are needed everywhere, but especially in the United States. As the reverence for authority wanes, especially for the mere printed opinion of an individual as to what really ought to have been written by some

older scribe, the value set on facsimiles[1] is bound to increase. A camera is the trustiest scribe of all. It is a pity that photography was unknown to the earliest editors. They might have glossed as often as they felt impelled. The importance of the fact that botanists, and like scientists, can not easily alter their specimens before offering them to their fellow students can hardly be too highly estimated.

RICHARD HOLBROOK.

Columbia University.

THE NUMBERS IN THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE OLD ENGLISH *Judith*.

The opinion has long been current that the Old English *Judith*, as we have it, represents but a small part of a long poem, the rest of which is lost. On the other hand, basing their theory upon the extraordinary unity of the portion which remains, several scholars have recently reached the conclusion that the *Judith* is almost complete as it stands. Against this seemingly plausible hypothesis is urged the apparently insurmountable difficulty that in the manuscript are found the numbers X, XI, XII, which would seem to indicate that divisions I–IX, inclusive, have been lost, save for the last fourteen lines of IX.

Now, it is a curious coincidence, and possibly a significant one, that these numbers correspond, respectively, to the 10th verse of chapter 12, the 11th verse of chapter 13, and the 12th verse of chapter 14, of the *Apocryphal Judith*. In each case, the thought, at that point in the poem where a number is inserted, will be found to fit the thought of a corresponding verse in the Apocryphal version. More specifically, the number X occurs in the manuscript of the poem just before line 15, and marks the beginning of the feast prepared by Holofernes "*on the fourth day after Judith first sought him.*" Verse 10 of chapter 12 in the *Apocryphal Judith* (the numbering of the English version corresponding, in this case, to that of the Vulgate), reads: "*And in the fourth day Holofernes made a feast.*" . . . . The number XI occurs in the manuscript before line 122, where we are told that God granted success to Judith (this being merely a repetition of the poet's thought added here to connect what precedes with what follows), and then that she placed the head of Holofernes in a bag and returned to Bethulia. Verse 11 of chapter 13 of the Vulgate (the English version being differently numbered here) states that Judith put the head of Holofernes in a bag and returned to Bethulia. Number XII occurs in the manuscript before line 236, where the leaders of the Assyrian army become terrified, send word to the "oldest thanes," who assemble, and then proceed to the tent of Holofernes. Lines 236–241[a] are resumptive, the important facts, *i. e.*, the summoning of officers and the rush to Holofernes' tent, immediately following. Verse 12 of chapter 14 of the Vulgate shows the Assyrian leaders assembling before the tent of Holofernes.

These three numbers, X, XI, XII, may be regarded as sign-posts along the poet's path, set up to direct him from one important event to another. We naturally wonder what other verses of the chapters in the Vulgate, which precede the account represented by the present poem, served as similar landmarks. The conclusion is as startling as it is easily reached. By considering the thought expressed in verse 9 of chapter 11, 8 of chapter 10, and so on through chapter 8, where Judith is first mentioned, we obtain a satisfactory plan of the whole poem as it may have been written. This may be seen at a glance from the following table:

Verse 6 of chapter 8:	Judith's sincere mourning for her husband.
Verse 7 of chapter 9:	Judith prays for salvation from the Assyrians, whom she would have God treat as He once treated the Egyptians.
Verse 8 of chapter 10:	The blessings of the elders bestowed upon Judith just before her departure to Bethulia.

[1] Thanks to Mme. James de Rothschild and to M. Émile Picot, a facsimile of the *Patelin*, printed at Paris about 1500 by Marion de Malaunoy, widow of Master Pierre Le Caron, has lately been published by the Société des Anciens Textes français. Le Roy's edition may before long be published in facsimile.

Verse 9 of chapter 11: Keynote to Judith's shrewd management of Holofernes. The Hebrews must be made to sin, to be overcome.

Verse 10 of chapter 12: The feast on the fourth day.

Verse 11 of chapter 13: Judith's return to Bethulia with the head of Holofernes.

Verse 12 of chapter 14: Terror of the Assyrians at the Hebrew onslaught, and their assembly at the tent of Holofernes.

The sequence of numbers in each of these two columns, read vertically, with a difference of 2 between each set of numbers, read horizontally, as 6–8, 7–9, etc., suggests the Anglo-Saxon fondness for runes, riddles, and the like. Possibly, in the earlier manuscripts of the poem, the corresponding verses of the Vulgate may have been inserted, after the analogy of the custom of inserting rubrics in the Breviary. Ælfric, in his homily on *Judith*, has put both chapter and verse numberings at the margin, so that it is easy to see how closely he followed the Apocryphal narrative. If the numbers x, xi, xii, of the poem, refer to verses of the Apocryphal version, then the chapter numbers are either obliterated or they may never have been inserted, since it was the verse that was important. One verse may have been taken from each chapter, in regular order, only the number of each *verse* being inserted in the manuscript.

Now, if we regard these numbers in the manuscript as sign-posts, we can readily understand the extraordinary unity of the poem, for only important events, with details sufficient merely to afford clearness, force, coherence, and picturesqueness are mentioned. Moreover, we may gain some light on the vexed question of how much of the poem is lost. As it is, the poem begins just before the feast, and then proceeds with great rapidity and force to the final victory of the Hebrews. What comes before the feast, which is the crucial point in the story, must be wholly introductory. The questions then, are, what was included in the introduction, and how long may this have been? Considering the unity and the rapidity of movement, we must conclude that nine very short divisions constituted the introduction, and that all together these would be no longer than one of the existing divisions, as from x to xi. But taking into account the fact that as compared with the events after the feast, those which preceded it are relatively unimportant, we may reasonably suppose that the introduction was shorter than one of these divisions, consisting, perhaps, of some seventy-five lines. Basing our conjectures upon the foregoing table, we might conclude that the introduction would present some description and characterization of Judith, and a suggestion of her conduct in widowhood. Then would follow the reason for her prayer, namely, the oppression of the Assyrians, and her preparations for the departure from Bethulia. She would then receive the blessings of the elders, and these sorrowful friends would open the gates for her to go out. Then there would be some account of Judith's deception of Holofernes. We should be given a reason for Judith's appearance in the Assyrian camp, such as is not afforded by the poem in its present form. Judith, with all her shrewdness, would certainly not have supposed that her beauty alone would make it possible for her to obtain an opportunity of accomplishing her secret purpose. She would have sought Holofernes, as the *Apocryphal Judith* tells us that she did, and the poem does not, with some definite proposition. Then the poet, in anticipation of the successful issue of Judith's expedition, would very naturally have ended his introduction with lines 1–14 of the present poem. The note struck here, "firm faith in the Almighty," reverberates through the entire poem, and strongly reëchoes at the close, not necessarily indicating that the poem is practically complete as we have it, but showing that the introduction was thoroughly artistic in ending with, and thus anticipating, the lesson of the poem.

If the poem *Judith* were written to-day, who can doubt that some such introduction as that indicated would be attached?[1] And would not the facts suggested for inclusion, told in some seventy-five lines, or possibly in fifty, enhance the unity of the poem, rather than detract from it? On the other hand, if, as ten Brink and others conjecture,

[1] Cf. T. B. Aldrich: *Judith and Holofernes*, and *Judith of Bethulia*.

three-quarters of the poem are lost, the unity would certainly be impaired by unnecessary material in the first part of the poem. If, again, but a dozen or so lines are missing, we should feel the lack of a good deal that is really essential to the logical sequence of events, as already indicated.

In this connection, it is interesting to observe how other writers have treated the story of Judith, especially in the introduction. In a homily on the subject, Ælfric, who flourished at a time not far remote from that of the author of the Old English *Judith*, whatever date we assign to this, has provided an adequate setting for the story. Dismissing the superabundance of details included, we find in Ælfric's homily facts that we should expect, and really need, by way of introduction. Better still, in an Old French prose version of the story, written by Olivier de la Marche in 1488 or a few years later, which is more artistic than Ælfric's homily,[2] there are narrated some of the events which may have been included in the original of the Old English *Judith*. Thus Judith is briefly described and characterized, we are told that she exhorted her people to trust in God and to pray continually for deliverance from the Assyrians. Then she departed by night with her attendant, leaving guards at the gates. She appeared before Holofernes who, struck by her beauty, inquired the cause of her appearance. She, "using deliberate judgment, replied that the Gods of Israel were at enmity among themselves, and therefore she hesitated to remain in the city." After these preliminary statements, the narrative moves rapidly through the feast and its consequent events, to the dramatic close of the story. Although, throughout this Old French version, there is less vigor and vividness than in the Old English poem, it is interesting to note that its introduction is not only brief, but adequate and artistic, as must have been the introduction to the poem if it ever existed. But since the art of the poem is so striking, we can hardly hesitate to say that its author did, in all probability, provide a sufficient setting for his story.

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[2] Professor Albert S. Cook has kindly called my attention to this Old French version, the connection of which with the Old English *Judith* seems not to have been noticed. It is found on pages 43–45 of *Le Triumphe des Dames*. Cf. also Du Bartos: *The History of Judith in forme of a Poeme.* (Englished by T. Hudson; Edinburgh, 1584.)

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TRANSLATION OF *Ariosto*.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, William Huggins, Esq., and Temple Henry Croker, both had to do with certain translations from the Italian, and their biographers have made contradictory statements of their claims to authorship. The following bits of evidence should serve to clear up at least a part of the confusion.

Under *Ariosto*, Lowndes has "Orlando Furioso in Italian and English, by Temple Henry Croker. London, 1755, 4to., 2 v.," with this comment: "In some copies of this edition (which is in no estimation) the name of Temple Henry Croker is given, in others (erroneously) that of William Huggins appears as translator." Under Croker, the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* cites the above translation, but says nothing of the one ascribed to Huggins; under Huggins, it gives the translation claimed for him, without mention of Croker's. Neither biographer in the *DNB.* seems aware that the *Brit. Mus. Cat.* records, under Huggins's translation: "This is a duplicate of the preceding work, professing to be a translation by T. H. Croker."

This "professing to be" of the *B. M. Cat.* is, so far as I know, the only question of Croker's claim; but the evidence at least confutes the "erroneously" of Lowndes's reference to Huggins. The title page of the translation of 1755 (Brit. Mus. 638, k. 12, 13) reads: ORLANDO FURIOSO, by LUDOVICO ARIOSTO, in Italian and English (bust of Ariosto by R: Strange; then four lines from Horace), Vol. I. Printed for the EDITOR, in Rupert-Street, M, DCC, LV. The Dedication runs: "To His Most Sacred Majesty, George the Second, By the Grace of God, Of Great Britain, France, & Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. This Edition and Translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, are, With all Sub-

mission, most humbly Inscribed, By His Majesty's most devoted, most dutiful, subject and servant, Temple Henry Croker." Volume II ends on page 42, a misprint for 423. The *Gent. Mag.* for April, 1755 (vol. 25, p. 190b), in its list of books has: "21. Orlando Furioso, in Italian and English. 1 l. 11s. 6d. sewed. Sold at Mrs. Croker's, in Rupert-Street."

It is to be noted that the title page says the translation was "printed for the editor;" that in the dedication Croker does not explicitly call himself the translator, though that inference is unavoidable; and that the *Gent. Mag.* (perhaps carelessly) assumes that the translation is anonymous.

The name of Huggins appears on the title page of an edition of 1757 (not, as Lowndes implies, on "some copies" of that of 1755) which runs (Br. Mus. 638, k. 14): ORLANDO FURIOSO, by LUDOVICO ARIOSTO, Translated from the Italian, By William Huggins, Esq. (the cut, the quotation, and Vol. I, as before), London: Printed for James Rivington and James Fletcher, at the Oxford Theater, in Paternoster Row; And John Cook, Bookseller, at Farnham, in Surry. M.DCC.LVII. Volume II ends the translation as in the ed. of 1755, even to the misprint of 42 for 423 in the paging, and adds: Annotations on the O.F., which begin with a Prolegomenon; Amendments (Canto 42 is the only one without any); an Index; and a translation of Dr. P---y's Epistle to the Hon. Mr. T---r H---n. "Done in English by the translator of Ariosto's O.F. Intended as a specimen, how closely, by proper Care, any Work may be rendered, without losing the Spirit of the Original."

In the next to the last paragraph of his Prolegomenon, Huggins says: "There were circumstances, not suitable here to recount, that unluckily made a precipitate publication unavoidable." The last paragraph reads: "An Index has been said to be extreamly wanted, as well as explanatory notes to numbers of places; to which I have also added some critical and others, I hope, entertaining, written with that freedom of pen and gaiety of heart, which the perusal of this enchanting author must at all times produce. If this additional attempt to gratify my countrymen should have its effect, I should rest content: *Nec fami, nec famae inservio.*"

In April, 1757, the *Gent. Mag.* (vol. 27, p. 180b) printed a poem of fifteen heroic couplets by "T. K.", addressed "To Wm. Huggins, Esq., on his Translation of Ariosto's O.F." The *Gent. Mag.* did not otherwise note the appearance of the translation of 1757, but the *Critical Review* for May, 1757 (vol. 3, pp. 385–398), praises it highly, speaks always of "the author," and says: "Tho' this work was printed before the *Critical Review* commenced, it did not appear in public till the year 1756, and therefore it falls properly under our cognisance." Unless 1756 is a misprint, it seems likely that the edition of 1757 was post-dated.

In July, 1757, the *Critical Review* (vol. 4, p. 83) notices "Orlando Furioso di Messer L. A., tradotto in versi Latini," etc., and speaks of "Mr. Huggin's accurate translation of this great poet, a character of which may be found in the third volume of the *Critical Review.*"

In December, 1758, the *Critical Review*, in noticing "Part of O.F., Translated from the original Italian by W. Huggins, Esq., 4to, Rivington, pr. 6d," says (vol. 6, p. 506): "Mr. Huggins, with a delicacy peculiar to himself, fearing that some cantos of his Ariosto, which were translated by another hand, might, in some measure, invalidate the merit he claims as translator of that admired work; and piqued, as it appears, at some particulars in the private conduct of the gentleman whose assistance he had accepted, has been at the trouble to retranslate those few cantos done by his auxiliary, and now publishes them in a separate pamphlet, for the use of those who have purchased, or may purchase, his Ariosto." This paragraph seems to explain some of the "circumstances" of Huggins's Prolegomenon.

Croker's side of the case appears early the next year. In February, 1759, the *Critical Review* notices (vol. 7, p. 180) "The Satires of Ludovico Ariosto, translated by Rev. Mr. H--rt--n & T. H. C." In the life of Ariosto prefixed to the translation, and signed Temple Henry Croker, he says at the end (pp. 12, 13 of Br. Mus. 240, l. 28): "What I have done, I did for the sake of those, which that gentleman [Rev. Mr. H--rt--n] generously gave me, as a reward for my boldness in ushering Ariosto's greater part of O.F. to the light. The translations of that work and this are different; that literal, this

diffuse: That has been complained of, as being stiff: Whoever will lay themselves under the same restrictions, as the gentleman did, for whom I translated a considerable part thereof, and to which rules I was consequently obliged to confine myself, will find, whether their verses will flow as smoothly as the present taste requires."

The *Critical Review's* "few cantos" and Croker's "greater part" do not agree, if by "ushering to the light" Croker meant "translating." Unfortunately, the brief notice in the *Critical Review* is all I know of Huggins's pamphlet; I have not even found any other hint of its existence. If it is extant, we can easily decide what parts of the original translation Huggins was willing to concede to Croker. Croker's own paragraph is enough, however, to refute Lowndes's "erroneously."

Croker's share in the translation of the Satires is not very great, for (as noted in the Catalog of the Dyce Collection) Satires I, III, IV, V, and VI are signed "H---n," and only II and VII "T. H. C---r." (The catalog of the Astor Library attributes the whole volume to Croker.)

Of Huggins's "delicacy," as the *Critical Review* called it, we have further evidence in *The Observer Observ'd, or remarks on a tract, intitled, Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spencer*, by T. Warton, M. A. (Br. Mus. 1346 g). This pamphlet appeared anonymously in 1756, and was noticed by the *Gent. Mag.* in May (vol. 26, p. 254 a). The *DNB.* attributes this to Huggins positively, and the *Br. Mus. Cat.* doubtfully. The pamphlet really has nothing to say about Spenser, but pays chief attention to Warton's remarks about Ariosto, and spends many pages in showing Warton's ignorance of Italian, and in quoting the "new Translation" (*i. e.*, that of 1755) in order to expose Warton the better. In the Annotations to the O.F. of 1757, Huggins refers often to Spenser, almost always to expose Warton's ignorance of Ariosto, and twice at least (Notes on Canto XX, st. 139, and Canto XXIII, st. 83) refers Warton "to the study'd book, *The Observer Observ'd*, for ample satisfaction." In 1759, at the foot of page thirteen of his Life of Ariosto, Croker explicitly disclaims the authorship of *The Observer Observ'd*, so that he cannot be "the author who has lately translated Ariosto," who "had, some time before, written a pamphlet called *The Observer Observ'd.*" (*Gent. Mag.* for February, 1759; vol. 29, p. 83 b.) Huggins's authorship of *The Observer Observ'd* would, therefore, seem reasonably certain.

But we are not yet done with Huggins and Croker. In 1755, the year of the first edition of *O.F.*, there appeared a Translation of Sonnets from the Italian of Giovanni Battista Felice Zappa. This volume was also in quarto, and had the Italian and English on opposite pages. Unlike the *O.F.*, it had both Italian and English title pages, the English one reading "Printed for the Editor in Rupert Street," which is exactly the statement of the *O.F.* title page of 1755. Perhaps this word "editor" is due to the "editore" of the Italian opposite.

The *DNB.*, without giving any reasons, ascribes this translation to Huggins, but the copy in the Dyce Collection (the only one I could find) contains the following MS. dedication: "To the Right Honorable Lady Hester Pitt, Madam, Fearful of my offending had I presum'd to make that Goodness publick, which I am so deeply indebted to; I, much against my will, forbore inscribing these Sonnets to Your Ladyship in Print, but could not withhold my pen from giving this private Testimony of my Gratitude. Temple Henry Croker." On the authority of this dedication, of which the *DNB.* does not seem to know, the Dyce Collection assigns the translation to Croker.

These three publications—the *O.F.*, the Satires, and these Sonnets—seem to mark Croker's entire connection with Italian. His part in the Satires is confessedly very small; his part in the *O.F.* is pretty surely subordinate, for Huggins could certainly not have published at sixpence any considerable portion of a book that sold to subscribers at one pound eleven, even if he were willing to retranslate so much. Croker's entire responsibility for the Sonnets seems, therefore, fairly open to scrutiny, if not to dispute.

The "printed for the editor" of both the Sonnet and the *O.F.* title pages, coupled with the *Gent. Mag's* "Sold by MRS. Croker," makes one suspect that Croker was using the word editor in a designedly ambiguous sense. The fact that neither dedication clearly and distinctly claims the authorship for Croker, when added to the fact

that his name does not appear on either title page, seems strange. Moreover, we know that the dedication of the *O.F.* is not fair, because it gives no hint of Huggins's share in the translation. If this seems unfair to Croker, it may be urged that when Croker does defend himself, in his Life of Ariosto, he objects, not to Huggins's injustice, but only to his narrow views of what translation should be; and when he disclaims the authorship of *The Observer Observ'd*, he does so because he professes to have no taste for that kind of controversy.

Whether or not the Sonnets preceded the *O.F.*, I do not know; the printed dedication to George II. perhaps followed the more timid one to Lady Hester Pitt. Moreover, the Sonnets might fairly precede the more ambitious *O.F.* The Sonnets are all of fourteen lines, rhymed in couplets, which suggests a closeness of translation in accord with Huggins's theories.

When Huggins died in 1761, the *Gent. Mag.* recorded in its List of Deaths (vol. 31, p. 364 b): "July 2. Wm. Huggins, Esq.; of Headly-Park, Hants, translator of Ariosto." Croker's death, which the *DNB.* thinks was about 1790, was not reported by the *Gent. Mag.*

The willingness of later generations to give Croker all the credit for the translation of the *O.F.*, may arise from the fact that copies of the 1755 edition are about as numerous as those of the 1757 edition. It is possible that John Hoole, the next translator of the *O.F.*, was thus misled, when he wrote in the preface to his translation (1783): "We have indeed two versions of the *O.F.*, the first . . . by Sir J. Harrington. . . . The last translation, sent into the world, was professedly given by its author as a literal version." But Hoole published his translation of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* in 1763, and was therefore likely to know the facts about so considerable a translation from Italian.

The relations between Huggins and Croker seem to be thus: Huggins, who was born in 1696, and was therefore almost sixty when he took to translating, lived in the country, and in getting into print was glad to avail himself of the help of young Croker, who was chaplain to an Earl, and thus able to get subscribers, as well as to persuade titled persons to accept his dedications. But Croker wrote diplomatic dedications, ambiguously called himself "editor," and, judging from the break in their relations, and his own failure to suggest any injustice on Huggins's part, must have put himself in the wrong. At any rate, the evidence, which is fairly complete, seems to warrant our conclusions.

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A CONTRIBUTION TO A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MEDIEVAL DRAMA.

The wide and deep interest which the medieval drama has aroused within the past few years, justifies the hope that we shall soon have a reasonably complete bibliography of the subject. Stoddard's bibliography, published nearly twenty years ago, was an admirable piece of work, remarkably complete for a first attempt (despite Chambers' characterization of it as a "rough attempt"). But since its publication the literature of the subject has grown immensely. Chambers' list comes up to date, but not being classified, Stoddard's compilation must still remain the nucleus for any future effort. A few additions to Chambers' list were recently published in *Modern Language Notes* by Professor Phelps. Here follows another supplement. It contains two or three titles found in previous bibliographies (noted in each case), but they have been repeated in order to draw special attention to them. Any work deserving particular notice is commented on in an accompanying note. This will render the present list useful to the student.

Two works of special value deserve to stand apart:

Mantzius, K. A History of Theatrical Art. Trans. by L. von Cossel. 3 vols. London, 1903–4.

This book belongs to a group of five that stand preëminent among comprehensive treatises on the subject, the other four being the works of Chambers, Creizenach, Petit de Julleville, and d'Ancona.

Heinzel, R. Beschreibung des geistlichen Schauspiels im deutschen Mittelalter. (Beiträge zur Ästhetik. IV.) Hamburg, 1898.

This book is mentioned by Chambers, but it

does not receive the honorable mention deserved by the monumental character of its investigation into the technical phase of the medieval drama.

Amicis, V. de. L'Imitazione latina nella commedia italiana del XVI. secolo. 1897.

Batines, C. de. Bibliografia delle antiche rappresentazioni italiane sacre e profane stampate nei secoli XV e XVI. Firenze, 1852. [A valuable descriptive bibliography, giving also, wherever possible, the place of presentation.]

Benaut, L. Les dernières représentations de mystères dans nos campagnes. (Soc. hist. de Compiègne. Procès-Verbaux. 7.) 1898.

Blades, W. An Account of the German Morality-Play, entitled Depositis Cornuti Typographica, as performed in the 17th and 18th centuries. London, 1885.

Broadbent, R. A History of Pantomime. London, 1901.

Carson, W. Miracle Plays. (Am. Eccl. Rev., v. 27.) 1902.

Clédat, L. Étude sur le mystère provençal de Sainte Agnès. (Bibl. d'Éc. franç. d'Athène et de Rome. t. 1, fasc. 1.) 1877.

Coblentz, H. A Rime-Index to the "Parent Cycle" of the York Mystery Plays and a Portion of the Woodkirk Conspiracio et Capito. (Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.) 1895.

Deimling, H. Text-Gestalt und Text-Kritik der Chester plays. Berlin, 1890.

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Dickman, O. Maistre Pierre Patelin; essai litteraire et grammatical. Hamburg, 1875.

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Ebert, A. Die ältesten italienischen Mysterien. (Jahrb. für rom. und eng. Spr. und Lit., vol. 5.) [It is surprising that Chambers should have omitted this, in view of the fact that he gives Ebert's article on the English mysteries. Given in Stoddard.]

Fabre, A. Les clercs du palais; recherches hist. sur les Bazoches de Parlements et les sociétés dramatiques de Bazochiens et des Enfants-sans-Soucis. Lyon, 1856. 2nd ed., 1875.

Faguet, É. La Tragédie française au XVe siècle. Paris, 1894.

Flechsig, E. Die Dekoration der modernen Bühne in Italien von den Anfängen bis zum Schluss des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Dresden, 1894.

Floegel. Geschichte der komischen Litteratur. Leipzig, 1786.

Gautier, L. Poésie religieuse; IX. à XI. siècles. Paris, 1887.

Gayley, C. M. The Earlier Miracle Plays of England. (Intern. Quart. X.) 1904. [A suggestive contribution.]

Gayley, C. M. The Star of Bethlehem. New York. 1904. [An adaptation of the Nativity plays.]

Geist, H. Notice sur l'ancien théâtre français au XVI. siècle. (Programm der höheren Bürgerschule zu Mayen.) 1865. [Contains *La farce du cuvier*.]

Genée, R. Lehr- und Wanderjahre des deutschen Schauspiels. Berlin, 1882.

Genée, R. Geschichte der Bühneneinrichtungen. (In Speemann's Goldenes Buch des Theaters.) 1902.

Genin, F. Maistre Pierre Patelin; texte revu sur les manuscrits et les plus anciennes éditions, avec une introduction et des notes. Paris, 1854. [Reviewed by E. Littré in Rev. des deux mondes, 1855, p. 345, and by Magnin in Journal des Savants, 1855 and 1856.]

Gilbert, D. The Creation of the World, with Noah's Flood; written in Cornish in the year 1611, by William Jordan; with an English translation by John Keigwin. London, 1827. [Chambers gives Stokes' edition.]

Giraud, P., et Chevalier, U. Le Mystère des trois doms, 1887. [Valuable.]

Giudici, P. E. Storia del Teatro in Italia. Milano, 1860.

Goedeke, K. Everyman, Homulus und Hekastus. Hannover, 1865.

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Hamelius, P. The Character of Cain in the Towneley Plays. (Jour. Compar. Lit., vol. 1.) 1903.

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Jantzen, H. Literaturdenkmäler des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts. (Sammlung Göschen.) Leipzig, 1903. [Contains Das Trierer Osterspiel.]

Kaiser, A. Die Fastnachtsspiele von der "Actia de sponsu." Goettingen, 1899.

Klimke, C. Das volkstümliche Paradiesspiel und seine mittelalterlichen Grundlagen. (Germanistische Abhandlungen, 19.) 1902.

Lacroix, P. Science et lettres au moyen âge. Paris, 1877. [Contains useful illustrations.]

Lacroix, P. Recueil de farces, soties et moralités du quinzième siècle.

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contain useful information regarding the Corpus Christi plays: xliii, xlvii, l, lii, lix f., 33–37, 45, 99, 109, 111, 117 f.]

Leberthais, C., et Paris, L. Toiles peintes et tapisseries de la ville de Reims; ou la mise en scène du théatre des Confrères de la Passion. Paris, 1843. [Contains some useful statistics.]

Le Braz, A. Le Théâtre du peuple en Basse Bretagne. (Le Correspondant, no. 1008.) 1904.

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Patin. [Reviews of Magnin's "Origines du théâtre moderne" in Jour. des Sav., 1839.]

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Raché, P. B. Die deutsche Schulkomödie. Leipzig, 1891.

Reynier, G. Le Drame religieux en Espagne. (Rev. de Paris, VII), 1900. [Deals only with the late, fully developed religious drama.]

Riccoboni, L. Histoire du théatre italien . . . . avec un catalogue des tragédies et comédies italiennes imprimées depuis l'an 1500 jusqu'à l'an 1660. Paris, 1728. [Has useful illustrations.]

Roersch, A. Elcherlijc—Everyman—Homulus—Hekastus. (Arch. f. d. Stud. d. neuer. Spr. u. Lit. CXIII.), 1904.

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A list of some of the latest contributions, accompanied by short but pregnant reviews, is found in the latest issue of Vollmöller's Jahresbericht, and no student should get far in the subject before consulting these.

No doubt many students of the medieval drama have come across titles that have not yet appeared where one could be expected to look for them. If they will now publish such additions as they can make, it will only remain for some patient scholar or scholars to classify the material on hand in order to construct a bibliography of considerable stability.

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HEINE'S *Sonnenuntergang* AND AN AMERICAN MOON-MYTH.

I do not know what may be the source of the beautiful moon-myth in Heine's "Sonnenuntergang" (*Die Nordsee*, Erster Cyclus 3), whether from Classical antiquity, Jewish or German folk-lore, or the poet's own fancy. Both its pathos and its anthropomorphism seem to mark it as essentially Heinesque, but that, of course, is not to say that it may not be a bit of folk-lore turned, like the *Lorelei*, by Heine's delicate art into a poignant modern lyric of love and woe. In any case, it is unlikely that Heine got the suggestion from the mythology of the American Indians; yet the myth is (or rather was) to be found in all its essential features among the traditions of the Wyandots of Kansas and the Indian Territory. According to W. E. Connelley,[1] who seems to have been a careful investigator and who unquestionably had first-hand knowledge of the Wyandots (he was adopted into one of their clans), the Wyandot sun and moon myth runs as follows:

"The Little Turtle made the Moon for a wife for the Sun. Many children were born to them, and these are the Stars that 'run about the sky,' as the Wyandots call the stars that move like the sun and moon.

"After a time the Sun was displeased with his wife, the Moon. He drew her into the subterranean passage-way, and would have destroyed her there if the Little Turtle had not come and rescued her. He robbed her of all her heat and much of her light, and so maimed her that she could not keep pace with him in the sky. The New moon represents all that was left of the Sun's wife when the Little Turtle rescued her from her husband's wrath. The Little Turtle cured her to that degree that she regained gradually her original form; when, however, she had attained this, she immediately sickened from grief because of her husband's inattention and neglect, and pined away, diminishing daily until she altogether disappeared. When next seen she was again of the same size and form as when rescued by the Little Turtle; then she increased gradually, animated with the hope that when she had reached her former fullness she could recover her husband's favor. Failing in this, she again wasted away; and this has been repeated over and over to this day; and it always will be until the end of time."

How slight a change is needed to transform savage folk-lore into most acute and self-conscious poetry of civilization—how near we still are, in our imaginings and emotions, to "primitive man"—may be seen by a glance at Heine's poem. Just one item, the *böse Zungen*, is added, and we have

Sonnenuntergang.

. . . . . .

Einst am Himmel glänzten,

[1] *Wyandot Folk-Lore.* By William Elsey Connelley. Topeka, Kansas: Crane & Co., 1899, p. 72. Mr. Lang, in his *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, records a California Indian moon-myth somewhat resembling this of the Wyandots.

Ehlich vereint,
Luna, die Göttin, und Sol, der Gott,
Und es wimmelten um sie her die Sterne,
Die kleinen, unschuldigen Kinder.

Doch böse Zungen zischelten Zwiespalt,
Und es trennte sich feindlich
Das hohe, leuchtende Ehpaar.

Jetzt am Tage, in einsamer Pracht,
Ergeht sich dort oben der Sonnengott,
Ob seiner Herrlichkeit
Angebetet und vielbesungen
Von stolzen, glückgehärteten Menschen.
Aber des Nachts
Am Himmel wandelt Luna,
Die arme Mutter,
Mit ihren verwaisten Sternenkindern,
Und sie glänzt in stiller Wehmuth,
Und liebende Mädchen und sanfte Dichter
Weihen ihr Thränen und Lieder.

Die weiche Luna! Weiblich gesinnt,
Liebt sie noch immer den schönen Gemahl.
Gegen Abend, zitternd und bleich,
Lauscht sie hervor aus leichtem Gewölk,
Und schaut nach dem Scheidenden schmerzlich,
Und möchte ihm ängstlich rufen: "Komm!
Komm! die Kinder verlangen nach dir . . ."
Aber der trotzige Sonnengott,
Bei dem Anblick der Gattin erglüht er
In doppeltem Purpur,
Vor Zorn und Schmerz,
Und unerbittlich eilt er hinab
In sein fluthenkaltes Witwerbett.
. . . . . .

H. M. Belden.

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ON THE DATES OF SOME OF CHAPMAN'S PLAYS.

At present, Chapman is to us what Shakspere once was—only a conglomerate of plays and poems. Published here and there in the period from 1594 to 1654, these show no inner order or development, because the basis for tracing such—the dates of composition—is lacking. For Chapman's own sake and for the sake of understanding his relation to his fellows, chief of whom is Shakspere, this state of affairs must not continue. That it may not continue, somewhat, indeed, has been done by Mr. Fleay—much clever investigation and fertile conjecture—but to little conclusive result. The present article is a further contribution.

Bussy D'Ambois, published in 1607.—Fleay,[1] I, 59–60: "The allusions in it to the Knights of James I, the 'innovation' of 1603–4, and to Elizabeth as an 'old queen' forbid a date earlier than 1603; and the statement in I, 2, ''tis Leap Year,' which must apply to the date of production, as Bussy's introduction at Court was in 1569, not a Leap Year, fixes the date of production to 1604. Nevertheless, the line in *Satiromastix*, sc. 7—

'For trusty Damboys now the deed is done,'

seems to be taken from a play on the subject earlier than in 1601. . . . I think the play was written for the Queen's Revels boys late in 1604 . . . and acted in 1605."

Farther we need not look for evidence; it is all here, and needs only sifting and interpreting. The allusions to James I and his knights are purely imaginary.[2] The mention of leap year,[3] however, applies certainly to the date of the first performance, not to anything historical. But why not to 1600 as well as to 1604? That is a leap-year, too, whether in the Julian or the Gregorian calendar. 1600, indeed, it must be, for "their old queen," spoken of as still reigning, is certainly Elizabeth,[4] and the unmistakable allusion in *Satiromastix* to *Bussy* as a famous play was penned in 1601.[5] There is not the slightest reason, then, to suppose another earlier version of *Bussy*, or to demur to the manifest date, 1600.

The *Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, registered April 17th, 1612, published 1613.—There is good reason to think this play was written near the end of 1604. In III, 1, p. 197 there is a long eulogy, from the Frenchman Clermont's lips, on the Earl of Oxford:

[1] *Biographical Chronicle*, London, 1891.

[2] See Shepherd's *Chapman*, vol. *Plays*, pp. 143, 144. The reader will have difficulty finding them.

[3] *Be.* And why did the toy take him in the head now? *Bu.* 'Tis leap-year, lady, and therefore very good to enter a courtier.—P. 144.

[4] *Bussy*, p. 144.

[5] Dekker's *Works*, London, 1874, vol. I, p. 230.—*Satiromastix* was registered Nov. 11th, 1601.

I overtook, coming from Italy,
In Germany, a great and famous earl
Of England, the most goodly-fashioned man
I ever saw; from head to foot in form
Rare and most absolute; he had a face
Like one of the most ancient honour'd Romans
From whence his noblest family was derived;
He was beside of spirit passing great
Valiant, and learn'd, and liberal as the sun,
Spoke and writ sweetly, or of learned subjects,
Or of the discipline of public weals;
And 'twas the Earl of Oxford.
. . . . . .
. . . . . and swore that he
Had rather make away his whole estate
In things that cross'd the vulgar, than he would
Be frozen up, stiff, like a Sir John Smith,
His countryman, in common nobles' fashions;
Affecting, as the end of noblesse were
Those servile observations.

This was Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, who was born in 1550 and died June 24th, 1604. He was a great traveller, a fine gentleman of fashion, a statesman, a scholar, a patron of poetry and the stage, and himself a poet. He had the manners, fashions, and tastes of the continent, and he lavished his patrimony upon them.[6] He was by hereditary right lord great chamberlain, he sat at the trial of Mary Queen of Scots and of the Earls of Arundel and of Essex, and he fought against the Armada. He was nothing if not 'liberal,' and he squandered much upon his bohemian literary friends. He was a patron of Lyly, Spenser, and many others, and he left to the world twenty-three pieces of lyric poetry—some of them not wanting in beauty—of his own. That he was fine-looking, remarkably learned, or that he wrote on the 'discipline of the public weals,' I cannot, indeed, discover; but he was at any rate admired by Elizabeth for his gallant bearing as one of the crack lances of his day; he was an M. A. of both universities, and he was widely versed in the affairs and functions of state. All taken together, Edward de Vere is certainly the man, for his successor in his title, his son Henry, was a wild youth of eleven, who, even at a later day, could not have been the subject of this eulogy.

Prolonged, definite descriptions or encomiums of contemporaries, other than of the house royal, are so rare in the Elizabethan drama—I know of none like this—that the present instance would seem in keeping only after the Earl's decease[7]: otherwise, the flattery would be too gross, and the imposition upon the patience of the audience, some of whom would not be among his friends,[8] too bold. The aspersions upon Sir John Smith,[9] on the other hand, who from 1596 on was in disgrace, would, according to the ever-valid maxim of *nil de mortuis*, have been in keeping only *before* his death, in 1607. It is highly probable, then, that the *Revenge* was written in 1604 or 1605, anyway before 1607; and consequently the Bussy plays were completed before the Byron plays[10] were begun.

Monsieur D' Olive, published 1606.—Mr. Fleay finds an allusion to King James's new knights in I, 1, p. 116, and thinks the play, because 'acted by their Maiesties children at the Blacke-Friers,' not earlier than 1604, January 30th. As for the latter point, the play might very well have been acted elsewhere before that.

The backward limit of the play is indicated by the allusion in I, 1, p. 117—

[6] All the facts here given are to be found in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*—He answers Chapman's description of 'making away his whole estate' etc. His luxury and extravagance—he was the first to introduce embroidered gloves, sweet bags, perfumed jerkins, etc.—were the cause of his parting with his ancestral estate of Colne.

[7] And *shortly* after, like the obituaries of to-day, or the *elegies* of that age.

[8] A passionate, high-tempered man, he had many enemies.

[9] Mr. Fleay also notes this allusion to Smith, and observes, as a possible occasion of it, that he was knighted in 1603, May 11th. There may have been another Sir John Smith; but the one I speak of, diplomatist and military writer, who was born in 1534 (?) and died in 1607, was knighted in 1576. That this is the Smith whom Chapman mentions cannot be doubted. To us the name may at first blush seem merely typical and fictitious; but to an Elizabethan audience it would immediately recall the gentleman of 'querulous temper and defective judgment' who had served in France as a soldier in Edward VI's time and as a diplomat in 1576, who in his dispatches had disparaged the beauty of the French ladies in a way that would have been irritating to Clermont, and who since 1596 had been in disgrace—imprisoned and then permanently rusticated.

[10] To be dated 1607. See the writer's *John Webster*, Cambridge, Mass., 1905, p. 67.

but times are altered, monopolies are now called in, and wit 's become a free trade for all sorts to live by

—to the 'calling in' of the monopolies granted in the preceding reign by James I in a proclamation of May 7th, 1603.[11] A probable forward limit is Chapman's imprisonment for *Eastward Ho*, in 1605.[12] For, what with languishing in a vile Elizabethan jail, what with having to expect for a time as the upshot the slitting of his ears and nose, it is likely that Chapman let King James and his title-giving propensities alone for a while. Yet here, in *Monsieur D' Olive*, not only in the allusion noted by Mr. Fleay, Act I, sc. 1, p. 116,

D' Ol. How doest, Jack; may I call thee Sir Jack yet?
Mu. You may, sir; Sir 's as commendable an addition as Jack, for ought I know.
D' Ol. I know it, Jack, and as common, too.[13]

but also in another, IV, 1, p. 132,

D' Ol. What honour do they deserve that purchase their knighthood?
Di. Purchase their knighthood, my lord! Marry, I think they come truly by 't, for they pay well for 't.[14]

there is more satire of the same sort,—of a sort, too, that after his release, so late as in the latter half of 1605 or in 1606, would begin to lose point and zest. The play is probably, then, previous to 1605.

The Widow's Tears, published 1613, registered April 17th.—Similar data are furnished in this play, and the same line of argument is to be followed.

Tha. Brother, monopolies are cried down.[15] I, 1, p. 309.
Lyc. . . . [he] skulks unknown under the name of a strange knight.
Tha. That may carry him without descrying, for there 's a number of strange[16] knights abroad. IV, 1, p. 326.

Revenge for Honour, published 1654.—This play I have elsewhere[17] shown to be late, on the score both of a general indebtedness to Beaumont and Fletcher and of a particular one to their *Cupid's Revenge*, which was acted January 5th, 1612.[18] There are two circumstantial allusions which define this general result more narrowly, and thrust the date of our play forward to the year 1621. The one allusion is to Burton's *Anatomy*, which appeared in that year, and was a book, moreover, that Chapman would have been among the first to read. Selinthus 'discusses' the causes of melancholy and, in particular, of the *flatus hypochondriacus*, and cites Hippocrates, Averroes, Avicenna, and other redoubtable names, in unmistakably burlesque Burtonian fashion.[19] The other allusion is—once more—to monopolies. Selinthus rallies Simanthes, the 'court-lord' and sycophant:

You are grown something solemn on the sudden:
Since your monopolies and patents, which
Made your purse swell like a wet sponge, have been
Reduced to the last gasp. I, 1, p. 418.

However well James's reign began, monopolies, as is well known, were one of the crying evils of it; and after 1612—the date of *Cupid's Revenge*,

[11] Gardiner, *Hist. Eng.*, *1603–42*, vol. I, p. 100–101. *State Papers*, *Domestic*, 1603–10, p. 7.

[12] See the familiar story in Drummond's Conversations and Gifford's *Jonson*, and the letters of Chapman and Jonson discovered by B. Dobell and communicated to the *Athenæum*, March 30th, 1901. These last, together with Jonson's long-known letter to Salisbury under date of 1605, make it clear that Jonson and Chapman were in prison together but once—not twice, as is often supposed—and then for *Eastward Ho*, in 1605, after May 4th, as Fleay observes, when Cecil became Salisbury.

[13] Everybody knows of James I's prodigality with titles—especially to Scotchmen—in the first year of his reign. Within six weeks after he left Scotland he conferred knighthood on no less than 237 persons. See Stow, Wilson, etc.

[14] See *State Papers*, *Domestic*, *1603–10*, pp. 60, 110, for entries concerning the 'profits' of making knights. These were not *prices*, of course, as later in the case of the baronetcies; they were the time-honored fees; yet, in such number, they would have an effect on the Privy Purse.

[15] This allusion is noted also by Fleay, who observes, "surely refers to the Act of Jan. 3, 1605." I cannot but think this an error, for no such Act is to be found in the *Statutes of the Realm*, *Revised Statutes*, etc., nor is it mentioned by Gardiner. See the first Act against monopolies below.

[16] *I. e.*, either *new* or *Scotch*.

[17] In *John Webster*, pp. 213–14.—Mr. Fleay (II, 326) declares the play not to be Chapman's, with very insufficient reason.

[18] Dyce's *Booke of the Reuells*. In all probability this was one of the first performances. The play was printed (and registered) in 1615.

[19] In the *Anatomy*, the causes of melancholy and of the *flatus* make one of the principal subjects of discourse; and Hippocrates, Averroes, Avicenna, and a host of others are cited at every hand. Cf. the index in Shilleto's edition, London, 1896.—Chapman, *Plays*, p. 418.

remember,—and, for that matter, ever since the beginning of the reign, there could be no occasion for Chapman's thus speaking of their overthrow as accomplished till March 30th, 1621, when James followed up a conciliatory speech to the House by a proclamation 'cancelling the patent for gold and silver thread, the patent for inns, and the patent for concealed lands.'[20] Coming from the hand of James, this really was a blow dealt by Parliament at the courtiers and favorites, at the hated Buckingham, his kin, and his dependants:[21] Chapman's skit was timely,[22] and, in that day of ferment and agitation, sure to be well received. The allusions agree, then, in indicating as date the year 1621.

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[20] Gardiner, *Hist. Eng.*, 1603–42, IV, p. 85. A Bill against monopolies had been introduced by Coke on March 11th of the same year.

[21] See the matter of the patent for gold and silver thread, by which Buckingham, Sir Edward Villiers, and a swarm of parasites profited, or were accused of profiting, Gardiner, IV, pp. 12–23; and the patent for inns and alehouses, by which Christopher Villiers and Sir Giles Mompesson, another kinsman, profited, pp. 2–4, 23, 40–42; and the patent for concealed lands, by which Mompesson again profited, p. 44.

[22] It is possible, indeed, that our play dates still later, after May 25th, 1624, when the Act against Monopolies (21 Jac. I. cap. iii) was passed. The earlier date, however, is the safer and more probable.—In its preamble this Act relates that in the year 1610 James had made a public declaration against monopolies. The declaration seems, however, never to have had any effect; and, anyway, it need not trouble us here. *Revenge* was subsequent to 1612, and by that time monopolies were rife again (in 1611, Gardiner IV, pp. 10–11).

The reader will perceive, I hope, that our various inferences from the allusions to monopolies in this article have not been made arbitrarily; that, quite apart from the phrasing of the individual allusion itself, they have been determined as applying to the proclamation of 1603 or to that of 1621 by other limiting data,—by the dates of the publishing and the allusions to the knights in the first case (*M. D'Olive* and *Widow's Tears*), by the dates of *Cupid's Revenge* and Burton's *Anatomy* in the second.

PARALLEL SITUATIONS IN *Hernani* AND *Filippo*.

The "I guilty, she pure" situation in Victor Hugo's *Hernani*, Act III, sc. 5, was probably borrowed from a similar situation in Alfieri's *Filippo*, Act V, sc. 3. It is an established fact that Hugo was familiar with the dramas of Alfieri, some of which he had probably seen on the French stage. He knew also the *Don Carlos* of Schiller, but it contains no such situation, and, so far as I have been able to discover, no similar scene exists in any other drama with which Hugo was acquainted.[1]

In Alfieri's *Filippo* Isabella, of France, is represented, in the antecedent action, as having been betrothed to Don Carlos, the son of Philip II, of Spain. For state reasons, Philip decides to marry her himself. Though married to the king, the queen still loves Carlos, but forbids him ever to enter her presence. The king, who bitterly hates his son, suspects their love, becomes jealous, and accuses Carlos of conspiring against his life and even the queen's, and of carrying on treasonable negotiations with France. Accordingly, a Council of State is held, and Philip succeeds in having the young prince sentenced to death.

In the fourth act the king and prince are represented as engaging in a violent quarrel, which ends in the arrest and imprisonment of Carlos. Gomez, the intriguing Minister, who had been employed by the king to bring about the ruin of the unhappy lovers, informs the queen of Carlos' sentence, and offers to obtain for her a private interview with the unfortunate prisoner.

The fifth act opens with a soliloquy by Carlos, who now hopes and fears nothing but death. While wondering whether his father has not sus-

[1] It is hardly possible to state that the situation is not found elsewhere in the French drama known to V. Hugo, as practically the same incident occurs in *Inès de Castro*, by La Motte, Act II, scene 3. Don Pedre says:

> Ne desavouez point, Inès, que je vous aime . . . .
> (à Alphonse.)
> Seigneur, loin d'en rougir, j'en fais gloire moi-meme;
> Mais laissez sur moi seul tomber votre courroux:
> Inès n'est point coupable, et jamais . . . .
> (Phillip Ogden.)

pected or divined his love for the queen, and whether the king is not even now wreaking vengeance on the unhappy Isabella, Carlos hears the gate grate on its hinges. Presently the queen enters and informs her lover of his sentence. The latter is startled when he learns that it is the base Gomez who has admitted her to his prison. When she urges Carlos to fly, he tells her that she is too credulous, and that Gomez is not sincere in wishing to serve him. The young prince then warns Isabella of the Minister's treachery, and begs her to flee at once from the fatal prison, for her stay will ruin herself and fail to save him from death.

It is at this point that the king appears (scene 3) and tells them that he has known their love. He exults at having them in his power, and swears he will have his revenge. He declares that he has never loved Isabella, that she has not offended her lover but her king, and that he possesses undoubted proofs of her guilt. When, however, Philip announces to the two distressed lovers that, since their crimes are equal, their punishments shall be equal, the considerate and magnanimous Carlos exclaims :

"Che ascolto? In lei colpa non è: che dico?
Colpa? nè l'ombra pur di colpa è in lei.
Puro il suo cor, mai di sì iniqua fiamma
Non arse, io 'l giuro: appena ella il mio amore
Seppe, il dannò . . .
. . . . . .
Io sol ti offesi,
Nè il niego: a me lieve di speme un raggio
Sul ciglio balenò: ma il dileguava
La sua virtude tosto: ella mi udiva,
Ma sol per mia vergogna.
. . . . . .
Disbrama
La rabbia in me del tuo geloso orgoglio:
Ma lei risparmia; ella innocente appieno.

It is this last situation that has probably been imitated by Hugo in *Hernani*, Act III, sc. 5. In this scene Hernani, with whom Doña Sol is in love, is represented as entering the castle of the old duke Gomez de Silva, in the disguise of a pilgrim. The exiled young lord, who has become a bandit, soon discovers that his sweetheart is making preparations for her immediate marriage to the old duke, her uncle. Disheartened by this discovery, the melancholy Hernani makes it known that he is Hernani, the bandit, whom the king is seeking. Gomez, who prides himself on his hospitality, declares to the pilgrim that were he really Hernani or a hundred times worse, he should be protected as his guest, even against the king.

While the duke has gone out to arm his castle and to make complete arrangements to protect his guest, the two young lovers, left alone, engage in a lover's quarrel, which ends in a reconciliation. Just as they are in the act of embracing each other, the old duke returns and exclaims,

"Voilà donc le paîment de l'hospitalité!"

Gomez proceeds to lecture Hernani on ingratitude and the violation of the sacred rites of hospitality. The bandit replies that he is guilty, and when Doña Sol attempts to speak in his behalf, Hernani again confesses his guilt and seeks to protect Doña Sol, saying to Gomez :

"Duc, crois aux derniers mots de ma bouche : j'en jure,
Je suis coupable, mais sois tranquille,—elle est pure!
C'est là tout. Moi coupable, elle pure ; ta foi
Pour elle, un coup d'epée ou de poignard pour moi."

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A NEGLECTED MANUSCRIPT OF *The Prick of Conscience.*

Rolle of Hampole's *Prick of Conscience* has been the subject of several dissertations and of a number of essays and notes besides, but so far as an industrious sifting of this material reveals, no mention has been made of the copy of the poem preserved in the Bodleian MS. Rawlinson Poet. 175. This copy is the same, except for slight differences in spelling and insignificant differences in phrasing, as that found in the British Museum MS. Cotton Galba E. IX, the manuscript edited by Morris,[1] and by him and others[2] accounted the best of the numerous manuscripts of *The Prick of Conscience* that have survived. The Cot-

[1] *The Philogical Society's Early English Volume, 1862–4*, Part II, Berlin, 1863.

[2] See Morris, *l. c.*, pp. i–iii ; and Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers*, II, pp. xli and 456, London, 1896.

ton manuscript has, however, one serious limitation: it is incomplete, and hence furnished only a part of Morris's text, the rest being supplied by MS. Harleian 4196, itself also incomplete. The Rawlinson manuscript, on the other hand, presents an entire and homogeneous text of the poem. Moreover, it is, according to the best authorities, in a handwriting some fifty years older than that of the Cotton manuscript, Mr. Madan[3] dating it about 1350, while according to Mr. Ward[4] the Cotton manuscript belongs to the fifteenth century.

The Prick of Conscience is the first of the collection of poems preserved in the Rawlinson manuscript; it extends from folio 1 to folio 55a. It is written in double columns of 44 lines each; hence it numbers about 9600 lines. The handwriting is not so large and clear as that of the Cotton manuscript, but it is nevertheless quite legible. The first column of the first page is considerably faded and in part worn away, but there are no serious obscurations after this page.

I give below a copy of a few lines from the beginning and from the end.

I.

Þe myght of þe fader all myghty,
Þe witt of þe son all witty,
And þe guddnes of þe haly gaste,
[A godde][5] and lord of myghtes maste,
[Be wy]th vs and vs help *and* spede,
[Now] and euer, in all our nede;
[And s]pecially [at þ]is bigynyng,
And bryng vs all till gud endyng. Amen.
Bifor any thing was wroght,
And ar any bigynyng was of oght,
And bifor all tymes, als we sal trow,
Þe same god ay was þat es now,
[Þat wo]ned euer in his god hede,
[And] in thre persons *and* ane hede.
[For go]d wald ay *with* þe fader *and* þe son
[And wi]th þe haligast in anehede won,
[Als go]d in a substance *and* beyng
[Withouten] any bigynyng;
[Beg]ynyng of him myght neuer nane be,
[He] was ay god in trinite,
[Þat] was ay als wise *and* full of witt,
[And] als myghty als he es yhit,
[Wha]s myght and witt of him self was tane,
[For neuer] na god was bot he all ane.

II.

And yhe þat has herd þis tretyce red
Þat now es broght till ende *and* sped,
For þe luf of our louerd ihesu,
Pray for him specially þat it drew,
Þat if he lyf, god saue him harmles,
And mayntene his lyfe in all gudnes,
And if he be ded, als falles kyndely,
God of his saule haue mercy,
And bryng it till þat blysfull place
Where endeles joy es and solace,
Till whilk place he vs all bryng
Þat for vs vouched safe on rode to hyng. Amen.

KILLIS CAMPBELL.

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[3] *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, III, p. 321, Oxford, 1895.

[4] See his *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II, p. 213, London, 1893. According to others, however, the Cotton manuscript belongs to the second half of the fourteenth century; see Tyrwhitt, *Canterbury Tales*, IV, p. 330 note, London, 1775; Ritson, *Ancient Engleish Metrical Romanceës*, III, p. 229, London, 1802; and Morris, *l. c.*, p. iv.

[5] The bracketed parts are supplied from Morris's edition, p. 1, the Rawlinson manuscript being illegible here.

LEMERCIER'S *Méléagre*.

Literary critics and literary historians have given much attention in recent years to the French dramatists of the pre-romantic period, and one dramatist in particular, Népomucène Lemercier (1771–1840), has been much discussed. Many errors, however, exist in regard to the facts of Lemercier's career, and one of them has been repeated so many times, that the truth at last deserves a hearing.

Lemercier's first play, *Méléagre*, a tragedy in five acts and in verse, was performed at the Théâtre Français, February 29, 1788, about a month before the author's seventeenth birthday. The Princesse de Lamballe, Lemercier's godmother, had heard the play read, and her enthusiasm for the new tragedy was so great that she prevailed upon Marie Antoinette to command a public performance at the earliest possible moment. On that first night the theatre was crowded, for the youth of the poet and the fact that he was known to be favored by the Court, excited general interest. The Queen accompanied by the

Princesse de Lamballe, occupied the royal loge, and there was a most brilliant audience.

The play was applauded for its many *beaux vers*, and was considered a wonderful performance for one so young, although it received harsh treatment at the hands of the critics. But whatever its merits or defects, *Méléagre* was never given a second time. Grimm said[1]: "Ce jeune auteur et ses amis ont eu le bon esprit de retirer la pièce après la première représentation." M. Ernest Legouvé relates[2] that after the performance Lemercier went behind the scenes, to thank the actors, according to the prevailing custom, and then asked the prompter to give him the manuscript for a few corrections. He took it away, and the next day, M. Legouvé says, he wrote the following letter to the members of the Comédie:

"*Messieurs:*—

Mon succès d'hier m'a beaucoup touché, mais ne m'a pas fait illusion. Ma pièce est une œuvre d'enfant, c'est un enfant que le public a applaudi pour l'encourager; je n'ai qu'une manière de me montrer digne de son indulgence, c'est de ne pas en abuser. De telles bontés ne se renouvellent pas. Je retire mon ouvrage et je tâcherai que ma seconde tragédie soit plus digne de vos talents."

Whereupon there was great confusion at the theatre among the actors who had been looking forward to a number of profitable performances.

This explanation of the single performance of the play has been accepted without question. Vauthier in his thesis on Lemercier[3] quotes the letter just given, in good faith, Lenient[4] tells the same story, and Le Roy[5] copies the letter in full, without even giving Legouvé credit for it, although his source is evident, from the context. Influenced by this explanation, great things have been said regarding the modesty of the young Lemercier, and his clear judgment as to the real value of his tragedy.

M. Legouvé's letter, however, for which he gives neither reference nor authority, is evidently the creature of his own imagination, when compared with the following communication which actually appeared in the *Journal de Paris*, March 4, 1788:

"*Aux Auteurs du Journal.*

Messieurs:—Permettez moi de me servir de la voie de votre journal pour remercier le Public des applaudissements dont il a daigné m'honorer: je suis trop reconnaissant pour ne pas corriger, autant qu'il est en moi, les défauts de mon Ouvrage. Je n'ai suspendu la seconde représentation de Méléagre qu'afin d'avoir le temps de faire les changements nécessaires.

LEMERCIER."

This letter is more than enough to show that Lemercier had no intention of withdrawing *Méléagre* permanently, nor does it reveal any excessive modesty on his part. Whether his friends finally prevailed upon him to withdraw his play or whether the management of the theatre was unwilling to go on with it, may never be known, but it is certain that this boy of seventeen had no doubt of his own literary ability, and that he was anticipating a continuance of success.

While the point here involved is certainly not of vital importance, it deserves consideration, nevertheless, because hesitation and lack of self-assurance are so entirely foreign to Lemercier's character, that no careful student of his life and work has been able to accept this oft-repeated story without wonder and surprise.

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[1] *Correspondance littéraire*, vol. XIV, mars 1788.

[2] *Soixante Ans de Souvenirs*, par E. Legouvé, Paris. 4 vols. in-12. Vol. I, p. 80.

[3] *Essai sur la Vie et les Oeuvres de Népomucène Lemercier, par G. Vauthier.* Toulouse, 1886, gr. in-8, p. 7.

[4] *La Comédie en France au XIX^e Siècle, par Ch. Lenient*, Paris, 1904. 2 vols. in-8. Vol. I, p. 27.

[5] *L'Aube du Théâtre Romantique, par Albert Le Roy*, Paris, 1904, in-8, p. 135.

ENGLISH ORTHOGRAPHY.

Two dissertations appeared in 1904 on the English Orthography of the sixteenth century: Rudolf, *Die englische Orthographie von Caxton bis Shakespeare*, Marburg, 1904, and Swearingen, *Die englische Schriftsprache bei Coverdale, mit*

einem Anhang über ihre Weiterentwicklung in den Bibelübersetzungen bis zu der Authorized Version 1611, Berlin, 1904.

The Orthography of the English Bible translations in the sixteenth century is in several instances different from that of the prose works investigated by Rudolf. The difference is, for the most part, in the matter of uniformity in the spelling of single words. The Bibles, from Coverdale (1535) on, have a tendency to select from the several spellings of the word, which existed at the time, one form, and use that consistently as in modern printing. Double forms, which have never entirely disappeared from English spelling and were still more frequent as late as Dr. Johnson (Swearingen, p. 51), are found less often in the Bibles than in other prose works of the same time.

Together, which appears in the Bibles from Coverdale on, with only the one spelling, alternates in other prose works with *togither* until 1586 (R., p. 5).

Hither, thither, whither, alternate (according to Rudolf's results (p. 6)) with *hether, thether, whether*, throughout the sixteenth century. The Geneva Bible (1557) has *e* in these words in isolated cases; otherwise, the spelling with *i* is uniform from Coverdale on.

Give and *geve* never appear side by side in the Bibles. From Coverdale to the Geneva Bible of 1557, *geve* is the only form. From the second edition of the Geneva Bible (1560) *give* is settled. According to Rudolf (p. 5), Greene (1593) is the first to decide for *give*.

Sword with *o*, through the influence of the preceding *w*, is found for the first time as the regular form in the Geneva Bible of 1557. In the preceding Bibles *sweard(e)* is the only form. Rudolf (p. 8) gives *sword* as the prevailing form since Elyot 1531. In this case the Bibles are less modern, as the form established by the printer of the Coverdale Bible is adhered to in the other Bibles.

Joy (1535) is given by Rudolf (p. 23) as the last to use *ether* and *nether*. These are the only forms in the Bibles until 1582, when they are replaced by *either* and *neither*. Here again the Bibles are archaic in adhering to this form, but modern in not printing two spellings of the same word side by side.

Coverdale's is the last one of the Bibles in which *ai* and *a* in open syllable alternate. In other prose works this was not regulated until after Shakespeare (R., pp. 17 and 22).

The conjunction *lest* and the superlative *least*, which Rudolf gives (p. 16) as not kept separate throughout the sixteenth century, are never confused in the Coverdale Bible. In the later Bibles, however, an occasional *least, leest* for *lest* (conj.) is met; and, in isolated cases, *lest* as the spelling of the superlative.

Rudolf (p. 6) says: "Bis Ascham (W 47) tritt neben *such* (me. *swich*) auch *soch* auf; später ist *such* vorherrschend." The Bibles, on the other hand, have only *much* and *such* from the Geneva (1557) on.

The form *werk* occurs in a Bible for the last time, and then only in isolated cases, in Tindale's 1525–26 version. *Work* is the only form from Tindale's 1534 edition on. Rudolf (p. 8) gives *werk* by the side of *work* up to Joy 1535 and *warke* as late as Udall, 1552.

Caxton, Greene, and Dekker (R., p. 9) have used *then* and *than* as they are printed to-day. One of Tottel's authors, Grimald, also made this distinction. The Bibles, like most of Rudolf's authors, use only the one form *then* with both meanings. This is also true of the Shakespeare Folio (1623), and of Newman's *Bible Concordance* (London, 1650) in which *than* does not appear.

Whan and *when* are printed side by side until Ascham (1568) according to Rudolf (p. 9). The Geneva Bible of 1557 and later Bibles have only *when*.

Should and *would*, as constant spellings with no exception, are first met in the Rheims Bible (1582), and continue in the Authorized Version of 1611. Greene is the first author given by Rudolf (p. 11) as using only the modern English spelling of both words.

The irregularity in the use of the silent end *-e*, which characterized the printing of the sixteenth century (R., p. 31 f.), did not extend to the Bibles. An end *-e* is never added to a word whose short vowel would by the addition be placed in open syllable; nor is it ever omitted after a single consonant following a single long vowel. The only places where it is variable are where length is already marked by two vowels, or

where a single vowel is followed by two consonants and the presence or absence of the end *-e* would decide nothing about the quantity.

From the above comparison it is evident that it is in the printing of the Bible translations of the sixteenth century that the decided steps toward a uniform English spelling are to be traced.

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FRANCISCO PACHECO AND THE ITALIANS.

That during the time of Italianism in Spanish literature the poets, especially those of minor degree, did not always restrict themselves to imbibing Italian spirit and imitating Italian forms, a careful perusal of the poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shows. While there is a very close leaning upon Italian originals, it is not often that we find literal translations, honestly admitted, as in the case of Francisco Pacheco, the painter-poet, 1571–1654.

Pacheco's *Poesías*, together with a short sketch of his life, have been published by Adolfo de Castro,[1] and fill about two pages in large quarto. The few verses, most of them translations, would hardly warrant their author's claims to immortality, but there are three other points: he wrote an *Art of Painting*, published in 1649, he was the close friend of Fernando de Herrera, "el Divino," —one of the boldest "borrowers" the Spanish literature owns,—and also published his works, which he accompanied with an original sonnet; last but not least, he married his daughter to the prince of painters and painter of princes, Don Diego de Velasquez. Almost his whole lyric reverts to his profession. One sonnet, included in the *Arte de la Pintura*, is addressed to Velasquez, after his having completed his large equestrian picture of Philip IV of Spain. An "Enigma" has as its title and solution *el pincel*, 'the paint brush'; two "Epigramas" are thrusts at devices of bad painters. His translations consist of verses in honor of Michel Angelo—though not with regard to his paintings but his sculptures.

Of Pacheco's translations, the first in order is one on the death of the great Florentine (1564) after the original of *Laura Batiferri degli Ammanati*, a poetess of ephemerous fame. Gaspary[2] just mentions her; but Giambatista Corniani says of her: "Laura Battiferri da Urbino compose elegante poesie (stampate in Firenze dai Giunti, l'a. 1552) ed una versione in versi toscani de' sette salmi penetenziali assai applaudita (stampate ivi nel 1564). Fu essa moglie del celebre scultor fiorentino Bartolomeo degli Ammanati. Copia degna d'immortal ricordanza! . . ."[3]

Her sonnet cannot have been in either of the above mentioned collections. Very likely Pacheco used the original title, "A la muerte de Michel Angelo" (Traduccion del que escribiò Laura Batiferri degli Amannati). The verses are stately, though conventional, the Italian is easily read through the thin Spanish covering, with one or two rather forced synæreses for the sake of scanning.

The other translations are of well-known Italian verses. One is a madrigal by Marino on Michel Angelo's *Pietà*. It is preserved to us in the second division "Sculture" in the famous *Galeria del Cavalier Marino*. In the little Venetian edition of the Ciotti, 1620, it is found on p. 27, Div. II; the two pages 26 and 27 contain four madrigals —thus Pacheco styles the one, and we may assume the name for the other three. Three of these madrigals are of eight lines each, the fourth has ten. They treat: 1) "*La Notte di Michel Angelo Buonarotti*," 2) "*L'Aurora del Medesimo*," 3) "*La Pietà del Medesimo*," 4) "*Mosè del Medesimo.*"

La Pietà runs as follows:

> Sasso non è costei
> Che l'estinto figliuol, freddo qual ghiaccio,
> Sostien pietosa in braccio,
> Sasso più tosto sei
> In che non piagni a la pietà di lei
> Anzi sei più che sasso,
> Che suole anco da' sassi il pianto uscire,
> E i sassi si spezzaro al suo morire.—

[1] *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles: Poetas Liricos de los siglos XVI y XVII.* Madrid, 1872.

[2] *Geschichte der Italienischen Literatur*, Vol. II, p. 508.

[3] *I Secoli della Letteratura Italiana dopo suo Risorgimento.* Milan, 1832, Vol. I, p. 450.

The following is Pacheco's rendéring :

MADRIGAL.

(Traduccion del Marino.)

(A una imágen de la Virgen con Christo muerto en su regazo, obra de Miguel Angel.)

No es piedra esta Señora
Che sostiene piadosa, reclinado
En sus brazos, al muerte Hijo helado ;
Mas piedra eres ahora
Tu cuya vista á su piedad no llora,
Antes eres mas duro,
Que á muerte tal las piedras con espanto
Se rompieron, y aun suelen hacer llanto.

The translation of the lines on Michel Angelo's "Night" does not render Marino's verses, but the two well-known quatrains, the one by Giovanni Strozzi, which he was said to have deposited at the statue, and the other Michel Angelo's response.[4]

RISPOSTA ALL' EPIGRAMMA DI GIOVANNI STROZZI SOPRA LA STATUE DELLA NOTTE, CHE È QUESTO :

La Notte, che tu vedi in si dolci atti
Dormir, fu da un angelo scolpita
In questo sasso ; e, perchè dorme, ha vita,
Destala, se no'l credi, e parleratti.

Grato m' è il sonno, e più l'esser di sasso
Mentre chè 'l danno e la vergogna dura.
Non veder, non sentir m' è gran ventura ;
Però non mi destar ; deh parla basso.

This is Pacheco's rendering :

A LA IMÁGEN DE LA NOCHE

obra de Miguel Angel
Traduccion de unos versos latinos.

La noche, que en accion dulce al reposo
Rendida ves, de un angel fué esculpida
En esta piedra, y dale el sueño vida ;
Llamala y hablara, si estas dudoso.

TRADUCCION DE LA RESPUESTA DE MIGUEL ANGEL.

Dormir y aun ser de piedra es mejor suerte
Mientras la invidia y la verguenza dura,
Y no ver ni sentir me es gran ventura ;
Pues calla o habla bajo, no despierto.

Concerning the verses by Michel Angelo, it has been said that they defy translation, and the attempts made at transcribing them into foreign tongues have justified this assertion. Even here, in the sister language, the monumental effect of Michel Angelo's angry, pleading command,

"Non mi destar, deh parla basso,"

is wiped out by the transposing of the two verse members, and the Spanish sounds tame and commonplace by the side of the Italian.

It is to be noticed that Pacheco does not name Giovanni Strozzi, but quotes "*unos versos latinos.*" This is rather startling at first sight, for neither could Pacheco mistake the lines for Latin nor was it likely he handled a Latin translation, since his very close rendering of the original precludes this, and most likely in his time the lines were still in everybody's mouth. It rather appears one of the mannerisms of the Italian influence and scents Herrera. The word "latino" for Italian occurs in Italian already in Dante. Thus *Paget Toynbee* says : "'Latino' : Latin . . . . 'Latina lingua' used of love poems, 'Latino Romano'—classical Latin. From the original meaning of 'Latin' the word Latino came to be conferred to that of 'language in general,' often with especial reference to the language natural to the speaker, even Arabic."[5]

Evidently Pacheco uses "latinos" in a similar meaning, as Dante does in his discussion *De Eloquentia vulgari*, in which the colloquial is to him not organically separated from the mother language ; Latin is "the Language of Latium," hence of Italy, it is Italian ; a far-fetched inference, more than three hundred years after Dante and savouring of "Culturanismo."

It is, perhaps, not without interest to notice the sangfroid with which Marino takes hold of the leading idea of the two epigrams for his own versicle. Where he becomes original he certainly does not improve on his pattern. What he writes in dire earnest sounds like a parody :

Me c'habbia vita, e spiri
Notte de freddo sasso,
O peregrino ammiri ?
Vivo, e sol tanto hò vita
Quant' io son qui scolpita,
E s' io non parlo, e s'io non movo il passo,
Che colpa ha la scultura ?
Muta, e pigra la Notte è per natura.

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[4] Cf. *Fiori della Poesia Italiana Antica e Moderna*, Raccolti da Carolina Michaelis, Leipzig, 1871, p. 98.

[5] *Dante Dictionary*, p. 331.

JONSON'S CAPTAIN TUCCA.

One of the most striking and original characters in Jonson's comedies is Captain Pantilius Tucca in the *Poetaster*. He is what in modern slang might be called a "beat," but one of a peculiarly rampant and flamboyant kind. He lives by what he calls "skeldering," that is, extorting money or other gifts from people, sometimes by cajoling, and sometimes by bullying and threats. He has brazen impudence, will thrust himself into any company, and possesses an unexampled flow of grotesquely scurrilous language.

That this blatant Tucca was a popular personage on the stage may be inferred from the words of Dekker in the introduction to *Satiromastix*, where he excuses himself for transplanting Tucca into his own play, by saying that had he brought on "any other new-minted fellow . . . . he had been out-faced and out-weyed by a settled former approbation."

It has been thought that Tucca was a caricature of some real and well-known personage, but no commentator has, so far, detected the original. The pretended captain and the disbanded captain appear often enough in the comedies and satires of the time, but none has Tucca's monumental impudence. They sometimes have a very variegated vocabulary, but none has Tucca's torrential rush and immensity of *gusto*. It would be singular if there had been such a personage about town, not seized upon by any playwright or satirist. Dekker, it is true, intimates that Tucca's extraordinary fashion of speech had been modelled on that of a certain "honest Captain Hannam," of whom nothing is known; but Dekker would hardly have called him "honest," *i. e.*, respectable, had he been such a person as Tucca. Edward Guilpin in his *Skialetheia* (1598, p. 30, Grosart's edition) says that "Captain Tucca" will be pleased with veiled indecency ("masking bawdry") in verses which "discourse his own discourse," but does not otherwise characterize him. Jonson may have taken the name from Guilpin, and if so, where did Guilpin get it? It does not occur in Horace (where Jonson found Pantilius), though a commentator tells us that Tucca was the agnomen of Plotius, spoken of by Horace as a dear friend of himself and Vergil, and "one of the whitest souls upon earth." Would it be extravagant to surmise that Jonson or Guilpin took this name from its resemblance to "tuck," the long rapier worn by military men? In *Every Man in his Humour*, Brainworm, when disguised as a soldier, assumes the name of Fitz-Sword. Captain Tuck would then be a parallel of Ancient Pistol.

As for the character and mode of life of Tucca, I incline to think that Jonson took it from Horace's Maenius. The scholiast tells us that this Maenius "scurrilitate Romae nobilissimus fuit," that he was nicknamed Pantolabus "ab eo quod quicquid offerebatur acciperet; erat autem et urbanus [impudent] et mordax, itaque in eum largi erant et qui urbanitate delectabantur, et qui mordacitatem eius timebant." Horace says (*Ep.* I, xv) that Maenius, after he had squandered his patrimony,

> urbanus coepit haberi,
> Scurra vagus, non qui certum praesepe teneret,
> Impransus non qui civem dignosceret hoste,
> Quaelibet in quemvis opprobria fingere saevus,
> Pernicies et tempestas barathrumque macelli,
> Quicquid quaesierat ventri donabat avaro.
> Hic, ubi nequitiae fautoribus et timidis nil,
> Aut paullum, abstulerat, patinas coenabat omasi.

This seems to fit Tucca pretty closely. In fact, in the phrase "his belly is like Barathrum" (III, iv), we have an obvious reminiscence of this passage.

If I am right in my conjecture, the captain is a composite character. Jonson was struck with the bullying and wheedling *scurra* in Horace as a novel "humour," and turned him into the "skeldering" Tucca, fitting him out with a vocabulary of strange scurrility, perhaps modelled on that of "honest Captain Hannam."

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SHAKESPEARE, *Haml.* 3. 4. 56.

Hyperion's curls[1]; the front of Jove himself

looks like an adaptation of Kyd's (?) *Soliman and Perseda* 4. 1. 77–8:

[1] Steevens had referred to Ovid, *Met.* 3. 421, and to a line in Marston's *Insatiate Countess* (1613).

> Faire lockes, resembling Phœbus' radiant beames;
> Smooth forehead, like the table of high Ioue.

Boas has remarked (*Works of Thomas Kyd*, p. lxxxii) on two parallels between Shakespeare and this play, to which this may now be added.

As Boas thinks that these lines from *Soliman and Perseda* may possibly have been inspired by the 21st sonnet of Watson's *Hecatompathia*, we may note how the poet there (7–9) introduces the perfections of various goddesses to characterize his mistress:

> By Iunoes gift she beares a stately grace,
> Pallas hath placèd skill amidd'st her brest;
> Venus her selfe doth dwell within her face.

In the same kind is *A. Y. L.* 3. 2. 147–160.

The similarity between *Sol. and Pers.* 85–6 and Shak., *Ven. and Adon.* 234 ff. seems never to have been remarked.

Apropos of *Soliman and Perseda*, perhaps W. R. Greg (*Mod. Lang. Quart.* 4. 188) is a little severe in characterizing Boas' first Quarto edition of 1599 (*Works*, p. 162) as a forgery, though it is undoubtedly a modern reprint. The copy in the Yale Library has, on the reverse of the title, in small letters at the bottom of the page: 'J. Smeeton, Printer, St. Martin's Lane.' The British Museum copy, 11773. c. 11, is likely, therefore, to have the same means of identification.

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THE BASQUE VERB.

Students of Basque on both sides of the Atlantic will be interested to learn that an elaborate analysis of Pierre D'Urte's Basque Verb has just been placed in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. (Basque MSS. C 2.) It amounts to 138 pages of foolscap, and is the work of the Reverend Andrew Clark of Lincoln College. The grammar to which it refers—itself a mere fragment—was unearthed by Professor Rhŷs some years ago in Lord Macclesfield's library. At his suggestion, the late Prince Lucien Bonaparte visited Shirburn and examined it. It was eventually copied out by the late Canon Llewelyn Thomas of Jesus College, and has also been presented to the Oxford Library (Basque MSS. C 1). We offer this information for the use of scholars that might otherwise be ignorant of the existence of these MSS., neither of them being likely to be printed in the near future.

MYRANWY RHŶS.

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ENGLISH DRAMA.

Poetaster, by Ben Jonson. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by HERBERT S. MALLORY, Ph. D. [Yale Studies in English, XXVII.] New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1905.

Five of Jonson's plays have already appeared in this series, beside a volume of Studies in his Comedy, and we trust that the plan includes reproductions of all the best works of one of the most conscientious, most clear-thoughted, and manliest spirits among English men of letters; one who stood alone among his poetical contemporaries in the combination of principles and method—science and art.

Poetaster is, of course, not one of Jonson's best plays, being rather a dramatic lampoon than a comedy; but it contains so much of personal and biographical interest that it is well worth the pains that the editor has bestowed, not upon the text only, but also upon the famous literary quarrel that gave it birth, the origin of which, notwithstanding the most diligent investigation, is still not as clear as one could wish.

With regard to this quarrel, I find myself unable to agree with Dr. Mallory (and others) that Jonson meant the Hedon of *Cynthia's Revels* for Marston, and Anaides for Dekker. Where Jonson undertook to caricature, he made his caricatures so characteristic that the public could not fail to recognize the originals, as he does in *Poetaster*. But who, in "Hedon, the Voluptuous, a courtier," "a gallant wholly consecrated to his pleasures," who affects preciosity in speech, ex-

quisiteness in manners, and gorgeousness in apparel, who is redolent of the most delicate perfumes, fond of displaying the gold in his purse, the darling of the ladies and a glittering wonder at Court—could recognize the cynical, poor, and scurrilous Marston, who carried rugged speech to affectation, and was probably never at Court in his life? Nor can I recognize Dekker in "Anaides the Impudent," another fantastic gallant. Dekker was miserably poor and more than once imprisoned for debt; he was a plain hard-working poet, with flashes of genius, certainly, but as far as possible from the bullying, arrogant, swaggering Anaides. When Jonson really means Dekker (as in *Poetaster*) he calls him "a simple honest fellow," and sneers at his shabby poverty; and when he really means Marston, he represents him in threadbare clothes and with no money in his pocket. With more plausibility might we argue that Shakespeare caricatured Jonson in Falstaff, or in Sir Toby Belch.

Mr. Mallory finds in Jonson "a being divided against himself," and thinks that this division was due to the conflict in his soul between classic ideals and romantic influences. I, too, think I detect in Jonson an antinomy—a being-pulled in two ways—but I should account for it differently. Jonson had two fundamental beliefs: that Plautus and Terence were unsurpassable masters of comedy, and that the duty of comedy was to reform morals and manners. But these beliefs were discrepant. Neither Plautus nor Terence was a moral reformer in Jonson's sense. Indeed, the tendency of their comedies is rather the other way. The profligate scapegrace is sure to be pardoned by his father (or to catch the virtuous old man on a "jag"); the knavish servant and the parasite got off scot-free; the *meretrix* marries into a good family, and so forth. Vengeance overtakes only the *danista* and the *leno*, the common enemies of mankind. Jonson, moreover, held firmly the belief that to reform your own time you must draw men and women of your own time and country: Plautus and Terence drew their manners and characters from Greece. Jonson held fast to the doctrine that individual peculiarities or twists of character —"humours," as he calls them—which in the milder form are folly, and in the graver, vice, were the proper stuff for comedy: Plautus and Terence exhibited types only. Jonson makes these aberrations bring about their own discomfiture: the Latin poets do nothing of the sort.

Jonson was perpetually pulled from his realism in the direction of allegory. Macilente and Mammon are not persons but personifications; so are Pecunia and her retinue; while *Cynthia's Revels* is little else but allegory.

The editor has given great pains to the identification of the various personages, and reaches reasonable conclusions, treating very gently the fantastic conjectures of that worthy scholar but arch-finder of mares'-nests, Mr. Fleay. Among these personages the most singular is Captain Tucca, concerning whom, and my reasons for deriving him from the Maenius of Horace, I have expressed myself elsewhere.

In discussing the tribune Lupus, the editor seems not to have noticed the resemblance to Shakespeare's Dogberry. Both are guardians of the peace; both are zealous, credulous, and densely stupid; both are triumphant over the unearthing of a conspiracy—Dogberry insists upon being "written down an ass," and Lupus cries, "An ass? . . . that's I too: I am the ass. You mean me by the ass." These can hardly be mere coincidences.

The text carefully follows the folio of 1616, which was revised by Jonson himself. The notes are full, sensible, and the fruit of careful study and research. The editor need not have expressed astonishment at the mention of "perukes in Rome!" (p. 220). Old Ben knew pretty well what was in Rome, and had read his Juvenal (VI, 120). *Gent.* (p. 235) is not "an early use of the now vulgar form," but a common printers' contraction. There might have been a note to "Does not Cæsar give the eagle?" (p. 108) explaining that "give" has here the heraldic meaning of 'bear as his armorial device.' Thus Fuller, speaking of John of Trevisa, says: "he gave a garbe, or wheat-sheaf, for his arms." "So the proportion of your beard" (p. 169) refers rather to the (small) size than to the color of that appendage. But these are trifles not detracting from the solid worth of this edition.

Wm. Hand Browne.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

FRANCIS E. SANDBACH: The *Nibelungenlied* and *Gudrun* in England and America. London: David Nutt, 1903. 8vo., vi and 200 pp.

GEORGE HENRY NEEDLER: The *Nibelungenlied*. Translated into Rhymed English Verse in the Metre of the Original. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1904. 8vo., xxxvi and 349 pp.

Although the interest in Middle High German literature has been increasing steadily during the last years in England and America, yet comparatively few contributions with regard to this subject exist from English and American scholars. All the more we appreciate the two above mentioned literary products which cannot help proving a valuable addition to the history and knowledge of the German mediæval National Epics.

In "The Nibelungenlied and Gudrun in England and America," Dr. Sandbach places on record, as quoted in the preface, "exactly what attention has been paid in England and America to the two great National Epics of Germany."

The two Epics are treated separately, that is, the *Nibelungenlied*, pp. 3–135, *Gudrun*, pp. 139-195. In each case, the writer arranges his material under five headings, namely: I. Introductory; II. Translations; III. Reprints of Old German Text; IV. Miscellaneous; V. Influence on English Literature.

The introductory sections contain good abstracts of the two poems, a clear representation of the historical and mythological elements, the latest theories with regard to them, and an extensive bibliography.

The reviews of English translations are rendered specially interesting and instructive by the addition of characteristic passages which furnish good samples of the style of treatment in each individual case. Seven translations of the *Nibelungenlied* and one of *Gudrun* are comprehensively discussed. After a careful examination of the four verse renderings by Mr. Lettsom, Miss Horton, Mr. Birch and Mr. Foster-Barham, Dr. Sandbach arrives at the conclusion that those of the two first named translators are the best. Neither of the three prose translations can claim to be an accurate, faultless version, although each of them has its merits. Of the three English treatments of *Gudrun*, only one can, strictly speaking, be considered a translation, namely, the metrical rendering by Miss Nichols. Her translation is, on the whole, a good one, although not equal to that of the Nibelungenlied by Mr. Lettsom or Miss Horton.

Under heading IV, Dr. Sandbach mentions and in most cases briefly discusses ninety-three writings on the *Nibelungenlied* and forty-six on *Gudrun*. Here we certainly have a valuable contribution which will be useful for the study of Middle High German National Epics. Yet we can scarcely help thinking that the future historian and student would not have lost much, in case Dr. Sandbach had omitted in his lists a few books which do not bear exclusively on Middle High German poetry. Dr. Sandbach's whole book manifests a careful investigation of the subject, and will doubtless be of advantage to the students of Middle High German Epics in England and America.

Although a good many modern versions of the *Nibelungenlied* reproducing the metrical quality of the original strophe exist in *German*, it can hardly be maintained that the few English verse translations, that have appeared hitherto, represent the precise metre of the original. All the more we appreciate Professor Needler's translation, where the metre of the original is almost exactly rendered. The treatment is based on the St. Gall MS., which is, by most scholars of the present day, supposed to contain the best and most original text. A comprehensive introduction of 36 pages adds to the usefulness of the book.

Miss Horton's and Mr. Lettsom's English verse translations of the Epic, doubtless, deserve praise; yet they are, as well as other English poetical renderings, defective in one very important respect, that is, the extra fourth accented syllable in the second half of the last line of the original strophe is not retained.

In Professor Needler's translation, we find the fundamental characteristics of the Nibelungenstrophe observed. We have the so-called "ringing cæsura" at the end of the first half of each line as in the original. Ordinarily, in MHG. metric, accented and unaccented syllables regu-

larly follow each other. The unaccented syllable may, however, be wanting, or 2, 3 unaccented ones may be together. These latter variations are not frequent in our present translation, although they do occur. On the whole, a regular change between accented and unaccented syllables is seen. In this respect, Prof. Needler's translation manifests the same principles which Hertz, who has not yet been surpassed, strictly observed in his translation into German of MHG. Epics. The German translator considered a regular change between "Hebung" and "Senkung" as most appropriate. In order to avoid monotony, Hertz omits, according to MHG. usage, the "Auftakt" occasionally, so that the verses show now iambic, now trochaic rhythm. He avoids, however, "damit das Lesen nicht erschwert werde," polysyllabic "Auftakte," although they are not infrequent in MHG. poetry. Professor Needler not only produces trochaic besides iambic rhythm according to the original, but he also now and then gives polysyllabic Auftakte, thus adhering more closely to the original metre. Mr. Lettsom likewise has the change between accented and unaccented syllables. He at times omits the "Auftakt," so that trochaic besides iambic verses occur; also polysyllabic "Auftakte" are occasionally found. As Miss Horton mentions in the preface, she uses "a measure familiar in ballad verse and much used by Macaulay in his well-known 'Lays' . . . . for the sake of euphony, the extra accent which characterizes the second half of every fourth line has been omitted in the translation." Mr. Lettsom tells us in his preface: "I have not thought it expedient to make a rule of lengthening the fourth lines of the stanzas, though I have lengthened them occasionally."

As Prof. Needler mentions in his introduction, "the absence of the unaccented syllable between the second and the third accent of the last half of the fourth line of the Nibelungenstrophe is so frequent as to amount almost to a rule." Although the translator does not observe this characteristic as frequently as the original, yet he succeeds in reproducing it in a good many instances; cf. Str. 1290, 1292, 1303, 1770, 1813, 1871, 1925, etc. Another notable feature in which Needler surpasses previous translators of the *Nibelungenlied* into English verse, is a successful rendering of the "Cæsurreim" in most cases where the original has it; cp. Cæsurreim in Str. 1. story : glory, greeting : meeting; Str. 170. mother : another, sorrow : borrow, etc. Neither Mr. Lettsom nor Miss Horton attempted to reproduce it.

As to the language used, it seems to us that also here Prof. Needler takes fewer liberties than previous translators, and hence renders the mediæval spirit, also in this respect, as far as possible.

The first Str. may serve as an illustration:

Uns ist in alten mæren wunders vil geseit
von heleden lobebæren von grôzer arebeit:
von freude unt hôchgezîten, von weinen unde klagen,
von küener recken strîten muget ir nu wunder hoeren sagen.

To us, in olden legends, is many a marvel told
Of praise-deserving heroes, of labours manifold,
Of weeping and of wailing, of joy and festival;
Of bold knight battling shall you now hear a wondrous tale.
(Miss Horton.)

In stories of our fathers high marvels we are told
Of champions well approved in perils manifold.
Of feasts and merry meetings of weeping and of wail,
And deeds of gallant daring I'll tell you in my tale.
(Mr. Lettsom.)

To us in olden story are wonders many told
Of heroes rich in glory, of trials manifold:
Of joy and festive greeting, of weeping and of woe,
Of keenest warriors meeting, shall ye now many a wonder know.
(Prof. Needler.)

We trust Prof. Needler may find time and leisure to add to English literature an equally successful translation of the *Gudrun*.

Klara Hechtenberg Collitz.

Bryn Mawr, Pa.

SPANISH LITERATURE.

La Vida es Sueño, by D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca with notes and vocabulary by William Wistar Comfort, Ph. D., Instructor in Romance Languages in Haverford College. New York: American Book Co., Pp. 180.

While the many Spanish texts published in the last few years have been, in greater part, selected from the prose works of writers of the XIXth century,

the drama of the best period of Spanish literature has not been wholly neglected. Four years ago Professor Bourland published an excellent edition of Tirso de Molina's *Don Gil de las Calzas Verdes* (New York, Henry Holt & Co.), and this is now followed by the present edition, of Calderón's *La Vida es Sueño* by Professor Comfort. The selection is a good one, for of all the dramas of Calderón 'Life is a Dream,' is perhaps the best known and has been oftenest translated. The German version by Gries (Berlin, 1815) and the English one by Denis Florence MacCarthy, the Irish poet (London, 1873), still enjoy a well-deserved reputation, and have introduced the Spanish poet to a wide circle of readers. Both are admirable and while it must be admitted that the trochaic ballad measure which is the prevailing metre in the Spanish drama, is not so well suited to the genius of the English language as to the German, MacCarthy's version can well bear comparison with that of Gries. MacCarthy, as is well known, had been preceded in 1856 by Archbishop Trench, whose analysis and translation of Calderón's drama 'Life is a Dream' and of his *auto*, 'The Great Theatre of the World,' appeared in that year. To Trench's version, it may be added, is prefixed a pleasing and instructive essay on the life and genius of Calderón, and an account of his English translators.

When *La Vida es Sueño* was written we do not know, but it must have been before November, 1635—the date of the *Aprobacion* of the first volume of Calderón's *comedias*, which undoubtedly appeared in that year, and was followed by the second volume in 1637. Professor Comfort has prefixed to his edition a short chapter on 'Calderón and his work' with a summary of the metres used in the play. An analysis also precedes each act. The editor might have stated, as Hartzenbusch had pointed out, that *La Vida es Sueño* is founded on a story which is substantially the same as the foundation of the induction to the *Taming of the Shrew*. Calderón found the story, in all probability, in the *Viaje Entretenido* of Agustin de Rojas, where it occurs on pp. 338 and foll. (ed. of Madrid, 1603).

Professor Comfort's text is based upon that of Hartzenbusch in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. Hartzenbusch's text *may* be founded on the earliest edition of the play accessible to him,—that in the *Parte Treinta de Comedias famosas de Varios Autores*, Zaragoza, 1636, though it is quite probable that he took it from the edition of the *Primera Parte* of Calderón, issued by Vera Tassis in 1683. It is true he does not even state this, at all events I fail to find this volume among the '*Ediciones que se han consultado para esta*,' a list subjoined to Vol. IV, in the ed. of the *Biblioteca*. Nobody, so far as I know, has gone back to the original edition of 1635, which, as it was published by Calderón's brother Joseph, undoubtedly contains an authentic text. This is due to the extreme rarity of the volume—which is wanting in the National Library, Madrid, but of which copies are still extant, as one was offered to the writer years ago by a Paris bookseller. Professor Comfort's edition is an excellent one; it is done with great care, and the notes—which are given at the foot of the page,—are judicious and evade no difficulty of the text. A vocabulary concludes the volume, which is a welcome addition to our Spanish texts.

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FRENCH DICTIONARIES.

EUGÈNE RITTER: *Les Quatre Dictionnaires français.* Genève: Librairie H. Kündig, 1905. Pp. 243.

This book is an example of what may be accomplished by working methodically and reading with care. Having for many years had a work of this sort in mind, Professor Ritter has, in the course of his wide reading, been in the habit of noting the uses of words as they appeared to his keen eye to be of special interest. The result is that this important contribution to French lexicography has gradually and almost insensibly been prepared, at the same time that the author was busy with his work as a professor and with writing other books.

In the first part of the work, we have a critical estimate of the four great French Dictionaries, the *Academy*, *Littré*, *Hatzfeld and Darmesteter*, and *Godefroy*. The greatest space is, naturally, given to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*. The

author gives a very interesting account of the problems and difficulties which confronted the first editors and of their methods of procedure. Owing chiefly to the number of editors and to their having equal authority, the progress was necessarily slow, and when the end of the alphabet was finally reached after forty years' labor, the work was found to be so uneven that a general revision was needed before the dictionary could be published. This revision lasted nearly twenty years.

Professor Ritter gives us an amusing glimpse of the troubles of l'abbé Furetière, the Academician who was opposed to the somewhat narrow scope of the dictionary of the Academy and dissatisfied with its slow progress. He resolved to write a dictionary himself in opposition to that of the Academy and in due time the work was ready for the printer. In spite of his ingenious tricks, the abbé was unable to publish his work, owing to the fact that the Academy had obtained the exclusive privilege of printing a dictionary. Furetière was finally expelled from the Academy and spent his last years in writing pamphlets criticising his former associates. His dictionary was published in Holland after his death, and it has been re-edited several times.

A very interesting bit of dictionary history is the story of how the aged Voltaire, whom the Academy had elected its director by acclamation upon his triumphal arrival in Paris in 1778, immediately made the "Immortals" vote to revise the dictionary according to his own ideas. Within a month, before the plans for the revision were formulated, Voltaire was dead. Professor Ritter comments: "ç'avait été de la part du viellard, si l'on ose le dire, un trait d'étourderie sénile."

The immense advantage which a dictionary like that of the Academy possesses over those compiled by a single individual, that of Samuel Johnson, for example, is, that it is faithful to its traditions and that it perpetuates itself, being always controlled by the best writers of each succeeding epoch. It is this circumstance which has given the dictionary of the Academy the great authority which it at last fully acquired in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The dictionary of the Academy is weakest in its definitions. Hatzfeld has, in his excellent work, improved upon many of these, while he is himself occasionally guilty of the syllogistic circles which he tries to avoid.

The great dictionary of Littré is frequently at fault in its etymologies and the citations might be made still more numerous.

These three dictionaries Professor Ritter regards as standard works which only need to be revised from time to time. The work of Godefroy, on the other hand, ought, he thinks, to be entirely rewritten on another and better plan. It has, however, the merit of being the only one of its kind.

In the second part of his work (pp. 47–243), Professor Ritter gives us his contribution to lexicography. Sometimes it is a more accurate definition or derivation than the dictionaries give, sometimes a quotation showing an earlier use of a word than that given by Hatzfeld, sometimes again, a quotation for a word for which Littré had found no authority, etc.

It would be of interest, if space permitted, to give some specimens of these valuable quotations and subtle remarks; for example, concerning the revolutionary calendar or the word *être* as a term of genealogy, or about *le moment psychologique*, *romantique*, *génie*, or on the position of the relative *qui*, etc.

Les Quatre Dictionnaires français is a valuable and interesting work which will undoubtedly be much appreciated by all those interested in the study of the French language.

William Koren.

Princeton University.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A Modern Welsh Parallel to the Marriage of Geraint, ll. 318–416.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—It would be much to expect of romancers that they should have an eye even faintly single for exact knowledge. It is, however, regrettable that the author of a recently published Old Romance[1] (drawn we are told from

[1] *Heart of Wales.* By Allen Raine. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1905.

"some of the floating legends and traditions connected with the Castle of Emlyn," in Wales) furnishes the curious reader no precise clue to the source of the legends mentioned and omits to say whether any known repository of Welsh folk-lore has been anywhere relied upon. If this "Heart of Wales" derives from *matériel roulant* to-day, if it does not make direct use of the *Mabinogion* or the *Idyls of the King*, interesting proof is supplied in its first chapter of the persistence in the popular mind of the legend from which Tennyson wove his Marriage of Geraint. The fact, if it is a fact, is scarcely surprising, the situation as there sketched being one always possible and always appealing in its tender sentiment. One thing is manifest in the "Heart of Wales" (taking it at its face value) as compared with the *Mabinogion*: the conditions that produced in France first national *gestes* and then family *gestes* were repeated in Wales. The Castle of Emlyn of Miss Raine's text is the centre of a family tradition that ramifies throughout Wales. The Geraint (or Deraint ap Rhys of Emlyn) of the text, is the nephew of the châtelaine of Castle Mathorwy, described as follows, with its forlorn inmates and its distinguished visitor:

P. 2.—"At the base of these rugged hills there stood a pile of old grey walls known as Castle Mathorwy, although it had very little claim to the title of castle, but bore more the appearance of a fortified farm house. The turreted walls which guarded the entrance into the central hall were tottering to decay, its courtyard wall, too, showed many a breach which Time had made.

For many years the Garlles (Countess) Alsen had lived as a widow at Mathorwy, for it was long since her husband had gone the way of all flesh. He had been a morose and silent man, sharing not at all in the exciting turbulence of the times, but satisfied with his hunting and his fishing."

P. 7.—"Hast food for twenty horsemen? For they come through the wood," asked the Garlles.

"Not for twenty chickens," said Jevan.

"Hold thy peace," said the old dame, striking the rushes with her stick. "There are pullets in the barnyard, trout in the Llyn. See that the board is well provided with fish, flesh, and fowl."

P. 10.—"At that moment, through an arched doorway, Eleric entered. She had put on her gown of taffetas, in which two shades of blue, interwoven with a sheen of creamy silk, made a beautiful combination, that changed and glistened with every movement of her graceful figure."

P. 14.—"The young man's attention was somewhat distracted by the figure of the beautiful girl who bent over her tapestry beside him; by the little white hand that plied the needle, now over, now under the frame; but with an effort he turned from the attractive picture to give his whole attention to the Garlles."[2]

Alfred J. Morrison.

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A Simile of Tennyson's.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—The origin of Tennyson's familiar simile,

> As careful robins eye the delver's toil,

(*Marriage of Geraint*, 714) is thus explained in Hallam Tennyson's *Memoir* of the poet, 1. 414: '*Geraint and Enid* [was] begun on April 16th [1856] . . . . Meantime for daily exercise he planted trees and shrubs, rolled the lawn, and dug in the kitchen-garden, taking all the while a loving note of nature. Thus as he was digging one day a well-known line formed itself:

> As careful robins eye the delver's toil.'

But the verse was suggested not merely by the poet's observation of robins. In cadence it is an unmistakable, though perhaps unconscious, echo of Pope's

> In vain th' observer eyes the builder's toil

(*Moral Essays*, 1. 220). This imitation accords with Tennyson's opinion of Pope: 'He felt what Cowper calls the "musical finesse" of Pope, and admired single lines and couplets very much, but he found the "regular da, da, da, da" of his heroic metre monotonous' (*Memoir* 2. 286).

Tennyson repeats this line at *Geraint and Enid* 431; but he could hardly have treasured it thus for its power as a simile. In the one case it is

[2] For other parallels to this incident in the history of Geraint and Enid, cf. *Modern Language Notes*, vol. XVIII, pp. 220–222.

used ineffectively to illustrate the keenness of Geraint's glance at Enid as she appears arrayed in the faded silk she wore when first he saw her; in the other case, the keenness of his glance at her when she disobeyed him in order to warn him of dangers in the way. As a simile, it seems not to have sprung spontaneously from the contemplation of the subject it is supposed to illustrate, but, in the moment of conception, to have been wholly detached from any such subject. If not the appropriateness, then doubtless it was the cadence of the line—Pope's cadence, softened and quickened by Tennyson—that made the poet preserve and repeat it, and indeed causes it to run in a reader's mind long after its application is forgotten.

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The Old Oaken Bucket.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—Apropos of the widespread indebtedness of American writers of the early nineteenth century to Byron, it may be of interest to point out that the familiar *Old Oaken Bucket* borrows its form and several of its phrases from Byron's *On a Distant View of the Village and School of Harrow on the Hill.* The *Distant View* appeared in *Hours of Idleness* (1807). Samuel Woodworth's sentimental verses were first published in *Melodies, Duets, Trios, Songs and Ballads*, 1826. The first two lines of the *Distant View* are:

> "Ye scenes of my childhood, whose loved recollection
> Embitters the present compared to the past;"

the opening lines of *The Old Oaken Bucket:*

> "How dear to this heart are the scenes of my childhood,
> When fond recollection presents them to view;
> The orchard, the meadow, the deep-tangled wildwood,
> And every loved spot which my infancy knew."

Byron's verses conclude:

> "But if, through the course of the years which await me,
> Some new scene of pleasure should open to view,
> I will say, while with rapture the thought shall elate me,
> 'Oh! such were the days which my infancy knew.'"

The preface to the collected edition of Woodworth's poems (1861), gives an elaborate account of how Woodworth, after drinking a glass of water, said casually that the water would have tasted better out of the bucket in the old well at home, whereupon his wife remarked: "Wouldn't that make a good subject for a poem?"—and the verses were composed forthwith. Of the fact that the versifier was compelled to journey home to the "cot of his father" by the somewhat roundabout route of Harrow on the Hill, the preface apparently makes no account.

Edmund K. Broadus.

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A New Reading in *The Eve of St. Agnes.*

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—In line 241 (stanza xxvii, l. 7) of *The Eve of St. Agnes*, that line so greatly admired by Leigh Hunt,

> Clasp'd like a missal where swart Paynims pray,

all the printed editions read, "pray," and so far as I know, no one has ever questioned that the meaning is "offer prayers." The original manuscript doubtless has the same reading, as Buxton Forman gives no indication to the contrary. The association of ideas between "pray" and "missal" helps to make the established reading seem natural.

For all that, I believe the true reading to be "prey." It is, in the first place, quite conceivable that Keats should have written "pray," intending "prey." His spelling was not infallible; from Buxton Forman's collation of the manuscript, it appears that in this very poem he wrote "tripple," "hony," "plummes" "Deamons," etc., etc. Besides, the spelling "pray" for "prey" is common in Keats's favorite poet, Spenser (*Faerie Queene* III. vii. 36. 6; v. iv. 14. 8; VI. x. 40. 1; etc.). If we thus have the choice between two possible interpretations, there are certainly reasons for preferring that here suggested. If we are to imagine the missal as "doubly cherished for the danger" (Leigh Hunt) the danger from marauding Paynims will surely be greater than that from Paynims who simply say their prayers. And in the romantic epics of chivalry, of which Keats had imbibed the spirit, the characteristic of the Paynims is not their piety, but precisely their preying upon Christian knight and lady.

W. Strunk, Jr.

Cornell University.

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THE ORIGIN OF COLOR-NAMES.

We look upon a world of objects around us and find them, each with its name attached and carefully listed, ready to be told off. And in giving names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field, we perhaps think, if we think at all on the subject, that these names properly belong to the objects designated by them. We call a tree a tree, why, because it is a tree, little thinking that the word tree ever meant anything else. To us such terms as tree, grass, water, sky, stone, book, etc., are merely token-coins passing current for certain ideas more or less fixed. This, to be sure, adds to the exactness of speech, and is therefore an advantage. And yet we feel the need of expressing ourselves picturesquely, and hence often use terms that are descriptive of the object or the act.

Now, what we do occasionally was at one time the general practice. For it is safe to say that most words were originally picture-words, or descriptive terms. These terms were, of course, not exact descriptions of the whole object or the entire act, but of the most striking peculiarity, and might, therefore, when restricted or extended, be applied to the most various objects. For the same term may be applied to any object or act which it may describe. Thus *crook* may be used of a curve in a river, a bending of the knee, the bent part of a cane or umbrella, a dishonest person, etc. In this way, from the same descriptive term differently applied, may come words widely divergent in meaning.

This accounts for such divergency of meaning as Eng. *beam* : Ger. *Baum* ; Eng. *bone* : Ger. *Bein* ; Eng. *crop* of corn : *crop* of a fowl ; Eng. *tree* : Gk. δόρυ 'spear,' etc.

When we discover the primary meaning of a group of words, the changes in signification usually seem easy and natural. For example, there is an IE. root *lip*, meaning "smear." From this comes a Skt. verb *limpáte* with the two principal significations : "smear" and "stick to, adhere," that is, "be smeary, sticky." From "smear" naturally come "anoint, paint" and "besmear, daub, pollute, defile."

In Greek the root *lip* gives a verb ἀλείφω 'smear, anoint, daub, dye, etc.', and a noun λίπος 'grease, oil.' From this is derived an adjective which, according to its application, means rich, fertile or shiny, bright. Another adjective, λῑπαρής, 'persisting, persevering ; importunate,' whence a verb, λῑπαρέω 'persist, persevere ; importune, beg,' goes back to the primary meaning "stick to, adhere."

In Balto-Slavic "stick, adhere" is the only meaning that has survived. The same is true of Germanic. Here, however, only derived meanings are found. So we have German *bleiben* 'remain,' which meant primarily "stick." An outgrowth of "remain" we have in *live* and *life* with their various shades of meaning. Though these words are derived from the meaning "stick, remain," they imply activity, energy ; hence the adjective *lively*.

One other related word remains to be explained. This may be done by putting "is left" in place of "remains." *Left* is a past participle of *leave*, which meant primarily "cause to remain." Thus from the one root *lip*, smear, have sprung these widely divergent words. But this is not an abnormal growth ; for divarication is the law of development in language.

Now, if we analyze the examples just given, we shall find that the changes of meaning resulted from the following facts. First, the word was extended in its application so that it could be used of any smearing. Next, the word came to denote what it primarily only connoted or implied. Thus stickiness was implied by smeariness, and then became the prevailing idea in some languages. Finally, the primary meaning was obscured, and the various secondary meanings became new centres of divergence branching out in every direction.

The general principle that difference of use leads to divergency of meaning helps us also to explain color-names. These in their very nature are secondary. For, being descriptive terms, there was a time when there were no color-names as such. That is, there was a time, and that not very remote in many cases, when the present color-words were terms that could be used in describing quite different qualities. This earliest stage can be seen at all periods, for color-names are continually arising. It is represented in English by such terms as gay, lively, smart, dashy, loud, gaudy; dull, dead, dreary; tarnished, stained, spotted, dirty, smeared; faint, faded, feeble, etc. From such and similar terms come fixed color-names. This happens because a community describes a certain color by a certain term, and by association the term comes to denote that color.

Different communities, however, may use the same term differently, for the basis of comparison may be different. Thus by association "smeared" may mean to one "dirty, dark-colored" and then perhaps "brown, black"; to another "oily, shiny, bright, white." Or a general term like "bright" may be restricted to a particular bright color. In one language, therefore, it may mean "white," in another, "yellow"; in a third, "red," etc. When, therefore, we find such differences in different languages, we are not to assume that color-names change, that, for example, a word that meant "red" at one time might mean "yellow" or "white" at another; but rather that the various words resulted from the restricted use of some term of wider application.

We must bear in mind also that in primitive times different colors were not carefully distinguished. For example, one word might be used where we should say yellow, orange, salmon, pink, rose, scarlet, red, crimson, maroon, brown. Of the ten color-names given here only three have come down from early times: yellow, red, brown. These, it will be noticed, are not so specific as the other colors named. In fact, some might loosely apply the term red to any tint from yellow to brown.

As a rule, the color-names that have come down from antiquity, as brown, red, yellow, green, blue, gray, are loosely used. Each covers a variety of shades. Black and white, however, which are old color-names, are from their nature more specific.

An interesting parallel is the Japanese color-name *aoi*. According to context, this would be translated into English by green, blue, pale, or livid. For it may be applied to the grass, the sky, a body of water, or the face when pale with sickness or blanched with fear. But this does not mean that the Japanese do not recognize the difference between green and blue, or that they ever regarded the two colors as identical. It means simply, that, in common speech, distinctive terms for blue and green have not been evolved. It is like our loosely used red, brown, gray, or the still more indefinite dull, dingy; bright, gaudy, etc. The use of such general terms does not imply in us a lack of discrimination any more than the use of legume would lay us under the charge of not knowing beans from peas.

In searching for the origin of color-names, we shall find that many are related to words for blaze, burn, shine. The underlying words here express rapid motion of the most general character, and are widely divergent in their development. We therefore find such ideas as whirl, vibrate, tremble; scatter, sprinkle, sputter; spring, rise, grow, etc., producing words for flicker, twinkle, sparkle, glitter, gleam, blaze, burn, shine, etc.

The same underlying terms are used to express quite different ideas. This is because they are capable of a wide application, not because there is a transference from one to another. Thus Ger. *sprühen* may mean sparkle or drizzle, from the wider signification "fly out in small particles." There is, of course, a transference from the concrete to the abstract or from the physical to the mental. But when we find a term that is used of sight and of sound, we are not at once to suppose that there has been a transference from one to the other. In some cases that may be true, that is, there may be a secondary transference from sound to sight or from sight to sound, as when we speak of loud colors or dark tones. But when we consider that all terms describing the objects of sense perception are necessarily transferred terms, it will appear more probable that a word signifying both shrillness and brightness is a descriptive derivative in both senses. That is, one is not derived from the

other, but both are transferred ideas. Thus Lat. *ācer* 'sharp, pointed' is applied to all the senses and also to mental and moral qualities. Or "resound" and "sparkle" are often derived from the primary meaning "break forth, burst" or "shake, rattle."

The word *sparkle* itself is a typical illustration of this change. In form it is a frequentative of *spark*, OE. *spearcian* 'emit sparks, scintillate,' and closely related to *spiercan* 'sparkle; 'sputter,' *spiercing* 'sprinkling.' The three significations "sparkle," "sputter," "sprinkle" are specializations of some more general meaning, such as "scatter, sprühen." This we find in the related Lat. *spargo* 'strew, throw here and there, scatter, sprinkle, spurt, etc.' But all these point to some such original meaning as "move quickly to and fro, spring, jump." So here belong ON. *sparka* 'kick' and *sparkr* 'quick, lively,' from which we take Eng. *spark* 'a gay, lively man.'

But we have not yet reached the limits of development in this group of words. To scatter implies to burst apart. This signification branches into three main lines. Burst is used of literal shattering, and of the bursting forth of buds. So we find related words meaning "burst, break; bud, bloom." As breaking, cracking is attended with noise, it is but a short step to "crackle, clatter." This meaning occurs in a number of words, among others ON. *spraka*. From "crackle, clatter" we come naturally to "talk, speak," and this we have in Ger. *sprechen*.

It is evident from the examples given that color-names arise in the process of differentiation of some descriptive term, and that the color denoted depends upon the basis of comparison as fixed by association. For example, the root *lip* 'smear,' to which I have referred, gives Skt. *lēpas* 'filth, spot' and Gk. λιπαρός 'oily, shiny, bright.' A root *mel* 'mark, stain' produces words for blue, black, and yellow. From the meaning "stroke, streak" come Eng. *grime* and Ger. *greis*.

We see, then, how true it is that usage fixes the signification of a word. But it is not blind usage, though the change in meaning may be the result of an accidental choice. Suppose, for example, we start with "dry." If we apply this to the sky, it will mean "clear, bright." If the primary meaning "dry" is lost sight of, the word may be transferred to the appearance of the countenance, and would then mean "bright, cheerful." If, however, "dry" were used of vegetation, it would mean "withered, faded, sear," and might imply a yellowish or brownish color. If the secondary meaning "faded" should be used of the complexion, it would then denote "paleness, sallowness." All these changes would be natural and easy and yet would result in striking differences.

It has surely become apparent from the preceding discussion that any color-name as "white," "black," "red," may go back to various descriptive terms. That is, "white," in one case, may come from "shining, bright"; in another from "clean, pure"; in a third from "oily, sleek"; in a fourth from "faded, pale," and so on.

In a paper of this kind, therefore, I can indicate only in the most general way the primary meaning of the principal colors. The origin of "white" I have already pointed out. "Red" is equally various in its beginnings. Some words for red come from "shining, blazing." The thing primarily described was the blazing fire or the ruddy glow of embers, but the adjective thus used was soon transferred to other red objects. When "red" goes back to such a meaning, it may be related to words for yellow or white.

A frequent source of words for red, reddish, yellow, is some verb meaning "flourish, bloom." In this case bright-colored flowers were first in the mind of the originators. Naturally such words could be applied to the bloom upon the cheek.

As red is such a striking color and so frequently used of the complexion, it often came to be regarded as the color par excellence. So Lat. *color* implies especially a ruddy or reddish color. This is, however, only natural, for *color* is related to *cēlāre* 'hide, cover,' and meant primarily "covering," hence "appearance, complexion." It is interesting to note that from the very same root comes OE. *heolstor* 'dark; darkness,' *i. e.*, "covered." A similar difference in development is seen in Ir. *derg* 'red' and the cognate Eng. *dark*. Many such parallels exist.

As many of the words for bright, white, yellow, red, etc., come from the primary meaning spring up, shoot out or the like, we not infrequently find them related to words meaning green. Thus the

same root that gives Eng. *grow* and *green* furnishes Lett. *farût* 'branch out,' whence 'radiate, beam.' Lith. *žėrėti* is used only in the derived sense: 'beam, gleam.'

"Yellow," as we have seen, may be one in origin with "red" or "white" where the primary idea is "glowing, bright." In other cases "yellow" comes from "faded" as applied especially to the complexion. It may then be equivalent to "pale, sallow." Or "yellow" is sometimes the specialized use of some general term like "smeared, stained."

"Blue" as a rule is derived from such term as "spotted, stained." In this case it is closely allied to "livid," "dark," "black," etc. The same variation occurs when the primary meaning is "faded," which is another common source of "blue" or "livid."

With the blue of the sky above us, it might be thought that "blue" would be named from the sky. But such is only rarely the case. The sky itself is regarded as a covering, a firmament, an arch, an expanse, the source of light, etc., and an adjective "sky-blue" or "bright" might come from such a word or be related to it. But it is very rare that an IE. adjective meaning blue refers primarily to the sky. When that is the case, the real meaning is "clear, serene," and only by implication "blue."

"Gray" often comes from such terms as "streaked, rough, spotted," and might therefore be related to words for blue, black, yellow, or brown. In other cases "gray" develops from "white," of whatever origin that may be.

"Brown" may be a light or a dark color. When it is the former it may be a specialized meaning of "bright." This seems to be the case in the word *brown* itself. But generally "brown" refers to a dark color and is equivalent to an original "smeared, stained, dull, dark, dingy," as in ChSl. *smědŭ* 'darkbrown': Goth. *bismeitan* 'smear.'

Such terms as dull, dark, dingy, black have a wide field to come from and may therefore be related to various other color-names. "Covered" is the primary meaning in Lat. *obscūrus* 'dark, obscure' and in a number of other synonymous words. "Dirty, stained, smeared" is the starting point for "dark-colored" in many cases. So Greek *μέλας* 'black' is related to Skt. *malinás* 'filthy, dark-colored,' and also to Lith. *mėlynas* 'blue' and Welsh *melyn* 'yellow.' And all are from a root *mel* 'mark, stain.' Eng. *freckle* and Ger. *Forelle* are related to Skt. *pr̥̂çniṣ* 'speckled, spotted,' and to Gk. *περκνός* 'dark-colored, livid.' From "turbid, misty, stormy" come also many words for dark, dusky, as in the case of the last two words.

An interesting class of color-names are such as come from the primary meaning "flow out, fall away, vanish." This gives a wide variety of color-names. For we have, on the one side, "clear up," whence "clear, serene, bright;" on the other, "fade," from which may come "pale, sallow" or "livid, dark-colored."

Thus from the primary meaning "flow out, vanish" come Lith. *blaivas* 'clear, bright,' as applied to the sky, and OE. *blāt* 'pale, livid,' in reference to the complexion. Or the same root that gives Lat. *madidus* 'wet, drenched, soaked, drunk' produced Gk. *μαδαρός* 'melting away: flabby, loose; bald,' and ChSl. *modrŭ* 'livid.' Here "bald" and "livid" both go back to the primary meaning "falling away, disappearing:" in one case of the hair, in the other of the complexion.

In some cases words for gloom, darkness, night are actually derived from verbs meaning glow, gleam. Originally the gloom was thought of as a faint light in the darkness, and then "faint light, gloom, darkness" became the prevailing idea. We see the beginning of this change in English *glimmer* as compared with the related *gleam*, and a more advanced stage in *gloom*, which is derived from *glow*. The word *night* itself, with its cognates in most of the Indo-European languages, is an example of this development of meaning, and all the stages are shown in Skt. *aktúṣ* 'gleam, glimmer, darkness, night.'

In all periods, but especially in later times, color-words are formed from the names of objects having the color to be designated. Theoretically we might form in English a color-name from any object by adding "colored" to it, as: cream-colored, dove-colored, straw-colored, etc. In many cases the color-names are direct derivatives, as: golden, silver, leaden, emerald, ruby, orange, violet, and many others. In some of these the object

was named from its color. So it was with gold and ruby. But golden and ruby are used as color-names with no thought of the original meaning of gold and ruby.

In these various ways color-names arise. They are always transferred terms, and, in the old color-names at least, usually come from the restricted use of various descriptive terms. As we have seen, the color denoted depends upon association, not upon any inherent meaning in the word itself.[1]

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NOTES ON THE INFLECTION OF SPANISH VERBS: 1. VERBS IN *-iar* AND *-uar*; 2. VERBS IN WHICH THE LAST TWO VOWELS OF THE STEM FORM A COMBINATION OF THE TYPE STRONG + WEAK.

No complete classification of verbs in *-iar* and *-uar*, or of those in which the last two vowels of the stem form a combination of the type strong + weak, has hitherto been made. Verbs in *-iar* and *-uar* have been inadequately treated in several American Spanish grammars.[1] Verbs in which the last two vowels of the stem form a combination of the type strong + weak have not been treated in any American Spanish grammar.

The classification of the verbs in question depends upon two considerations: diphthongization or non-diphthongization in the infinitive, and accentuation or non-accentuation in tonic forms.

The fact involved in the first of these considerations,—namely, that the combinations which normally constitute diphthongs[2] fail, in certain words, to constitute diphthongs,—is a matter of commonplace knowledge to Spanish grammarians.[3] It has been ignored, however, by all American writers of Spanish grammars.[4]

Statements as to diphthongization or non-diphthongization and as to accentuation or non-accentuation in certain of the verbs here in question have been made by various Spanish grammarians, notably Bello, Benot, and Cuervo. The *Diccionario de la conjugación castellana*[5] of Emiliano Isaza is, however, the only work in which statements as to diphthongization or non-diphthongization and as to accentuation or non-accentuation

INFINITIVE:	NO DIPHTHONG	DIPHTHONG	
tonic forms:	{ no diphthong / accent	{ diphthong retained / no accent	{ diphthong dissolved / accent
-iar:	(49: List 1) confiar confío	(219) cambiar cambio	(27: List 2) telegrafiar telegrafío
-uar:	(all except { *-cuar* / *-guar* }) continuar continúo	({ *-cuar* / *-guar* }) santiguar santiguo	
strong + weak:	(3: List 3) reunir reúno	(53) reinar reino	(17: List 4) aunar aúno

[1] The above article reviews briefly some of the conclusions reached in the author's "*Color-Names and their Congeners*," Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1902.

[1] See for example Ford and Hills, sections 218 and 219, and Ramsey, section 1045.

[2] *i. e.*, (1) strong + unstressed weak, (2) unstressed weak + strong, (3) unstressed weak + weak.

[3] See for example the *Gramática de la lengua castellana* of the Spanish Academy, edition of 1901, pp. 330 and 334.

[4] See for example Ford and Hills, section 4, and Ramsey, sections 4–8. In Ford and Hills, section 4, certain words (*e. g.*, fiar) are given to illustrate diphthongization which are particularly cited in the *Gramática* of the Spanish Academy as words in which the combination in question does not constitute a diphthong.

[5] Paris, Imprenta Sudamericana: 1897.

are made for all of the verbs here in question. Isaza's work is entirely authoritative. It is based upon critical study of the statements of other grammarians and upon independent research into literary and colloquial usage. Isaza has thus provided all the data necessary for the proper classification of the verbs in question. The classification which follows is based entirely upon his statements.

Verbs in *-iar*.

281 verbs in *-iar* are registered in the *Diccionario* of Isaza.[6] In 232 of these verbs the *ia* constitutes a diphthong. In 45 the *ia* does not constitute a diphthong.[7] In 4 the *ia* is sometimes considered as constituting and sometimes as not constituting a diphthong.[8]

Non-diphthongization is normal in the following cases :—

1) when the stem contains no other vowel than the *i* in question. The verbs espiar and estriar should be considered as of this type, since the *e* is merely a euphonic prefix ; also the verb istriar, since it is merely a variant of estriar. 11 verbs are of this type.[9]

2) when the verb is formed upon a simple stem containing no other vowel than the *i* in question. 21 verbs are of this type.[10]

In the 49 verbs in which the *ia* does not constitute a diphthong, the *i* is vocalic, and is the stem vowel. In tonic forms, therefore, the stress rests upon the *i*. This position of the stress is orthographically indicated by the placing of an accent upon the *i*. The formal grammatical statement with regard to these verbs should be to the following effect :—

All verbs in -iar in which the ia does not constitute a diphthong accent the i in tonic forms.

In the 236 verbs in which the *ia* does constitute a diphthong, the *i* is semi-vocalic, and the vowel before the *i* is the stem vowel. In tonic forms, therefore, the stress should rest upon the vowel before the *i*.

In 209 of the 236 verbs the stress does thus regularly rest upon the vowel before the *i*.

In 17 of the 236 verbs, however, the stress rests upon the *i* instead of upon the vowel before the *i*,[11] and in 10 of the 236 verbs the stress may rest either upon the *i* or upon the vowel before the *i*.[12] The position of the stress upon the *i* is orthographically indicated by the placing of an accent upon it. These 27 verbs should be grouped together as constituting a single irregular class. The formal grammatical statement with regard to this irregular class should be to the following effect :—

Some verbs in -iar in which the ia does constitute a diphthong accent the i in tonic forms.

Verbs in *-uar*.

If the *ua* is preceded by *c* or *g* it constitutes a diphthong ; otherwise it does not constitute a diphthong.

In all verbs in *-uar*, then, except those in *-cuar* and *-guar*, the *u* is vocalic, and is the stem vowel. In tonic forms, therefore, the stress rests upon the *u*. This position of the stress is orthographically indicated by the placing of an accent upon the *u*. The formal grammatical statement with regard to these verbs should be to the following effect :—

All verbs in -uar except those in -cuar and -guar accent the u in tonic forms.

In verbs in *-cuar* and *-guar* the *u* is semi-vocalic, and the vowel before the *u* is the stem vowel. In tonic forms, therefore, the stress rests upon the vowel before the *u*.

Verbs in which the last two Vowels of the stem form a Combination of the type Strong + Weak.

73 such verbs are registered in the *Diccionario* of Isaza.[13] In 70 of these verbs the combination

[6] Not counting 76 which are registered as antiquated, 6 which are registered as provincial, 3 which are registered as used only in the Gypsy dialect, and one which is not registered, in the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* of the Spanish Academy.

[7] See List 1, unstarred verbs.

[8] See List 1, starred verbs.

[9] See List 1, verbs followed by (1).

[10] See List 1, verbs followed by (2).

[11] See List 2, unstarred verbs.

[12] See List 2, starred verbs.

[13] Not counting 19 which are registered as antiquated and 1 which is registered as provincial, in the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* of the Spanish Academy.

constitutes a diphthong. In 3 the combination does not constitute a diphthong.[14]

Non-diphthongization is normal when the combination consists of a final vowel of prefix + an initial vowel of simple stem. In 4 verbs in which the combination is of this character,[15] however, the combination nevertheless constitutes a diphthong.

In the 3 verbs in which the combination does not constitute a diphthong, the weak vowel is the stem vowel. In tonic forms, therefore, the stress rests upon the weak vowel. This position of the stress is orthographically indicated by the placing of an accent upon the weak vowel. The formal grammatical statement with regard to these verbs should be to the following effect :—

All verbs in which the last two vowels of the stem form a combination of the type strong + weak, which does not constitute a diphthong, accent the weak vowel in tonic forms.

In the 70 verbs in which the combination does constitute a diphthong, the strong vowel is the stem vowel. In tonic forms, therefore, the stress should rest upon the strong vowel.

In 53 of the 70 verbs the stress does thus regularly rest upon the strong vowel.

In 17 of the 70 verbs, however, the stress rests upon the weak vowel instead of upon the strong vowel.[16] This position of the stress is orthographically indicated by the placing of an accent upon the weak vowel. These 17 verbs should be grouped together as constituting a single irregular class. The formal grammatical statement with regard to this irregular class should be to the following effect :—

Some verbs in which the last two vowels of the stem form a diphthong of the type strong + weak accent the weak vowel in tonic forms.

Lists.

List 1. Verbs in *-iar* in which the *ia* does not constitute a diphthong :

afiliar*	descarriar	filiar*
aliarse (2)	desconfiar (2)	guiar (1)
arriar	descriarse (2)	istriar (1)
arriarse (2)	desliar (2)	liar (1)
ataviar	desvariar	miar (1)
aviar (2)	desviar (2)	paliar*
calofriarse (2)	enfriar (2)	piar (1)
calosfriarse (2)	enlejiar	porfiar (2)
cariarse*	enriar (2)	recriar (2)
ciar (1)	entrecriarse (2)	resfriar (2)
confiar (2)	enviar (2)	rociar
criar (1)	espiar (1)	triar (1)
cuchichiar	estriar (1)	variar
chirriar	expiar (2)	vidriar
desafiar (2)	extraviar (2)	vigiar
desataviar	fiar (1)	zurriar
desaviar (2)		

List 2. Verbs in *-iar* in which the *ia* does constitute a diphthong, which accent the *i* in tonic forms :

acuantiar	cuantiar	gloriarse
amnistiar	empaliar*	hastiar
ampliar	enhastiar	historiar*
ansiar*	expatriarse*	inventariar*
autografiar	expoliar*	litofotografiar
auxiliar*	extasiarse*	litografiar
averiarse	foliar*	pipiar
contrariar	fotografiar	telegrafiar
cromolitografiar	fotolitografiar	vaciar*

List 3. Verbs in which the last two vowels of the stem form a combination of the type strong + weak, which does not constitute a diphthong :

entreuntar	reunir	reuntar

List 4. Verbs in which the last two vowels of the stem form a diphthong of the type strong + weak, which accent the weak vowel in tonic forms :

airar	aupar	embaular
aislar	desainar	judaizar
arcaizar	desaislarse	maullar
atraillar	desatraillar	sainar
aullar	desembaular	traillar
aunar	embaucar	

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[14] See List 3.

[15] airar, aislar, desaislarse, aupar.

[16] See List 4.

HEZ! HAY! HAY AVANT! AND OTHER OLD AND MIDDLE FRENCH LOCUTIONS USED FOR DRIVING BEASTS OF BURDEN.

Writing about 1876, Littré tells us in the Preface to his *Dictionnaire* (page iv) that the work covers a period beginning with Malherbe and lasting more than two centuries, and then he says: "Je me suis arrêté à ces limites et n'ai point inscrit les mots de la vieille langue tombés en désuétude; c'est l'objet d'un autre travail, tout différent du mien, et qu'il importe de recommander vivement à l'érudition." These words seem to imply that Littré had not heard of Frédéric Godefroy, whose labours, however, had already begun. Whatever the truth may be, the first volume of Godefroy's *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes, du IX^e^ au XV^e^ siècle*[1] saw the light in 1880, one year before Littré's death.

Godefroy's dictionary contains a short preface, unsigned and yet due, no doubt, notwithstanding its editorial *nous*, to Godefroy alone. Supposedly, therefore, it is to Godefroy that we owe the following statements as to the scope and definitions of his dictionary: "Ce fragment [in ten volumes] contient les mots de la langue du moyen âge que la langue moderne n'a pas gardés. Lorsque nous enregistrerons les mots conservés, ce ne sera que pour certaines significations disparues. . . . . Nous avons justifié chaque forme, chaque signification et chaque nuance de sens, par des exemples abondants et variés," *etc.*

To the reasons for pursuing the policy outlined in the words above quoted, the Preface furnishes a clue: in a scientific sense no imaginable excuse could be offered for such a policy, and immense as is the convenience of having Godefroy's dictionary, it is a fact that a great number of words which have not survived in modern French are to be found neither in the main part nor in the supplement. Furthermore, the dictionary contains only a small share of the words whose form has survived, but with a meaning unknown in Old French, to say nothing of an immense number of locutions composed of words still familiar, but obscure, or even quite incomprehensible as one finds them grouped in the old language. To be sure, the small *Godefroy* contains not a few of these locutions which are not in the big edition, but, after all, both *Godefroys* leave one in the lurch so often that the necessity of immensely enriching the whole work seems imperative. Even when we turn to various critical editions supplied with glossaries, these glossaries in their turn generally prove to be incomplete, and finally the scholar finds he has to make a new Old-French dictionary of his own, or remain in darkness.

These few paragraphs may serve as a kind of preface to the following study of *Hez! Hay! Hay avant!* and to later studies of many other Old-French or Middle-French words and locutions whose history and meaning have not been set forth by Godefroy, by Littré, nor by any other accessible dictionary. But many words and locutions have been misinterpreted by Godefroy, though he has registered them. These, too, afford an immense opportunity to any one who may have doubts as to how he can render a valuable service to this particular branch of science.

A modern French carter urges on his horse by uttering a long-drawn-out *hue*, or *hue, hue*,[2] and

[1] Fifteenth-century writers are included, also some of the sixteenth century.

[2] That is, ǖ. Possibly of Celtic origin. When *hue* means distinctly "go to the right," it often becomes *huhau* (= ǖǵ). *Dia* means "go to the left." The Breton forms corresponding to *dia*, as given by Littré, are *dia, diaz, dihaz, dicha, deha:* derived from *diou, dihou, dehou*, meaning "to the right." The Welsh form is *deou*; the Irish is *deas*; both meaning "to the right." In England "gee" means "right," when it does not mean simply "go along"; "haw," dialectal there, means "to the left." In the United States "gee" = "right" and "haw" = "left." The fact that the Celtic forms mean "right," whereas the French "*dia*" = "left," seems to me no evidence at all that the French *dia* is not of Celtic origin. The difference is to be explained, perhaps, by a change in custom like that which has occurred in America, where drivers have come to turn to the right, though they sit on the right, *i. e.*, on the *wrong* side of the seat, as if they still kept to the left! It seems as if "haw" must also be derived from a British word, cognate with the original form of *hu(e,)* whatever that may have been.

Under *hue* Littré quotes a dubious example from Noël du Fail (XVI c.). Here is an unmistakeable example about two centuries older: *Hu! hu! sur lui! sur lui, lion!*, Miracle XXIV, vs. 1127, in the edition by Paris and

this imperative interjection may be heard throughout France. But interjections, like all other words, are subject to change. Whatever the history of *hue* may be, other very different sounds have been used in France to drive on beasts of burden, and though the genuinely realistic documents of medieval literature are not abundant at any period, and though these few documents are separated by wide gaps of time, they have preserved a few specimens worthy of examination.

In the *fabliau Du Provoire qui Menga les Meures*[3] Guerin has recorded how the untimely utterance of *hez*[4] caused a priest to be flung into a bramble bush where he lay wedged while his mare ran home. It seems that he had stood up on her back in order that he might feast on some mulberries which would otherwise have been beyond his reach. Having eaten his fill he looked down at his mare, and seeing how quiet she was, he felt much joy, but suddenly, inspired it may be by some boyish fancy, he wondered what would happen if he said *hez!*

"Dieus," fait il, "qui or diroit *hez!*"
Il le pensa, et dist ensanble ;
Et la jument de poor tranble :
.I. saut a fait tot a bandon,
Et li prestres chiet el buisson
En tel maniere entre les ronces,
Qui d'argent li donast .c. onces
N'alast arriere ne avant,
Et la jument s'en va fuiant ;
Chez le provoire est revenue.

Another neat example of *hez* occurs in the story *Du Vilain Asnier*, another *fabliau*.[5]

Il avint ja a Monpellier
C'un vilein estoit costumier
De fiens chargier et amasser
A[6] .II. asnes terre fumer.
.I. jor ot ses asnes chargiez ;
Maintenant ne s'est atargiez :
El borc entra, ses asnes maine,
Devant lui chaçoit a grant paine,
Souvent li estuet dire : "Hez!"

Both these examples belong to the thirteenth century or thereabouts, but *hez* continued to be shouted at beasts of burden for at least three hundred years longer, probably till after Cotgrave had registered it in his excellent *Dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (1611),[7] yet it lingered in a disguise which might have been effective had it not been betrayed by a pun. This pun shows that the exclamation *hay* was pronounced

Robert. But, as the verb *huer* is known to have been used as early as the twelfth century, *hu* must have existed still earlier; for the interjection is certainly not born of the verb, though *aga* (<*agarer*) and *tiens* prove that a verb *may* be the parent of an interjection.

As to the kinship of *hue* and *hure* and *ho* I am not at all certain. These latter expressions occur, *e. g.*, in the *Farce de Guillerme* (about 1500 A. D.) :

GUILLERME

Dictes hure, ho (car je suis cheval),
Mais gardez que ne me frappiez.
Ancien Théâtre Français, I, 331.

For *Hury, ho* see, also, the first example quoted from the *Farce du Pont aux Asnes*. A form *haurehau*, seemingly a variant of *hure ho*, and *dea*, which is nothing but an old form, perhaps dialectal, of the modern *dia*, occur in a piece entitled *Discours joyeux || pour advertir la nouvelle mariee de ce quelle doit faire la premiere nuict.* When this piece was composed I cannot say. It was printed at Rouen, without date *Chez Loys Coste libraire rue Escuyeres aux trois ††† couronnes.* I shall not try to punctuate or to explain what seems to me an obscure passage, whether in or out of its context.

Apropos un charretier sans fouet
Qui ne dit dea ne haurehau
Pourroit il toucher son cheuau
Sa iument son asne ou sa beste
Iamais ; car un homme sans teste
N'a point besoin de chapperon
Ne de picquer de l'esperon.

[3] In the *Recueil général* of Montaiglon and Raynaud, Vol. IV, pp. 54–55.

[4] Rimed with *montez*. What was the pronunciation of the participial ending *ez* about A. D. 1250? Having become *es*, had it already taken the next step and come to be feebly pronounced, or not at all? I mean, of course, when not immediately followed by a vowel. How much allowance should be made for mere eye-rimes of *es* with *es* and of *ez* with *ez*? When must one admit mere assonance? Even if the manuscript of this *fabliau*,—as well as the second manuscript containing the other version (*Recueil gén.*, V, pp. 37–38) be of the thirteenth century, the scribe may have copied the *ez* of an earlier manuscript, whatever may have been the sound of final *ez* in his time.

Finally, how was the participial ending *ez*, not linked, pronounced about 1250 A. D. respectively in Anglo-Norman and in Francian?

[5] *Recueil général*, V, p. 41.

[6] Goes also with *fumer*.

[7] Cotgrave, under *hay*, quotes a proverb which Le Roux de Lincy missed, *Fol est qui est esperonné & a cheval dit hay.* This proverb, like many others, is rimed. See the remark in the text as to the pun on *Hay! Tron!*

é (*e*), and, knowing that it had this sound, we have no good reason to doubt that the *hay* which occurs in the passages presently to be quoted is the same word as the *hez* employed by the priest and the ass-driver in the two *fabliaux*. This pun occurs in the *Farce Joyeuse des Galans et du Monde*,[8] a piece which Mr. Émile Picot believes to have originated at Rouen about 1445.

LE MONDE

Je n'eus jamais telle vigueur,
Ne tel force, ne tel vertu.
Vous me cuidés faire abatu
Au devant que l'on m'ait touché.

LE IIIe GALANT

Hay!

LE MONDE

Tron!

The meaning of *hay* is so precise when this sound is shouted at beasts of burden that it may almost be reckoned a verb, like our English "Get up!" or "Go along!" and it may be this very fact that caused it to be spelt differently than the pure exclamation, which is commonly represented in the following ways: *e*, *he*, *et*, and *eh*, in fifteenth-century or earlier documents. At all events, thus far no example of the imperative interjection spelt otherwise than *hay* or *hai* has come to my attention.[9] It is *hay* in the proverb *Hay avant et trop arriere*;[10] for the word *avant*, as we shall see, was often added for greater emphasis.

Occasionally *hay* may represent the pure interjection; witness the following example from the *Farce Nouvelle du Cuvier*,[11] wherein Jacqueminot's wife urges him to write, with these words:

Mettez! mettez! hay! sotte beste.
Avez vous honte de cela?

Yet the woman seems to be driving her husband, in a figurative sense. Whatever the truth may be in this instance, other examples will show that *hay* or *hay avant*[12] did the same work in the fifteenth century and somewhat later as *hue* does nowadays. Thus, in the *Farce du Pont aux Asnes*,[13] a woodcutter cries out to his ass,

Sus, Nolly, sus, tire avant, tire.
Hury, ho![14] le dyable y ait part!
Tant tu me donnes de martyre.
Sus, Nolly, sus, tire avant, tire.

But an instant later he adds *hay*:

Sus, Nolly, [sus], tire avant, tire.
Hury, ho! le dyable y ait part!
Et da! hay! que de malle hart,
Ou des loups, soyes tu estranglée!
Sus, Nolly, [sus], tire avant, tire.

In this passage *et* (= é) and *hay* (= é) occur side by side, though the distinction between them was certainly not more perceptible to the ear than that which we make nowadays in English between "O," as in "O friends!" and "Oh," as in "Oh! I say!". Here, too, occurs *avant*, but not annexed to *hay*.

Another example shortly follows:

LE MARY

Midieulx! son asgne est arrestée.

LE BOSCHERON

Et da! hay! que la clavelée
Vous puis[t] serrer le musel!

And again the woodcutter cries to his stubborn ass:

Et da! hay! de par Nostre Dame,
Sus, Nolly! si te merray paistre.

In the *Moralité de l'Aveugle et du Boiteux*[15]

[8] *Recueil Général des Sotties*, ed. by Picot for *Soc. des Anc. Textes*, I, pp. 15 ff. See vv. 226–230.

[9] No doubt others have noticed cases. I am calling attention to a tendency, not to an invariable fact. *Hay* (or *hai*) sometimes betokens a pure interjection.

[10] Number 299 in the "Anciens Proverbes Français," published by E. Langlois in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. 60, p. 583. This proverb seems to mean "Haste makes waste." It is apparently not in Le Roux de Lincy's collection, though the omission is by no means remarkable.

[11] Picot and Nyrop, *Nouveau Recueil de Farces Françaises*, vv. 134–5.

[12] Meaning "forward," like our "avaunt!" Here are some French examples: *Avant, avant! tous, cy endroit.* (*Anc. Th. Fr.*, III, 295); meaning "away!": *Avant, avant! vous telz et telz; allez tuer chappons et poulailles,*— (*Cent. Nouv. Nouv.*, Garnier ed., 1863, p. 347). See, also, Miracles VIII, 877 and IX, 1209 (ed. by G. Paris and U. Robert).

[13] *Anc. Th. Fr.* II, pp. 45–6.

[14] Not in Godefroy. This locution may be the source of the modern French (*h*)*u*(*h*)*au*(*t*). The *Dictionnaire Gén.* gives *hurhaut* along with *huhaut*, but does not say whether *hurhaut* is dialectal.

[15] *Recueil de Farces, Soties et Moralités*, P. L. Jacob, ed. 1859, p. 222. In the *Farce du medecin qui guarist toutes*

(A. D. 1496), a blind man and a lame man strike a bargain in which it is agreed that the lame man shall ride the blind man, the one contributing his eyesight; the other, his legs.

Chemine bien, [cries the blind man]
Et fais nostre cas sagement.
Entends tu! Hay!

In Arnoul Greban's *Mistere de la Passion*[16] (before 1452 A. D.), *hay avant* has an adverbial force and in meaning is close to "further." Obviously the two words are thought of as if they were hardly more than one, and a certain proverbiality lurks in the locution:

LUCIFER
Comment te va, Sathan?
SATHAN
Je cloche,
maistre, je ne puis hay avant; *etc.*[17]

These various examples enable one to trace the history of this imperative interjection during two centuries, at least, and from them we may safely derive not less than two important conclusions as to the meaning of this locution as used by the Draper to Maistre Patelin:

PATHELIN
Comment se porte marchandise?
S'en peult on ne soigner ne paistre?
LE DRAPPIER
Et! se m'aist dieu, mon doulx maistre,
Je ne scay. Tousjours hay avant.[18]

The Draper obviously thinks of life as a rather dreary round in which, like a beast of burden, he is forever driven on his monotonous road by the ruthless necessity of earning a living. Furthermore, the phrase has a proverbial ring which is quite unmistakable, even if we were not aware that *hay avant* had passed into a proverb[19] before it served to express the Draper's rather dismal but picturesque description of his share in the struggle for existence. The words *hay avant* were as definite as our "gee" and "haw" and they meant "get up!" or "go along!" to a fifteenth-century audience. It may be that the Draper heightened the imagery of *hay avant* by clacking his tongue or by making a gesture as if snapping an imaginary lash at an imaginary beast of burden. But only one *jeu de scène*[20] is given in the oldest texts of *Patelin*, and though this conjecture seems reasonable, its scientific value is not great; yet the welfare of scientific research can scarcely be endangered by an acknowledged appeal to imagination.

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sortes de maladies (Rousset collection, Paris, 1872, Vol. I, page 7) the husband cries to his ass,

Allons! hay, Baudet! comme il va?

[16] Ed. by G. Paris and G. Raynaud. Vv. 10539-10540.

[17] Cf. this case with another like it in the *Farce de Jeninot*, in *Anc. Th. Fr.*, I, p. 302:

Je n'en scay rien, sur mon ame.
Mais un jour mon maistre
Montoit dessus ma maistresse
Et luy secouoit tant la fesse,
Et si ne vouloit hay avant;—

[18] From the Le Roy edition (about 1485 A. D., vv. 114–117. *Patelin* existed before 1469. In a *sottie* entitled *Le Monde et Abus* by André de la Vigne (Toulouse, 1507?, according to Mr. Picot) occurs another example worth quoting:

ABUZ
Or, sus, sus, villains, a l'assault!
Qui gainera doncques l'honneur!
Dicant omnes pugnando vehementer
intantumque Mundus cadat super eis:
Hay avant!

(*Recueil Gén. des Sotties*, Vol. II, page 97, vv. 1431–34.)

[19] See note 10.

[20] *Patkelin en contant sur ses dois*—over v. 80.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE.

LOUIS P. BETZ. *La littérature comparée: essai bibliographique.* Introduction par Joseph Texte. Deuxième édition augmentée, publiée, avec un index méthodique, par Fernand Baldensperger. Strasbourg. Trübner. 1904. 8vo, pp. xxviii, 215.

It is with feelings of regret that one turns over the pages of this "orphan book." The days of M. Texte (d. July 12, 1900) were already numbered when the first edition appeared; and the gifted compiler of the volume did not himself live to see the whole of the second edition in type.[1] Fortunately he had on his death-bed exacted a promise from his friend M. Baldensperger, of the University of Lyons, to see the volume through

[1] He died January 29, 1904. A brief obituary notice appeared in the *Revue de philologie française*, xviii, 75.

the press. This task M. Baldensperger has accomplished with conspicuous fidelity. Typographically the volume is, everything considered, remarkably free from blemishes.

The book is not, we imagine, as well known in America as it should be. The first edition was not noticed by the American reviews, and of the second edition we have read but one notice in an American journal (*The Nation*, lxxix, 437). It is, then, the purpose of this article to bring the book to the attention of a wider circle of scholars, and to add some notes and titles which may help to make it more useful to the ever-increasing number of students of the comparative history of literature.

This is really the third edition of the work. It appeared first, along with M. Texte's introduction, in the *Revue de philologie française et de littérature*, x–xii (1896–8), in six instalments, aggregating 167 pages. The collection, largely augmented, was published in book form in 1900 (pp. xxiv, 123).[1] In this second edition of the *book*, the number of titles (5,969) is more than twice as large as that of the first edition of 1900. A title numbering and a chronological order have been introduced; three chapters have been added (xi, La Hongrie; xii, Les États-Unis d'Amérique; xvi, Motifs, thèmes et types littéraires d'origine religieuse, légendaire ou traditionelle); and in place of the index of authors M. Baldensperger has compiled an index méthodique. No one will deny that the subject-index is much more useful; but it is much to be regretted that the author index was not also retained, anonymous articles being credited to their respective journals. We hope that in a future edition this will be restored. It must also be regretted that so few reviews are noted; many reviews add appreciably to our knowledge of the subject.

It is now late in the day to say anything of M. Texte's admirable introduction. It outlines with great clearness the subdivisions of this new science, which the encyclopædias have not yet honored with a rubric, but which is, after all, no new thing, the comparative method having been the favorite method of literary historians almost since the dawn of criticism.

In the references it may be said that a high degree of accuracy has been attained. In some cases they are too meagre (e. g. *The Athenæum* is usually cited by years, though it publishes two volumes a year); but they are rarely wrong. A few errors of date are noted below: it was of course inevitable that there should be some.

In suggesting the following additions, we do not intend to reflect upon the industry or wide reading of either the original compiler or the editor of the present volume. The list of titles abbreviated shows how widely they have gleaned; but it is too much to expect that any one man or two men will approach completeness when the subject is so vast. The following list, which could be much extended if space permitted, is taken partly from the large manuscript collection formed under the supervision of Professor Hart, and partly from our private collection.

P. xvii ff. The place and date of the first volume should be given in every case.

P. xix. Of *Q. u. F.* 94 numbers were published up to 1903.

14 a. Add: Shackford, C. C.—Comparative Literature. (In Proc. of the Univ. Convocation, Albany, N. Y., 1876, pp. 266–274.)

37 a. Add: Gayley, C. M.—A Society of Comparative Literature. (In *Dial*, Aug. 1, 1894.)

68. Enter as no. 52 a. Gayley and Scott, pp. 248–278, include many titles not listed by Betz.

74 a. Add: Gayley, C. M.—What is Comparative Literature? (In *Atlan. Mo.*, xcii. 56–68, 1903.)

75 a. Add: Woodberry, G. E.—Editorial. (In *Journ. Comp. Lit.*, i. 3–9, 1903.)

86 a. Enter here, perhaps: Child, F. J.—The English and Scottish Popular Ballads (Boston, 1882–98).

1412 a. Add: Wenzel, R.—Die Fassungen der Sage von Florence de Rome und ihr gegenseitiges Verhältnis (Diss., Marburg, 1890).

1427 a. Add: Rowbotham, J. F.—The Troubadours and Courts of Love (London, 1895; rev. by O. Schultz in *Anglia Bei.*, vi. 140–142).

1428 a. Add: Koeppel, E.—Zur Quellenkunde

[1] See reviews in *Revue critique*, July 30, 1900, n. s. (L, 91–93 by F. Baldensperger); *Lit. Echo*, iii, no. 3 (Jellinek); *Zs. d. Phil.*, xxxv, 138–140 (K. Drescher, somewhat too severe); *Litbl. g. r. Phil.*, xxiii, 57–60 (M. J. Minckwitz).

des Stuart-Dramas. (In *Archiv*, xcvii. 313–332, 1896.)

1435. Read: Newell, W. W.

1436. Cp. no. 1736. Enter as no. 1432 a. Rev. by J. C. Collins in *Sat. Rev.*, lxxxv. 850–1.

1441 a. Enter here also no. 3799 a. Cp. no. 1410.

1453. Read: Hooker, E. R.

1458 a. Add: Maiberger, M.—Studien über den Einfluss Frankreichs auf die elisabethanische Literatur, i. (Diss., München, 1903).

1458 b. Add: Petersen, K. O.—Chaucer and Trivet. (In *Publ. M. L. Ass'n*, xviii. 173–193, 1903.)

1554 a. Add: Collins, J. C.—Shakespeare and Montaigne. (In *Sat. Rev.*, lxxxv. 850, 1897.)

1557. Add: English trans. 1899.

1580. Read: Lounsbury, Th. R.

1584. Part i. is not accounted for. Full reference, *Stud.*, iii. 66–99, 186–203.

1591. Read: Drydens komisch-dramatische Dichtungen.

1592. Ott's dissertation (pp. 35) was amplified in 1888 as a Landshut progr., pp. 64.

1595. The date should be 1889.

1595 a. Add: Bennewitz, A.—Congreve und Molière. Litterarhistorische Untersuchung (Leipzig, 1890; incorporates no. 1595; rev. by M. Koch in *E. St.*, xvi. 408–412).

1597 a. Add: Crull, F.—Thomas Shadwell's (John Ozell's) und Henry Fielding's Comoedien "The Miser" in ihrem Verhältnis unter einander und zu ihrer gemeinsame Quelle [Molière's L'avare] (Diss., Rostock, 1899).

1597 b. Add: Ohnsorg, R.—John Lacy's "Dumb Lady," Mrs. Susanna Centlivre's "Love's Contrivance" und Henry Fielding's "Mock Doctor" in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander und zu ihrer gemeinschaftlichen Quelle [Molière's Le médicin malgré lui] (Diss., Rostock, 1900).

1598 a. Add: Wüllenweber, A.—Mrs. Centlivre's Lustspiel "Love's Contrivance" und seine Quellen (Diss., Halle, 1900).

1666 a. Add: Krause, H.—Wycherley und seine französischen Quellen (Diss., Halle, 1883).

1711 a. Add: Child, C. G.—Nodier and Peter Ibbetson. (In *M. L. N.*, x. 26–27, 1895.)

1750 a. Add: Trent, W. P.—Tennyson and Musset Once More. (In *Bookman*, vii. 108 ff., 1898. Reprinted in The Authority of Criticism and Other Essays, 1899.) Cp. no. 1657.

1767 a. Enter here no. 1772, Hobohm, which appeared in 1900.

1771–8. The order should be: 1775, 1771, 1776, 1772, 1777, 1778, 1773, 1774.

1778. Read: Ponsonby, Mary E.

1782 a. Add: Clark, C. C.—A Possible Source of Matthew Arnold's Dover Beach. (In *M. L. N.*, xvii. 242–243, 1902.)

1792 a. Add: Fletcher, J. B.—Précieuses at the Court of Charles I. (In *Journal Comp. Lit.*, i. 120–153, 1903.)

1794 merely duplicates 1786. Full ref., *Grenzb.*, lxi. 4, 368–372, no. 46, 1902.

1965 a. Add: Tiessen, E.—Herrn F. A. Leo's Verdienste um den Shakespearetext. (In *E. St.*, v. 259–267, 1882.)

2031 a. Add: Sprenger, R.—'Shade' bei Shakespeare und 'Schatten' in Chr. Ewald von Kleist's 'Frühling.' (In *E. St.*, xxii. 149–151, 1895.)

2038 a. Add: Chater, A. G.—Shakspere and Wagner. (In *Temple Bar*, cxiii. 287–293, 1897.)

2056 a. Add: Kraeger, H.—Shakespeare-Verse auf der Wanderung in Conrad Ferd. Meyer's Gedichten. (In *E. St.*, xxviii. 153–159, 1900.)

2088 a. Add: Chubb, E. W.—Shakespeare's Influence upon Goethe. (In Proc. M. L. Ass'n Ohio 1900–2, pp. 81–94, 1903.)

2130 a. Add: An.—Goethe and Carlyle. (In *All the Year Round*, n. s., xl. 508–13, 533–9, 1887.)

2130 b. Add: An.—The Goethe-Carlyle Correspondence. (In *Atlan. Mo.*, lix. 849–52, 1887.)

2146, l. 1. Read for indebt: Indebtedness.

2152. Appeared in 1893. Enter as no. 2148 a.

2155. Enter as no. 2149 a. Appeared also in *Anglia*, xvi. 267–369, in 1894.

2166 a. Add: Oswald, E.—Goethe in England and America: a Bibliography. (In *Die neueren Sprachen*, 1899. Same in Publ. of the English Goethe Soc., viii, 1900.) Cp. no. 4136.

2172 and 2171 should exchange places, since Roesel appeared in 1901.

2227. Read: Robinson, H. Crabb.

2292 a. Enter here no. 2318, Bahlsen, which appeared in *Archiv*, lxxxi. 353–380, in 1889.

2295 a. Insert here no. 2310, which appeared in 1889.

2310. Should be inserted as no. 2295 a.

2344 a. Add: Förster, M.—Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Frederike Brun. (In *Acad.*, June 27, 1896.)

2368 a. Add: Wilhelmi, J. H.—Thomas Carlyle und Friedrich Nietzsche: wie sie Gott suchten und was für einen Gott sie fanden. Göttingen, 1897, 2d ed. 1900 (cp. no. 2402).

2376. Read: Ullrich.

2383. Read: Greg, W. W. The reference should be ii. 5. 13–28, iii. 40, 1899–1900.

2393 a. Enter here no. 2407, Dunn, which appeared in 1900.

2402. Should have been noted at no. 2368 a.

2412 a. Add: Kraeger, H.—The German Spy (1738). (In *E. St.*, xxix. 211–234, 1901.)

2416. Cp. no. 2460 a.

2418. Read: Shumway.

2419 a. Enter here no. 2443, Tombo, which appeared in 1901.

2422 a. Enter here no. 2444, Zeiger, which appeared in 1901.

2424. Continued in *M. L. N.*, xviii. 65–69. Cp. no. 2446.

2428 a. Enter here no. 2451, Haney, which appeared in 1902.

2440 a. Add: Schladeback, K.—Tennysons und Wildenbruchs Harolddramen. (In *Stud. z. vgl. Littgesch.*, ii. 215–228, 1902.) Cp. no. 5455.

2460 a. Add: Sandbach, F. E.—The Nibelungenlied and Gudrun in England and America (London, 1903; cp. no. 2416).

2582 a. Add: Lentzner, K.—Zu Romeo und Julia. (In *Anglia*, x. 601–609, 1887.)

2585 a. Add: Koeppel, E.—Chauceriana, iii. (In *Anglia*, xiii, 184–186, 1890.)

2588 a. Add: Bellezza, P.—Langland and Dante. (In *Notes and Qu.*, 8th ser., vi. 81–83, 1894.)

2592. Cp. *Anglia*, xix. 135–136.

2597. The entry is merely a review (*Athen.*, 1897, i. 499–500). The book appeared in London.

2606 a. Add: Toynbee, P.—Two alleged quotations from Dante by Robert Greene. (In *Athen.*, 1902, i. 210.)

2608 a. Add: Toynbee, P.—English Translations from Dante (14th to 17th centuries). (In *Journal Comp. Lit.*, i. 345–365, 1903.)

2756 a. Insert here also no. 3221.

3153. Reference inadequate (*Grenzb.*, lxi. 4, 255–261, no. 44).

3192 a. Add: Hallam, A. H.—The Influence of Italian Works of the Imagination on the Same Class of Compositions in England. (In his Remains, etc., 1834; 2d ed. 1862.)

3194 a. Add: Stuart, J. Montgomery.—England's Literary Debt to Italy. (In *Fraser's Mag.*, Dec., 1859, lx. 697–708.)

3199. Read: Lowell, J. R.

3200 a. Enter here no. 3203, Mamroth, which appeared in 1872.

3206 a. Add: Koch, J.—Ein Beitrag zur Kritik Chaucer's. (In *E. St.*, i. 249–293, 1877. On Chaucer and Boccaccio. Also in Essays on Chaucer, 1878, pp. 357–417.)

3206 b. Add: Symonds, J. A.—The Debt of English to Italian Literature. (In *Fortn. Rev.*, xxiii. 371–81; same in *Lit. Liv. Age*, Apr. 17, 1875, cxxv. 130–8.)

3208 a. Add: Krebs, H.—Die ags. Uebersetzung der Dialoge Gregors. (In *Anglia*, ii. 65–70, iii. 70–73, 1878–79.)

3219 a. Add: Collins, J. C.—The Predecessors of Shakspeare. (In *Quart. Rev.*, clxi. 330–381, 1885.)

3220 and 3221 should be transposed.

3223. Read: Murray, J. R. The book was pub. in Cambridge, pp. 63.

3241 a. Add: Bierfreund, T.—Palemon og Arcite. En literaturhistorisk Undersögelse som Bidrag til Shakespearekritiken (Köbenhavn, 1891.)

3243. Should appear as no. 3239 a, since it appeared in 1890.

3244 a. Add: Rossetti, W. M.—Taurello Salinguerra: Historical Details Illustrative of Browning's Sordello. Muratori and Browning Compared. (In Browning Soc. Papers, iii. 82–97, 1891.)

3247 a. Add: Pollard, A. W.—Date of Chaucer's Italian Period. (In *Acad.*, xlii. 194, Sept. 3, 1892.)

3252 a. Add: Cook, A. S.—Sidney and Giordano Bruno. (In *M. L. N.*, viii. 93–94, 1893.)

3255 a. Enter here also no. 5863; Schofield.

3269 a. Add: Child, C. G.—Chaucer's House of Fame and Boccaccio's Amorosa visione. (In *M. L. N.*, x. 190–192, 1895.)

3280 a. Add: Flügel, E., and Hinckley, H. B.—Chaucer in Italy. (In *Nation*, lxiii. 365, 1896.)

3283 a. Add: Mather, F. J., Jr.—Chaucer's First Italian Journey. (In *Nation*, lxiii. 269.) Chaucer in Italy. (Same, p. 385, 1896.)

3285 a. Add: Scott, Mary A.—Chaucer in Italy. (In *Nation*, lxiii. 309–310, 1896.)

3286. Continued also in vol. xiv. Cp. no. 3319.

3288 a. Add: Grabau, C., ed.—The Bugbears. Komödie aus der Zeit vor Shakspere [based on Grazzini's La spiritata]. (In *Archiv*, xcviii. 301–322, xcix. 25–28, 311–326, 1897–8.)

3288 b. Enter here also no. 3614 a.

3290. A second part appeared in 1898, pp. 27. Rev. by O. Glöde in *E. St.*, xxvii. 145–148.

(To be continued).

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A PASSAGE IN *Hermann und Dorothea.*

In the fourth canto of *Hermann und Dorothea*, at the end of the description of the mother's search for Hermann, where she finds him under the pear tree, occurs the passage, ll. 60–62:

"dort sass ihr Herrmann und ruhte,
Sass mit dem Arme gestützt und schien in die Gegend zu schauen,
Jenseits nach dem Gebirg', er kehrte der Mutter den Rücken."

To the words, "Jenseits nach dem Gebirg'," Palmer, in a recent edition (N. Y., Appleton, 1904), comments, "*West of the Rhine, the Vosges Mountains.*" This note is, furthermore, quoted by Allen (Ginn, 1904). Hatfield (Macmillan, 1899), comments to this passage: "dem Gebirg', the mountains across the Rhine (jenseits)." Assuming for the moment with Palmer that Hermann was here looking west, common usage distinguishes between the Vosges Mountains and the Haardt. But Hermann could not possibly have been looking west as is evident from other passages. IV, 189–192:

"Aber seh' ich dann dort das Hinterhaus, wo an dem Giebel
Sich das Fenster uns zeigt von meinem Stübchen im Dache,
Denk' ich die Zeiten zurück, wie manche Nacht ich den Mond schon
Dort erwartet und schon so manchen Morgen die Sonne."

The house lay, therefore, in Goethe's mind, west of the pear tree, and Hermann "kehrte der Mutter den Rücken," so that he did not see her approaching; he was thus looking towards the east, "nach dem Gebirg'," that is, possibly, the mountains of the Schwarzwald or the Odenwald,[1] of which the Schwarzwald, furthermore, lies nearer the villages on the east bank of the Rhine, than the Vosges Mountains. If it be urged that it is not necessary to think of the pear tree directly east of the house, that Hermann's window would be visible to an observer when nearly south or north, we have full proof that Goethe had here the full view of the window in mind. Dorothea, sitting with Hermann in the moonlight under the pear tree, says, VIII, 69–70:

Seh' ich doch dort in der Stadt die Häuser deutlich und Höfe,
An dem Giebel ein Fenster; *mich deucht, ich zähle die Scheiben.*

This error evidently arose from the misinterpretation of the adverb jenseits to mean jenseits des Rheins; jenseits is obviously an anticipation of the following "er kehrte der Mutter den Rücken." But the most serious objection to Palmer's note is the evident assumption that the Städtchen was situated in the Rhine valley and not in some actual or fictitious side valley, which I, 12 "dieses

[1] If it be thought necessary to determine all possible cases, I would mention, furthermore, the Kaiserstuhl, which lies isolated in the Rhine valley to the northwest of Freiburg; at a suitable distance lies here a "Städtchen," Breisach. Goethe was well acquainted with this from his visits to Emmendingen, the last in 1778 (not 1775 as given in Bielschowski, I, 349) after his sister's death. But Goethe justly warns us here, "Man will Wahrheit, man will Wirklichkeit und verdirbt dadurch die Poesie." That the town which actually hovered before Goethe's mind was not in or near the Rhine valley, that this honor belongs to Pössneck in Sachsen-Meiningen, is, of course, sufficiently proved, cf. Sintenis (G.-J. xxv, S. 229 f.

fruchtbaren Thals und seiner Krümmungen" makes, if anything, more probable. In spite of his note, Allen assumes this in his introduction, "We are to imagine a town in one of the side valleys of the Rhine."

The beautiful lines quoted above, v. 189–192, which determine the directions, are, however, in my mind, in this one respect, a literary blemish. The elaborate, detailed description of the inn, the garden, the fields and the surrounding country, which precedes this passage, makes it necessary for the reader to form a definite imaginative picture, of which the directions, more or less firmly fixed, are a necessary part. The points of the compass are, of course, purely an empirical association, and the sensation of direction varies somewhat in intensity with individuals, but it is no unusual thing for a person to live for years in a place, and see the sun set directly in the north, or find the polar star directly in the east. These lines, then, determining the directions at the end of a long, detailed description, may cause an unpleasant confusion in the mind of a reader, who has not chosen directions which coincide with those of the author. And in this case there seems to be a tendency, as the comments quoted above show, to locate the garden and the pear tree west of the house. This is also my experience; in addition to the correct image, I have a fainter picture of an inn, a garden and a pear tree toward the west, which I am unable to erase. About half the pupils in a class of thirty-five placed the pear tree to the west of the inn and eleven of this number remembered, after finishing the poem, an annoying confusion of mind brought about by the passage quoted. A psychological reason for this tendency, which was suggested by a pupil, is that our attention has been directed toward the west by the flight of the fugitives from that direction. Another case of fixing the direction at the end of the description occurs in *Hermann und Dorothea.* The eighth canto begins, "Also gingen die zwei entgegen der sinkenden Sonne," which places the village east of the Städtchen; the first thought of a reader, who had by chance put the village toward the west, would be, that they were going in the wrong direction. Only one of the thirty-five pupils, however, was disturbed by this passage. This fixing of the location of the pear tree and the village as east of the house, and of the direction of Hermann's eyes, when his mother meets him, adds, as my colleague Mr. Boysen suggests, great beauty to the fourth canto; he was not looking over towards the French boundary, but towards the village where Dorothea was. He had gone out to the pear tree, "der auf dem Hügel stand;" "er war in der Gegend weit und breit gesehn." An investigation of the use of fixed directions in general literature, if it has not been done, would be, I believe, worth while.

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CHAUCER'S EIGHT YEARS' SICKNESS.

In the opening lines of the *Book of the Duchesse,* Chaucer complains sadly of his sleeplessness. He wonders how it is possible for him to live, for, he says,

> ". . . . melancolye
> And dreed I have for to dye,
> Defaute of slepe, and hevinesse
> Hath sleyn my spirit of quiknesse,
> That I have lost al lustihede." [1]

The cause of his trouble he does not know.

> "My-selven can not tellen why
> The soth; but trewely, as I gesse,
> I holde hit [moot] be a siknesse
> That I have suffred this eight yere,
> And yet my bote is never the nere;
> For ther is phisicien but oon
> That may me hele; but that is doon.
> Passe we over until eft;
> That wil not be, moot nede be left;
> Our first matere is good to kepe." [2]

This passage has usually been taken to refer to some actual experience of Chaucer; but opinion differs as to its precise application. Ten Brink refers to Chaucer's unfortunate love affair.[3] In commenting on the *Compleynte unto Pite,* he says:

[1] Ll. 23–27, *Chaucer: The Minor Poems.* Ed. by W. W. Skeat; 2d ed., Oxford, 1896. Cf. *Hous of Fame,* ll. 2007–2018.

[2] Ll. 34–43.

[3] *History of English Literature.* Trans. by Wm. Clarke Robinson, New York, 1903. Vol. II, Part I, pp. 48–49.

"In a certain sense this poem marks the termination of that period of his life affected by his unfortunate love, of which mention is made in the introduction to the *Book of the Duchesse*. In the compositions of later years the old wound appears to be closed, though still frequently painful. The poet had loved long, and for many years had sought an opportunity to awake a sympathy in the breast of the beloved, but had never ventured to declare his passion." Dr. Furnivall[4] puts the *Compleynte unto Pite* before the *Duchesse*, and comments as follows: "In the former we have Chaucer telling his hopeless love and his despair, his resolve to serve his pitiless mistress until his death. In his *Blaunche*, he tells us what helpt most to cure him—books, birds, horn and hound, and the healing hand of nature—; how long he suffered from his love—eight years—how it was now all over, etc." Mr. John Koch[5] agrees with Dr. Furnivall that Chaucer's love affair is at an end, but differs with him in believing that the *Compleynte* was written after the *Duchesse*.

Another ingenious theory is that of Fleay.[6] "This," he says, "is the record of Chaucer's eight years hopeless love, according to Mr. Furnivall. It seems to me to have quite a different meaning. The sickness is married life which was, as we shall see in the *Canterbury Tales*, anything but satisfactory to Chaucer; he had been married eight years and a bit. The physician is death." Fleay finds confirmation for his view in the *Hous of Fame*. "We have in it," he continues, "also a clear allusion to his unhappy married life,

> 'Me mette, Awak, to me he seyde,
> Right in the same vois and stevene,
> That useth oon I coude nevene.'

We find directly after that Chaucer has made books (namely, the *Rose* and the *Dream*), songs, ditties in rhyme or cadence, in reverence of Love and his servants:

> 'And peynest thee to prayse his arte
> Although thou haddest never part.'

He must have been disappointed. He takes refuge in his books, after a day's work at the custom-house, from the want of sympathy shown him by his wife."

The above explanations of this doubtful passage appeared some time ago and opinion has naturally changed much in recent years. Yet, as late as 1896, Professor Skeat in a note on the lines[7] accepts the interpretation offered by Dr. Furnivall. Perhaps, however, the following remarks and the accompanying parallel passages will explain more satisfactorily the character of this eight years' sickness. They may serve, likewise, to strengthen the position of those who feel considerable hesitancy in ascribing to many of the seemingly personal expressions in Chaucer's conventional vision poems any autobiographical significance.[8]

In the conventional love-poems of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, particularly in the visions which concern the worship of Love, the poets frequently express their feelings or describe their conditions in a manner similar to that of Chaucer in the *Duchesse*. A few examples of such expressions will make clear the nature of what seems to be merely a love-sickness convention.

Froissart, *L'Espinette Amoureuse*,[9] ll. 1026 fol.:

> "Comment qu'en la douce vie
> D'amours les pluisours bien sont
> Navré d'une maladie
> Et ne scevent pas qu'il ont,
> Més leur coers de ce secré
> Cognoist bien la droite voie."

Ll. 1461 fol.:

> "Més depuis trois mois tous entiers
> Fui je à la fievre tous rentiers
> Et adont en la maladie."

Ll. 1524 fol.: The lover has a desire to drink and lie down,

> "Més deffendu on le m'avoit
> Uns medecins qui bien scavoit
> Quel maladie avoié el corps."

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[4] *Trial Forewords*, p. 35. See also A. W. Ward, *Life of Chaucer*, 1879, p. 53.

[5] *The Chronology of Chaucer's Writings*, Chaucer Society, London, 1890, Sec. Ser., 27, iv.

[6] F. G. Fleay, *Guide to Chaucer and Spenser*, 1877, pp. 36 and 37.

[7] Minor Poems, p. 236.

[8] See the very wholesome discussions of the supposedly auto-biographical passages in Chaucer by Professor Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, Vol. 1, pp. 210 to 224; and a review of the *Studies* by Professor Kittredge, *The Nation*, Vol. 54, No. 139, pp. 214–216.

[9] Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres*, 3 vols., 1872, Vol. 1, p. 82 fol.

The condition for which Chaucer offers the explanation[10] is the same as that in which Froissart finds himself in *Le Paradys D'amours.*[11]

"Je sui de moi en grant merveille
Comment je vifs quant tant je veille
Et on ne paroit en veillant
Trouver de moi plus traveillant,
Car bien saciés que par veillier
Pensées et merancolies
Qui me sont ens au coer liies
Et pas ne les puis deslyer."

Eustache Deschamps—Balade[12]: The poet refers to his sickness,

"J'ay por cinq ans esté en maladiè,
Dont míre nul ne m'a voulu guérir,
De pou d'argent où maint homme mendie:
Or ay trouvé qui m'a fait l'uis ouvrir.
De surgien pour mes plaies garir
Lequelz m'a dit que je seray tous sains;
Mais il me fault endurer et soufrir
Le mal que j'ai jusquapres la Toussains."

This "maladie" of Deschamps is not of love; it is of "argent." The nature of the conventional artifice, however, is quite similar to that used in the "love-maladie" complaints. Deschamps, a love-poet, makes use of this poetic device of the love-poets to tell a bit of his own personal experience.

In Guillaume de Machault's *Dit du Vergier*, the poet is

"Pleins d'amoureuse maladie."[13]

In his *Comfort d'Ami*, p. 98, the poet speaks,

"Et se tu dis: las! je suï morts;
Car j'ai plus de mille remors
Et plus de cent mille pensées
Diversement entremelées,
De souvenirs et de pointures
Tristes, poignans, fières et dures.
Et quant souvenirs en moy vient,
Tendrement plourer me convient
Et n'espérance est si petite,
Que mes cuers point ne se délite
Qu'en li n'a force ne vertu,
Ne délit qui vaille un festu."

This sickness which no physician can heal is discussed in *Li Romanz de la Poire*, l. 688 fol.[14]

"Ge cuidoie por voir einçois
Que tot fust neanz et chufflois
Que j'oi à ces genz reconter
En quel pris amors puet monter,
Si con dient li ancien
Qu'il n'a el mont fisicien
Tant par fust bons clers et senez
Par cui mes d'amors fust sanez.
. . . . . .
Max d'amer est de tel orine
Mes n'en puet trover medecine
Par art ne par enchantement;
Nus n'en puet garir outrement,
Se con cuer n'i met et aploie
Cele qui li a fet la plaie."

Roman de la Violette,[15] ll. 380 fol.:

"Ne lairai que tout ne vous die
Et ne vous cont ma maladie
C'amours me fait sousfrir et traire.
Mais je ne porvie retraire
Les maus que trai pour vous et tir."

Ll. 2414 fol., Gérars speaks to the damsel, his physician,

"De cest mal m'avés esté mire
Ki tenu m'a lonc tans si fort;
Mais vous m'en avés fait confort
Et en parler et en chantant."

In Jean de Condé's *Li Dis dou Chevalier a le Mance*,[16] l. 2160 fol., the knight who has performed marvelous exploits for his lady is ill. She comes and cures him. He says,

"Il n'ot phesesyen ni mire
En sur qui aidier me peuïst."

He feels no malady after his lady has come to him.

The same situation that is presented in *Li Romanz de la Poire*, where the lover can only be healed by the one who cast the dart of love, occurs in a *Chanson* of Thibaut IV.[17]

Chanson, p. 19,

". . . Mais quant devant li fui,
Ne me firent si vair oel point d'anui,
Ains me vinrent férir si doucement
Dedans le coeur d'un amoureus talent
Qu'encor i est le coup, que je reçui.
Le cop fut grans: il ne fait qu'empirier
Ne nus mires, ne m'en porroit saner,
Sé celi non, qui le dart fist lancier."

[10] See ante.
[11] *Oeuvres*, Vol. I, l. 1 fol.
[12] *Oeuvres Complètes*, Vol. V, Paris, 1887, pp. 93–4.
[13] *Oeuvres, Reims*, 1849, p. 11.
[14] *Li Romanz de la Poire*, ed. by Fried. Stehlich, Halle, 1881.
[15] Ed. F. Michel, Paris, 1834.
[16] Baudouin de Condé et Jean de Condé, *Dits et Contes*. Ed. by Aug. Scheler, Brussels, 1866, 3 vols., Vol. II, p. 167 fol.
[17] Thibaut IV, *Chansons*, ed. by P. Tarbé, Reims, 1851, p. 19.

Chanson, p. 63,[18]

"Soffert i ai moult douloureux domage
Et enduré mainte grant maladie."

In the former of these *Chansons*, as in so much of the amorous poetry of the time, the reference is to a wound caused by Love or Love's dart. The artificial or unreal nature of the "sickness" is fairly obvious. Such is not the case in those visions or other long poems where the experience of a lover is related. The poets of the Middle Ages who describe at length their experiences in the service of Love make use of this literary artifice of a lover's sickness which was so common in the fantastic love-poetry of the troubadours. But the narrative element adds to the convincingness of the situation. The very nature of their poems gave inevitably to these portrayals of the effects of love a greater appearance of reality than could exist in the usual lyric "complaint."

In the light of these quotations, taken from some of the French love-poets of the time, Chaucer's confession of sleeplessness and his guess at the cause of it may be satisfactorily explained. The complaint about sleeplessness, the troubles which arise therefrom, the idea of the length of the sickness and the unique nature of the cure—all these elements are closely paralleled in these Old French poems. Yet in these conventional love complaints, there is not the impression of actuality nor the seemingly personal element which we find in Chaucer. The explanation of the difference lies in Chaucer's individual treatment of this conventional love material.

In the *Book of the Duchesse*, Chaucer is writing a dream-poem which is to treat of love. His models are before him. A definite type of love-vision was already established. Within the various poems of this sort he would find many devices to carry on what one may call the plot. Characteristic expressions of these love-poets would moreover attract his attention and would be recalled in the composition of his own poem. But with his almost perverse ingenuity in shaping material to his own ends, and with his wonderful ability to stamp this material with his personal seal, he leaves an expression often on one's mind that here is undoubtedly an impression of Chaucer's own feelings or experience. The material and ideas which Chaucer makes use of in his love-poems are commonplace; the treatment is individual, personal.[19] So with this passage in the *Duchesse*. What he does is to combine certain of these conventional expressions of the love-poets, vary them as he sees fit, and add to the resulting combination his own individual touch, which gives even the veriest commonplace an atmosphere of originality and at times of personal significance. Love-poets before had in fancy suffered from lack of sleep and had told of their troubles. Other poets had described their illnesses, sometimes lasting for years, and the impossibility of cure except through the hands of one physician. Chaucer, likewise, is unable to sleep, is troubled with vexatious thoughts. The cause of it all is the very "sickness" under which other love-poets had lingered; and the one physician is his mistress—she alone can free him from his trouble. There is nothing new or especially striking about Chaucer's experience. It is entirely conventional, and is just what, saving Chaucer's peculiar genius, any other love-poet of the time might have used to tell of his own discomforts as a servant of Love.

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[18] Thibaut, p. 63.

[19] See, for instance, in the following poems, the various seemingly personal expressions of his experience as a lover or as a servant of Love: *Duchesse*, ll. 30–43; *H. of F.*, I, ll. 245–8; II, ll. 614–640; III, ll. 2002–2018; *Parlement*, ll. 8–14, and ll. 155–161 (ed. by Skeat, *Minor Poems*); *Troilus*, I, ll. 15–21; II, ll. 19–21; III, ll. 41–44, and ll. 1331–1333; *Legend Prol.*, B., ll. 490–1 (Globe Edition). No actual love experience of Chaucer as a man can with any show of reason be made out from these passages. But they do have this personal impress which differentiates them from similar expressions of the medieval love-poets; and at the same time arouses in the mind of the reader a vague suspicion of some hidden autobiographical significance.

THE USE MADE BY MONTAIGNE OF SOME SPECIAL WORDS.

In studying Montaigne's language, some interesting peculiarities become apparent in the manner in which he regarded and employed certain words. Among the most marked—or at least

among those of which the peculiarity in his usage can be most easily pointed out—are the following : Goust (and Gouter), Noble (and Noblesse), Operation, Monstrueux (and Monstrueusement), Patron, Garnir, Patrie ; and from another point of view Iceluy.

'Goust' is a word frequently employed by Montaigne with its usual meaning, both in its proper and its figurative senses ; the figurative senses having occasionally somewhat unusually extended significance of meaning. He used the word some sixty times in the first two books of the *Essais*, published in 1580 ; in the Third Book, published in 1588, it is to be found only sixteen times and four times in passages added to the earlier essays. But in the posthumous edition of 1595 (prepared in some degree, at least, for the press by Montaigne himself), occurs the singularity to be remarked about this word, and others. In that edition, this word is either changed for another, or simply omitted, forty-five times, so that instead of finding it eighty times as in the preceding edition, it occurs only thirty-five times. The interest of this fact lies, of course, in its indicating Montaigne's careful correction of his style verbally ; if, indeed, it be his own carefulness, and not that of his first editors ; a point—and an important point—to be considered later. It is of the more importance because the change in the word sometimes produces a considerable change in the character of the sentence ; for while the place of 'goust' is usually taken by words as nearly synonymous as 'saveur,' 'appetit,' 'sentiment,' 'fantasie,' 'plaisir,' we find sometimes as great a change as this : "On employe beaucoup d'aage à dresser des enfans aux choses auxquelles ils ne peuvent prendre goust : (1588) : [auxquelles ils ne peuvent prendre pied (1595)]."[1] This special instance of change connects itself with another indication of Montaigne's scrupulousness with regard to the repetition of words. At the same time, apparently, that he made this change of "pied" for "goust," he added a clause at the end of the next sentence, in which, speaking of the presages given by "les mouvements" of children, he remarked : "Platon . . . me semble leur donner trop d'auctorité." But we learn from M. Gustave Brunet, who made sixty years ago the only detailed examination on record of the manuscript notes in the Bordeaux copy of the *Essais*,[2] (which is believed to be the source of the changes and additions in the posthumous edition of 1595), that in writing this sentence Montaigne wrote first : "Platon me semble leur donner beaucoup trop de pied" and then changed the last words to "trop d'autorité." Brunet did not observe, or does not say that he observed, the change a few lines above of "goust" for "pied," which is the probable explanation of this change of "de pied" for "d'autorité."[3]

Some further illustrations may be worth while of sentences in which the thought is somewhat changed by the change of word. In the following instance Montaigne's first conception was connected with one of our five senses—that of taste—his later conception with another—that of sight—as familiar to the more modern mind as the first is unfamiliar. "Nature nous desrobbe le goust de nostre perte et empirement (1588) : [la veuë

[1] Liv. I, 26 (25).

[2] *Les Essais de Michel de Montaigne.* Leçons inédites, recueillies par un membre de l'Académie de Bordeaux [Gustave Brunet], sur les manuscrits autographes conservés à la Bibliothèque publique de cette ville. Paris : Chez Techener, 1844, Cent exemplaires.—These transcripts are very incomplete and inadequate, and sometimes incorrect.

[3] What Brunet observed here or elsewhere is of little weight as regards the subject of this paper, for though he gives a few examples—"quelques echantillons"—of the differences between the editions of 1588 and 1595, he gives but few. Had he devoted more time and study to the work he might have forestalled these present investigations, and conducted them under the most favorable conditions, which can only be found at Bordeaux. Brunet's notes concern themselves almost entirely with corrections that Montaigne made and then effaced or altered (as in the above citation), and which rightly, consequently, do not appear in the pages of the posthumous edition, but which have a certain interest in showing the first form Montaigne gave to his thought. Some of his notes are of value as strengthening the presumptive evidence that the changes we are examining were probably made by Montaigne's own hand. For example : "Montaigne s'ecrie : 'Revenons à nos bouteilles.' Le manuscrit prouve que cinq fois il a effacé, rétabli, remanié cette exclamation originale ; il avait d'abord mis *revenons ;* ensuite *tournons* lui a plu davantage ; puis c'est à *retournons* qu'il a donné la préférence, et il a fini par s'en tenir à son premier mot de *revenons.*" Liv. II, 2. This is part of a passage added in 1595.

de . . . (1595)]" [4] Again : "Ce siecle . . . est si plombé que le goust mesmes de la vertu en est à dire (1580) : [est si plombé que je ne dis pas l'execution, mais l'imagination de la vertu en est à dire, 1595]." [5] "Cette ame pert le goust du souverain bien stoïque (1580)[6] : [pert l'usage : 1595]." [7] "Voyons les dernieres paroles d'Epicurus . . . . elles sont grandes et dignes d'un tel philosophe, mais si [*i. e.*, néanmoins] ont elles quelque goust de la recommendation de son nom, et de cette humeur qu'il avoit decriée par ses preceptes (1580) : [quelque merque. . . . . 1595]." [8] "J'ay le goust tendre et difficile, et notamment en mon endroit (1580) : [J'ay le jugement . . . 1595]." [9] Here it would seem as if Montaigne had not perceived that by substituting this word for the other, and by throwing out two lines, he brings "jugement" immediately into play again : "je n'ay rien du mien dequoy contenter mon jugement." We have also here an instance of how uncertain it is what may be the true text of Montaigne ; this is indicated by the following fact. Naigeon, in his edition of the *Essais* (1802) professes to print Montaigne's manuscript corrections with more accuracy than his first editors would seem to have done (but Naigeon is himself very inaccurate). He inserts here six words, so that the sentence which in the text of 1595 (and almost all subsequent editions) reads : "J'ay le jugement tendre et difficile et notamment en mon endroit : je me sens flotter et fleschir de foiblesse," reads in Naigeon's text : "J'ay le jugement tendre et difficile et notamment en mon endroit : je me desadvoue sans cesse et je me sens flotter et fleschir de foiblesse."

To continue : "Au reffort, que nous mangeons pour le goust . . . (1580) : [pour la nourriture . . . 1595]." [10] "A combien peu tient la resolution au mourir ! la distance et difference de quelques heures, la seule consideration de la compaignie nous en rend le goust tout divers (1588) : [nous en rend l'apprehension diverse. 1595]." [11]

'Gouster,' which may be examined in connection with 'Goust,' receives much the same treatment from Montaigne. His use of it is naturally not so frequent, and is perhaps somewhat more peculiar. He changes the word thirteen times, and suppresses it once, leaving about as many passages untouched. The word that takes its place is usually 'sentir,' 'jouir,' 'taster' and the like. One instance shows how peculiar the original use was, and connects itself with the first illustration above of 'Goust,' the change being the exchange of one of our five senses for another, both used metaphorically. "Ils jugent que les bons reiglements ne se peuvent gouster qu'au son de la trompette (1588) : [ne se peuvent entendre qu'au son de la trompette : 1595]." [12]

Another peculiar use is the following : "Plusieurs nations qui n'ont encores gousté aucun usage de vestemens . . . (1580) : [qui n'ont encores essayé nul [13] usage de vestemens : 1595]." [14]

Twice 'Gouster' is changed for a verb—'recevoir'—that seems at first sight to have little relation with it : "Je ne puis gouster cette passion dequoy on embrasse les enfans à peine encore nez (1580) : [Je ne puis recevoir cette passion : 1595]." [15] "Nous ne goustons pas aiséement la medicine que nous entendons (1580) : [Nous ne recevons pas aiséement . . . 1595]." [16]

Turning now to the word 'Noble' (the adjective), we find it used with natural frequency in the edition of 1595 ; but it had been used twenty-six times more in the edition of 1588. Montaigne suppressed it eleven times and changed it in fifteen instances for its synonyms 'beau,' 'digne,' 'superbe,' 'estimable,' 'cognu,' 'excellent,' 'riche,' 'honorable,' 'brave,' 'notable,' 'glorieux.'

'Noblesse' likewise, in some half dozen cases was, in 1595, suppressed or changed to 'dignité,' 'beauté,' 'félicité.'

[4] Liv. I, 20 (19). [5] Liv. I, 37 (36).

[6] Where this date of 1580 is here given it means that the passage appeared in that edition, and remained unchanged in the edition of 1588.

[7] Liv. II, 12. [8] Liv. II, 16.

[9] Liv. II, 17. [10] Liv. II, 37.

[11] Liv. III, 12.

[12] Liv. II, 10.

[13] This employ of 'nul' with the negative particle, is not infrequent in the edition of 1588, but in that of 1595 'nul' in such phrases is in the great majority of cases changed to 'aucun,' as 'nullement' is to 'aucunement' ; and as 'nul' is for the most part when used in the positive sense of 'aucun.' Here, oddly, it is a change in the reverse direction.

[14] Liv. II, 12. [15] Liv. II, 8. [16] Liv. II, 37.

'Operation' occurs twenty-seven times or more in 1588. In 1595, it is changed nineteen times, but apparently not from any definite dislike to the word, as it is used three times, at least, in this edition, for the first time. In the passages in which it is changed, the word, with three exceptions, is always in the plural, and the words substituted for it are chiefly 'oeuvres,' 'choses,' 'effects,' 'actions,' 'functions,' 'offices,' 'puissances.' In a passage where Montaigne speaks of "les operations de nostre veuë" in 1588,[17] and the word remained in 1595, Mlle. de Gournay changed it in 1635 to "les offices de nostre veuë," which text was adopted by Naigeon in 1802, and has been followed by Le Clere, Louandre and all the modern editors.

'Monstrueux' has a similar fate. Half a dozen sentences are left untouched which contain this word in the sense of 'merveilleux,' 'prodigieux,' 'horrible'; but sixteen times the word disappears; suppressed once; in the other instances changed to 'prodigieux,' 'merveilleux,' 'fantastique,' 'lourd,' 'informe,' 'extravagant,' 'farouche,' 'desreglé,' 'enorme,' 'difforme,' 'vilain,' 'incroyable,' 'inepte.'[18]

On the other hand, 'monstrueux' is in 1595 favored by being put in the place of another word. In 1588, speaking of those who shrink from being seen when eating, Montaigne exclaims: "Quel animal desnaturé, qui se fait horreur à soymesme!" In 1595 this is changed to "Quel monstrueux animal, qui . . ."[19]

I have found 'Monstrueusment' but once in the edition of 1588 (Liv. III, 5); it is changed in 1595 to 'merveilleusement.'

'Patron' I have found sixteen times in 1588, always used, figuratively, in the sense of 'modéle,' that is, 'an exemplar,' 'a pattern.' It is changed nine times; *e. g.*, "le reste de la France prend pour patron ce qui se faict à la court (1588): [prend pour regle la regle de la cour: 1595]"; speaking of Homer: "un patron (1588) [un maistre: 1595] tres parfait en la connoissance de toutes choses"; "pour servir de patron de mes meurs (1588): [de montre de mes meurs: 1595]. "L'exemple est un patron libre, universel et à tout sens (1588): [L'exemple est un miroüer vague, etc.: 1595]." The other changes are for the most part to 'exemplaire' and 'modelle.' It is used five times in 1595 for the first time, always with these significations; and in three other passages it is substituted for other words; *e. g.*, "Bien qu'ils [mes caprices] soyent nez chez moy et sans patron (1595): [sans exemple: 1588]." Speaking of "l'esprit humain": "C'est un mouvement irregulier, perpetuel, sans patron et sans but: (1595): [sans arrest et sans but: 1588]." Speaking of Socrates: "On a dequoy . . . de presenter l'image de ce personnage à tous patrons et formes de perfection (1595): [à tous exemples et formes . . . 1588]."

Montaigne's treatment of these last words would seem to indicate only great verbal carefulness; but in the following one less frequently employed, and never freshly used in 1595, we may catch a hint, as in our first examples, of a certain disapproval.

'Garnir' is changed fifteen times. The past participle is the form most used; and for this is substituted 'doué,' 'pourvu,' 'revestu,' 'fourni,' 'peuplé,' while the infinitive is replaced by 'meubler,' or by 'armer,' as the participle is in the following sentence: "Nature . . . m'ayant peu garny de force, m'a garny d'insensibilité . . . (1588): [Nature . . . m'ayant desarmé de force, m'a armé d'insensibilité . . . 1595]."

The word remains unchanged some half dozen times.

With regard to another word, Montaigne's use of which I have not studied with thoroughness, I have been struck by a fact that is somewhat odd when considered in relation to the history of the word. The word is 'Patrie,' which came into use in the sixteenth century. Its 'invention' has been ascribed to Joachim du Bellay and he was in his own day reproached with it as a neologism. But it was employed before him by Claude Gruget, by Etienne Dolet and by Hugues Salel.[20]

[17] Liv. II, ch. 12: Near the end; just after the quotation beginning *Lurida prœterea.*

[18] In the passage, first printed in 1595, in the chapter on 'Tristesse,' where that quality is spoken of a "sot et vilain ornament," the phrase appears in Naigeon's edition (1802) as "sot et monstrueuse ornament." This may be believed to be a case where Montaigne's manuscript shows various readings. See above, note 3.

[19] Liv. III, 5.

[20] See an article by A. Delboulle in the *Rev. d'hist. litt. de la France*, Oct.–Dec., 1901.

In 1570 Montaigne employs it in a letter to the Chancelier de L'Hospital. Writing of Estienne de la Boétie, he speaks of "la tendre amour qui il portoit à sa miserable patrie." In 1580 he uses, in the essay 'Du Pedantisme,' the expression "la deffence de sa patrie"; again in the same edition, in the essay "De l'Amitié,' is the phrase "le repos de sa patrie." But in both these instances the word is changed in 1595 to "pais." It almost seems as if Montaigne had been at first attracted by the neologism, and then had disapproved it. But it remains unchanged in a 1580 passage of the essay 'De la Coustume,' and in another in the essay 'De la Solitude,' and in a 1588 passage of the essay 'Coustume de l'isle de Cea,' which are the only times I have observed it in the edition of 1595. It is not used, I think, in any passage added in 1595. 'Pays' is used, in various connotations, with natural frequency, but not very often.

Another word that has also had a peculiar fate (but a different one from those already mentioned), in the pages of the *Essais*, is 'Iceluy' and its feminine and plural forms, Icelle and Iceux. It is the old form, dating from the eleventh century, of 'Celui,' more particularly used for 'Celui dont on a parlé auparavant.' It was already in Montaigne's day somewhat antiquated. The grammarian and translator, Louis Meygret, writing in the middle of the sixteenth century, notes: "Iceluy, icelle, desquelles les courtisans n'usent pas communement." It is not to be found in the writers of the seventeenth century, except as an intentional archaism.

And 'Iceluy' is to be found only twice, 'Icelle' five times and 'Iceux' and 'Icelles' three times in the 1588 edition of the *Essais;* ten times in all; but in that of 1595 'Iceluy' occurs, *additionally*, seven times; 'Icelle' twenty times, and 'Iceux' and 'Icelles' ten times; thirty-seven times in all, making the whole number of times these words are used, forty-six; (in one instance in an extraordinarily clumsy sentence of 1580 (Liv. II, 8), the phrase is changed in 1595, and 'iceux' drops out). These words are found ten times in Montaigne's translation of *Sebond*, and four times in his *Voyages;* but it would seem as if they had become suddenly, in his last three or four years, a favorite form with him. Their increased frequency of use is not occasioned by their taking the place of other words, with perhaps only two exceptions.[21] The passages in which these words appear are, for the most part, of some length, and are more often inserted in the earlier than in the later essays.

In the 1635 edition Mlle. de Gournay has occasionally changed these words, *e. g.*: "A l'adventure, pourroit sembler inutile et contre nature la faculté de sommeil . . . en'estoit que par iceluy nature nous instruict que . . . et, dés la vie nous presente l'eternel estat qu'elle nous garde aprés icelle pour nous y accoustumer."[22] The "iceluy" Mlle. de Gournay changed to "ce moyen," the "icelle" to "elle," not perceiving, unfortunately, that 'elle' would refer to "la nature" and not (as 'icelle' does) to "la vie."

This is the change—to 'eux' and 'elles' or 'ceux' and 'celles'—that Mlle. de Gournay makes oftenest, some half dozen times; once she simply omits the word; twice she supplies other words, as thus: "lors que la vieillesse ou les maladies les approchent de leur mort, la terreur d'icelle [sa terreur : 1635] les remplit d'une nouvelle creance."[23] "C'est une grande place au milieu de laquelle il y a une fosse pleine de bois, et joignant icelle [joignant la fosse : 1635] un lieu relevé . . ."[24]

The fact that this word has been sometimes changed by Mlle. de Gournay is presumptive evidence that it was not she who more often used it in the edition of 1595. But we have only presumptive evidence to go upon, not only with regard to this, but with regard to the other pecu-

[21] One of these exceptions is in Liv. II, 31: "Ceux-là se sont donnez beau jeu en nostre temps, qui ont essayé de choquer la verité de nostre creance par les vices de nos gens d'eglise . . . (1588): [la verité de nostre Eglise par les vices des ministres d'icelle . . . 1595]." In the edition of 1635, Mlle. de Gournay changed this to "les vices de ses ministres."

Another exception is in Liv. II, 12, where discussing the doctrine of transmigration, Montaigne remarks, in 1580: "S'il naissoit plus d'animaux qu'ils n'en mourroit, ils disent que les corps seroient en mauvais party, attendant l'infusion de leur ame, et en adviendroit qu'aucuns corps (*i. e.*, que quelques corps) [qu'aucuns d'iceux : 1595] se mourroient avant que d'avoir esté vivans."

[22] Liv. II, 6. [23] Liv. II, 12. [24] Liv. II, 29.

liarities here considered, and with regard also to more interesting points. The reader of the edition of 1595 has absolutely no proof that what he reads is Montaigne's text; it is impossible to assert positively that a single one of the changes of 'Goust' and the other words here dwelt upon were made by Montaigne himself. The duties of editors were not carefully defined in the sixteenth century. This doubt might include many important passages, the manuscript of which no longer exists; they appear to have been written on loose sheets that were laid between the leaves of the Bordeaux volume, and have now disappeared.

But the personal character of Pierre de Brach and Mlle. de Gournay, who worked together in editing the edition of 1595, and their admiring friendship for Montaigne, makes it improbable that they seriously tampered with the text. That they misread it here and there, and sometimes inserted the matter on the loose leaves in wrong places is sufficiently obvious to the student. But the avowal of Mlle. de Gournay of the changes she made in 1635, and their slightness, is good assurance of her previous fidelity.

None the less there would be great interest to a student of Montaigne in a careful study of the volume at Bordeaux, a study that might now be pursued in any part of the world by means of a photographed copy. Several of its pages have already been facsimiled, and published in various books and periodicals, and in more than one of these reproductions differences from the received text are to be found which have not been made public in any other manner; although two or three writers on the subject have given in print still other instances of dissimilarity.[25]

M. Dezeimeris, the greatest living authority on all that concerns Montaigne, wrote forty years ago: "Si, grâce au trésor conservé par la bibliothèque de Bordeaux, nous pouvons constater que le fond des additions de Montaigne a été fidèlement transcrit, nous pouvons constater aussi que, soit par la faute du transcripteur de Brach, soit par celle de l'imprimeur L'Angelier, soit par celle de la correctrice Mlle. de Gournay, des phrases importantes ont été négligées, des erreurs, des inexactitudes ont été commises et, parfois, la physionomie même du texte a été assez gravement alterée." [26]

The lover of Montaigne who should command the volume at Bordeaux to be photographed, would deserve and receive the gratitude of the students of Montaigne. The authorities at the Library were approached on this matter some time ago, and it is believed that they would be pleased and proud to have the work done.

Grace Norton.

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[25] Among others, M. Bonnefon, in an article on Mlle. de Gournay in the *Rev. d'hist. litt.* for 15 jan., 1896. The readings he gives are almost, but not quite, identical with those of Naigeon. He does not say how he obtained them, whether or not by personal examination of the manuscript.

[26] Quoted by M. Bonnefon in the above mentioned article.

ETYMOLOGICAL NOTE.

French *mâchefer* = Eastern Dialect Form of *merdefer*.

Concerning the etymology of the word *mâchefer* (= *slag*), the *Dictionnaire Général* says: "Composé avec *fer* et un premier élément d'explication incertaine." Scheler connects the word with the verb *macher*, *maquer*. Littré thinks the explanation probable, but correctly observes that we should in this case expect *machefer* and not *mâchefer*. A most serious objection to Scheler's view is that a compound of the kind he suggests would designate the instrument with which the iron is beaten and not the slag which falls in the process of beating. Besides *mâchefer* like the English *slag* is applied more particularly to the molten mass of refuse that gathers like scum on the top of the iron in the process of melting the mineral.

The first element of *mâchefer* has no more to do with *macher* than with *mâcher*. The correct origin of the word was suggested to me by a recent article of Antoine Thomas in *Romania*, xxxiv, pp. 177–205 (*Gloses provençales inédites tirées d'un ms. des Derivationes d' Ugucio de Pise*). Among the Provençal words that occur there, is

merdafer, on which Thomas' comment (*l. c.*, pp. 195–6) is in part as follows: "*Merdafer* est une traduction naturaliste du lat. *scoria* qui a sur le mot français *mâchefer* l'avantage de la clarté; le mot n'est ni dans Rochegude ni dans Raynouard, mais on peut constater dans le *Tresor* de Mistral qu'il est encore très vivant, sous les formes *merdo-ferre*, *merdo-fer*, *merdo-her*, et qu'il a un synonyme qui procède de la même idée sémantique dans *cago-ferre*. Je ne vois rien d'analogue dans Godefroy, mais je lis dans Nicot: '*Merde de fer*, *scoria ferri*' et dans Cotgrave non seulement *merde de fer*, mais en un seul mot, *merdefer*, qui est traduit par 'The Drass of Iron.'"

Now *mâchefer* is the same word as the old Provençal *merdafer*, the modern Provençal forms cited by Mistral, and the French form *merdefer*, which is given by Cotgrave, only it is a dialectic form from the Eastern iron ore region of France that covers parts of Franche-Comté and the surrounding provinces.

The form *mâchefer* itself, which occurs in the glossary of the patois of Chaussin (Jura), is evidently French and consequently proves nothing. I base my argument on the development of the medial consonant group *rd* in many dialects of the region in question, namely, *rd* > *gd* > d^j (palatal *d*) > *dʒ*. (I make use of the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association.) It must be further noted that when the vowel preceding *rd* was an *e*, it had in many dialects been opened to an *a* before the disappearance of the *r*. Whenever then we find these phonetic conditions, as, for example, in the patois of Petit-Noir (Jura), and in that of the Franche-Montagne (Jura), which have respectively *madhy*' [1] (= mad^j) and *māǧ* [2] (= *ma* : *dʒ*) for the Latin MERDA, the representative of French *merdefer* would be *ma* : *dʒfɛ* : *r*, or rather, as a result of regressive assimilation, *ma* : *ʧfɛ* : *r* which naturally becomes in the French *ma* : *ʃfɛ* : *r* (*i. e.*, *mâchefer*).

The oldest example of the use in French of the word *mâchefer*, according to the *Dictionnaire Général*, is found in Villon, *Gr. Testam.*, l. 693, and the date of this poem is 1461. From the evidence of the fall of *r* before consonants found in Eastern French documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[3] it is not unreasonable to suppose that in this region the group *rd* had lost its *r* long before the time of Villon, at least in the popular speech.

There is no difficulty, therefore, either phonetically or chronologically, in recognizing *mâchefer* as an Eastern dialectic, most likely Franc-comtois, form of *merdefer*.

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[1] F. Richenet, *le Patois de Petit-Noir*, *Dole*, 1896, p. 164.

[2] M. Grammont, *le Patois de la Franche-Montagne*, Paris, 1901, p. 221.

[3] Cf. *Goerlich*, *Der Burgundische Dialekt im XIII. und XIV. Jahrhundert*, pp. 105–7.

GERMAN LEXICOGRAPHY.

Deutsch-Englisches Sachwörterbuch. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Grammatik, Synonymik und der Realien. Mit Zitaten und einem alphabetischen Verzeichnis der englischen Wörter. Herausgegeben von Professor Dr. W. SATTLER. Leipzig: Rengersche Buchhandlung, 1904. 8vo., xx, 1035 and 89 pp.

The author considers it necessary in his Preface to offer apologies for the publication of a new German-English Dictionary considering the excellent previous works in this line of Flügel, Muret, Schroer and Hoppe. But we feel certain that no one interested in the English language will think his task a superfluous one. The above-mentioned dictionaries are no doubt most helpful and valuable to the student of the English language. But as regards practical value and instructive as well as interesting reading, the present work leaves its predecessors far behind. This is due to a successful union of dictionary, encyclopædia ("Reallexikon"), Synonomy and Grammar, as well as to unusually numerous quotations not only from the older language, but also from that of the present day. We have examples from the Bible, from Bunyan, Shakspeare, Milton, from modern novel-writers, periodicals, current newspapers, etc., etc. Hoppe's useful work offers, indeed, minute discussions of the "Realien"

(*i. e.*, customs, institutions, public life, etc.), and expressions not generally known, illustrated by quotations; but as it purposes to be a supplementary lexicon to all previous dictionaries, it can hardly be considered appropriate for general use.

The "Sachwörterbuch" gives a good-sized vocabulary including the most important synonyms, the "Realien" and exhaustive grammatical notes. The admission of the author's "Adverbiale Zeitverhältnisse" as well as the references to his "Beiträge zur englischen Grammatik" in the "Anglia" and "Englische Studien" greatly enhance the usefulness of the work. The many passages quoted from English literature of past and present times serve to illustrate the author's statements. He hopes readers may be enabled to spend a leisure hour pleasantly by perusing his book; cf. Preface, p. vi: "Was Macaulay von dem Johnsonschen Lexikon sagt, dass man mit dem Durchblättern eine Mussestunde höchst angenehm verbringen könne, wird sich hoffentlich mit ebensoviel Recht von meinem Wörterbuch sagen lassen, das neben all dem schulmässigen Lehrkram eine Fülle von Unterhaltungsstoff enthält." Having read the whole book, we feel convinced that the author fully succeeded in his purpose.

As Professor Sattler, during his activity as a teacher, had felt for a long time the need of a vocabulary for students which might include the most important synonyms, he began to collect for this purpose many years ago. A particular arrangement is introduced in the Dictionary, *i. e.*, individual expressions are not mentioned in alphabetical order, but all related words are united under one catch-word. This not only affords a clear insight into the synonyms, but it also imparts more life and interest to the language, and offers the opportunity to accentuate, with the addition of citations, the difference of related expressions; thus it is of practical use for the grammar as well as for the understanding of the "Realien." An alphabetical list of the English words, in a supplementary volume, removes the difficulty of finding any individual word.

As to the "Realien," one cannot help being struck with the thoroughness of the writer's knowledge of English public life, in all its phases. Under the heading *adeln*, p. 10–12, the most interesting account is given of the English Nobility and Gentry; cp. also the instructive passages with the catch-words *arm* and *Arm*, p. 45–48; *Badekarren*, p. 74–76; *blühen*, p. 133–136; *Dichter*, p. 172–173; *Einkommen*, pp. 199 and 200; *Flotte*, p. 259–261; *Fuchs*, p. 282–284; *Ministerium*, p. 556–560; *Wort*, p. 978 and 979, and many others.

The numerous grammatical notes, always illustrated by suitable examples, are a decided advantage, and we must agree with Professor Sattler that in many cases they render the use of a special grammar, besides his Dictionary, superfluous.

Although the writer mentions in the Preface, that his dictionary cannot claim completeness ("Dies Wörterbuch kann nun seiner ganzen Anlage nach auf Vollständigkeit keinen Anspruch machen; über ein Mehr oder Weniger werden die Ansichten auseinandergehen, wie ich selbst manchmal geschwankt und wiederholt gestrichen habe," etc.), I trust a few suggestions for the next edition may not be out of place.

It might be advisable to add a few English words in common use, as *caster* (Röllchen an den Füssen von Möbeln), *cream of Tartar* (gereinigter Weinstein), *garbage* (Abfall), *lawn-mower*[1] (Rasenmähmaschine), *millet* (Hirse), *tripper* (Ausflügler), etc.

German readers might be interested to know that *Commencement* (32, 34) is a term universally used in America for academic promotion as well as for the time and festivities of promotion. Under *bulletin* (107, 54), we miss the expression *bulletin-board*, which is the term for boards fixed in the halls of American institutions of learning and used for notices, public announcements or official reports.—Having mentioned the *prize-court* (118, 47) and *prize-fight* (457, 43), we think *prize-fighter* might also be added, *i. e.*, one that fights publicly for a reward.—The German words *Lohn, Bezahlung, Honorar, Trinkgeld* are given for *fee* (122, 7); the word *Gebühren* (plur.), might also be mentioned.—*Heart's ease* (135, 55) is given for *Stiefmütterchen*; the word *pansy* (pan—pronounced like E. pen), is more commonly used. Besides the real sense indicated by the author, *to*

[1] This term is customary in America, whilst *mower* (966, 25) is used in England.

boom (153, 8) has a very frequently used figurative sense in the United States, meaning *Reklame machen, agitieren* (f. jemand), *auf den Schild erheben.* In the substantive *boom*, we have a similar meaning, *i. e.*, *Agitation* (f. jemand), *künstliche Begeisterung.*—By the side of *ill-bred* (224, 22), *underbred* should be mentioned; it slightly differs in meaning from the former, which Professor Sattler renders: *ungebildet, unmanierlich.* Whilst ill-bred indicates *ill, bad breeding*, one might say underbred = *lack of breeding.*—Having mentioned that *breakfast parties* (282, 60) generally take place without ladies, especially in literary circles and in Universities, one well-known occasion, where ladies are very much in demand for a breakfast party, could be indicated, *i. e.*, the yearly breakfast, given by Magdalen College Students, Oxford, on the first of May, after a Latin hymn has been sung on Magdalen College Tower at sunrise.—That *punting* is a very fashionable outdoor pleasure on the Thames and Cherwell, in which ladies as well as gentlemen freely indulge, might be added under *punt* (153, 8).—*Halloween* (455, 38) is celebrated in Ireland and America as well as in Scotland.—A few additional popular *card-games* (460, 20) played at evening-parties in England, would be: *Nap* (*i. e.*, Napoleon), *Poker, Spoof, Old Maid.* — Among the quoted sects of *Dissenters* (472, 25), we miss the *Mennonites*, the *Exclusive Plymouth Brethren* (the *Plymouth Fathers* are mentioned 656, 16), the *Universalists.* The term *Anabaptists* is still in use beside *Baptists.* The Presbyterians are not all dissenters. The state church in Scotland is Presbyterian; the dissenters from it are called the Free Church or the United Free Church. Moravians are styled in England Plymouth Brethren, or United Brethren. Puritans is a general term for the strict professors in all sects and was first given about three hundred years or so ago; the dissenters from the Church of England were generally known by that name in the reign of Elizabeth and the first two Stuarts.—A *stowaway* should be indicated under *to stow* (521, 56); there are generally a few stowaways, *i. e.*, persons who hide themselves, stow themselves away, as it were, in the hold on ocean-steamers with a view of obtaining a free passage.—A more familiar term than *coachee* (632, 9) for coachman is *cabbie*, especially used with reference to drivers of cabs and hansoms in London.—It would be interesting for German *lawn-tennis* (642, 18) players to know that there is a decided difference between *lawn-tennis* and *tennis*, although the two terms are now used promiscuously. Tennis is a play in which a ball is driven continually to and fro by several persons striking it alternately with a small racket; the object is to keep the ball in motion as long as possible without allowing it to fall to the ground. This game was introduced in England in the thirteenth century. It was very popular with the nobility in the sixteenth century, and continued to be so down to the reign of Charles II. Tennis-court was the term for the oblong edifice, in which the game was played.—The word *city* (756, 33) has in America a much wider meaning than in England; any corporate town governed by a mayor may bear that name in the United States.—Under *slums* (772, 35), an explanation of the *slums* in large cities would be appropriate. The term is generally applied to dark back streets where a poor, dirty, and very often degraded people resides. We find an interesting and instructive account on the state of this population in East, South and Central London in Charles Booth's work: *Life and Labour of the People in London* (London, Macmillan & Co., and New York, The Macmillan Co., 1902). *The Battle with the Slums* (New York, Macmillan Company, 1902), as well as *Children of the Tenements* (New York, Macmillan Company, 1903), both by Jacob Riis, describe minutely the condition of the slums in New York.—There may be some connexion between *squabble* and ndd. *Kabbeln* (775, 45) as suggested by the writer. Perhaps the word *kebbeln* (to quarrel) used in popular language in the western part of Rhen. Prussia is also related.—We are told (930, 22) that *conductor* is also termed *cad* ("eig. *caddie*, in Edinburg ein Bote"). It might be worth while to add that *caddie* is well known as a name for the boys accompanying golf-players for the purpose of carrying their golf-sticks.—The *teller* is a political term, as illustrated in the Sachwörterbuch (985, 36). In America the term is usual for an official in a banking establishment who has to receive and pay money for bills, orders, etc.—The *eleven* "die elf Spieler auf jeder Seite bei Cricket; Fussball-

Wettspielen" is found on p. 987, 53. It might be added that also in Hockey, which is so very popular at the present time for men and women, in England and America, there must be eleven on each of the two sides. According to the size of a respective Hockey club, it has a first, second, third, etc. *eleven.*—Although a good many names of dogs are mentioned (425), it might be worth while to add a few more that occur quite frequently, as schipperke, Chinese pug, Italian greyhound, Russian boar-hound, terrier. Of the latter kind, there is a great variety, often very different, such as sky-terrier, English fox-terrier, Yorkshire terrier, Dandie Dinmont. Small Mongrel dogs are called Whippets.

On page 150, 52, we have: pl. *arme Ritter, Omelette,* f., *auch omelet.* Now, there is, as far as I know, a great difference between an English omelet and the German arme Ritter; the chief ingredient of the latter is bread, no bread is used for the omelet. In English cooking books, we find Arme Ritter, if at all, under the heading: "What to do with stale bread."—It is perhaps not generally known that the word *marmalade* (or marmelade, 151, 3 and 279, 36) is in England exclusively used for jam prepared from oranges; conserves of other fruits are termed jam; cp. raspberry-, gooseberry-, currant-, strawberry-, etc., jam.—The expression *gown and cap* (der Studenten, 427, 37) sounds unfamiliar; *cap and gown* is the usual order.—With regard to *women Colleges* (843, 4), it would be worth while to accentuate, that English female students would feel more or less insulted if they were termed "girls," whilst it is quite customary in America to speak of females of all ages and occupations as "girls." Hence *women* colleges or halls is invariably the term for "Studienhäuser für weibl. Studierende" in Great Britain and Ireland, whilst in America the expression "*girls'* Colleges" is a favorite one. In England, university students are termed men and women; in America, boys and girls is the usual name.—*Somerville Hall* (843, 8) was incorporated as a *College* in 1881; it was not, however, till 1894 that the term Somerville *College* for Somerville *Hall* came into general use.—The words Responsions, Smalls, Little Go, etc., should be defined as names for different English University Entrance Examinations. They are generally passed before and not after (846, 24) registering as a Student; only exceptionally they are passed after the first, second or third term. The word *Tripos* (847, 5) is peculiar to Cambridge, England; in Oxford the term Honours is used in much the same sense; cp. Oxford University Honours Examination, Honours Papers, etc.—As to *Senior Wranglers* (847, 29), a more explicit statement might have been given. The Senior Wrangler is the graduate who has passed the best examination in mathematics for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the University of Cambridge, England; then follows the second, third, fourth, etc., wrangler.—Now and then, on perusing the "Sachwörterbuch," one meets with an expression that can scarcely be considered as generally used, although it is not marked as obsolete, *depart* (as noun; 5, 12) and *aristocratical* (11, 57), which are given in addition to the usual forms, might have been omitted; they scarcely ever occur.—Cp. also "sixty years of age old" (18, 8) for "sixty years old" or "sixty years of age"; "Esqr." for "Esq."; will-he, nill-he (946, 41), although it occurs in the passage from Hughes' *Tom Brown's School-Days,* is nowadays only known in the form "willy nilly."

The etymologies given by the author, although brief, decidedly heighten the value of the book.

Comparatively very few errata are to be found; cp. p. 14, 47 praktisieren for praktizieren; p. 17, 4, *A*hnlichkeit for Ähnlichkeit; p. 18, 33, altmodi*g* for altmodisch; p. 32, 16, rüdiments for rudiments; p. 39, 15, assumtion and p. 270, 20, exemtion, should be spelt assum*p*tion and exem*p*tion; p. 62, 10, OE. risa*m* (to rise) for risan; p. 200, 58, uma*c*hliessen for umschliessen; p. 212, 55, Illustrated ews for Illustrated News; p. 311, 54, strengh*t* for strength; p. 354, 12, deité for déité; p. 363, 56, obeissance for obéissance; p. 560, 16, meddleso*m* for meddlesome; p. 840, 3, Har*w*ard for Harvard; p. 932, 40, Erzatzwahl for Ersatzwahl; p. 944, 4, *au* raison de for à (*or* en) raison de; p. 964, 2, ags. calswa for ealswa; p. 998, 28, kon*v*ersative for konservative.

A great advantage of the book is the clear, distinct print, which doubtless will be highly appreciated by all readers.

Although the work is of a large dimension, yet foreign words in the German language have

scarcely found a place (cp. furnieren; to veneer, 381, 29). It would be a most interesting and valuable work to write eventually a supplementary volume of "Fremdwörter in the German Language" on the same plan as the "Sachwörterbuch." It is beyond doubt that educated people would highly welcome such an addition, and let us hope that Professor Sattler may find time and leisure to accomplish this difficult task. Yet even without such a supplement, the "Sachwörterbuch" cannot fail to meet with universal appreciation.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

GEORGES PELLISSIER: *Études de Littérature et de Morale contemporaines.* Paris: Ed. Cornély et Cie, 1905.

The qualities of the almost ideal critic which we have learned to appreciate a long time since in Mr. Pellissier, those qualities which have contributed to the great success of his two volumes on the "Mouvement littéraire" in the nineteenth century, and which make his text-book on the History of French literature the best that can be put in the hands of our students, will be found again in his newly published work. But, as for many other men of letters in France, a change is noticeable since the last publication by the same author. Before, literature was the chief object of Mr. Pellissier. His books were only "Études de littérature contemporaine"; this one is called "Études de littérature *et de morale* contemporaines." He had his word to say about the recent events in France, as they were reëchoed in literature or elsewhere. In impartiality, soundness, nobleness, his views as expressed here, rank second to no one else among his contemporaries and countrymen.

Though, if one allows oneself to be guided by reason alone, it is difficult in general not to accept his views, I do not mean to say that every one will agree in every particular point with Mr. Pellissier; most of the time, however, disagreements will turn out to be mere questions of nuance.

One of Mr. Pellissier's favorite ideas—one which he had developed already at length in his "Mouvement littéraire contemporain"—is that literary schools no longer exist in France, and never will exist again. (Cf. the first essay in the book, and *passim.*) But I am afraid that in arguing the point he has perhaps suggested to some of his readers, conclusions which he himself had not in mind. At any rate, the word "School" is misleading. A critic explains to the public the literary features which are characteristic of an epoch; with this purpose in view, he groups elements appearing sporadically and separately in different writers, but they very seldom apply together to any individual author; or else it is in a way so indefinite and vague that it can no longer be considered a specific description of a man. In other terms, those characteristics thus grouped are those of the epoch, not of the authors, and the authors are simply under the influence of their time. In Romanticism there are men as different as Vigny, Hugo, Musset, in Naturalism as Daudet and Zola, in Parnassism as Coppée and Sully-Prudhomme, and so on. Those men work under similar circumstances; that is all. There is no school. Who would you call really a pupil of Victor Hugo? Therefore, I should consider the question of the existence of literary schools as dependent upon the conditions and aspirations of the epoch which they reflect. And as we are still changing our social ideals, as *e. g.*, the pendulum will probably continue to swing back and forth for quite a while yet between idealism and realism, literary movements or tendencies will inevitably follow.

This much must probably be granted to the contentions of Mr. Pellissier that, thanks to our learning which has broadened our power of appreciation, we are able to enjoy—or even to produce—art of any kind. For example, we will appreciate a work of Classical form and inspiration though it is not now in keeping with our natural preoccupation and ideals.

The same subject is treated in No. XII, *Sainte-Beuve et Taine et la critique contemporaine.* This was written for the celebration of the 100th anniversary of Sainte-Beuve's birth. Though admiring Taine, Pellissier cannot help seeing in him a representative of dogmatism, and therefore thinks that Saint-Beuve is much superior after all. One confuses, he says, *esprit philosophique* and *esprit*

de système. The second is likely to lead astray—Taine was a victim of it; the first is safe and legitimate—Sainte-Beuve was a master in applying it to literature. The conclusion (p. 179) is very strong: "Du système de Taine rien ne restera que ce qui provenait de Sainte-Beuve. Il nous faut maintenant reprendre les choses où Sainte-Beuve les avait laissées, en débarrassant la critique du dogmatisme spécieux et stérile auquel Taine et ses disciples l'ont trop longtemps asservie." Perhaps too strong! There are in our way of thinking, periods of doubt and periods of belief; the first will be reflected in criticism (as elsewhere) by authors showing the *esprit philosophique,* the other by authors showing *the esprit de système* or dogmatism. This or that will be in turn considered legitimate. Just now we are in a period of doubt; dogmatists are strangers among us. But who can say how long this will last?

The foregoing are questions of theory. As soon as it comes to the application of sound critical principles, there is nothing to keep us from admiring in Mr. Pellissier a wonderful example of a well-balanced mind. His Essays on Albalat "L'art d'écrire et les corrections des grands écrivains" (No. III), "Le paysan dans notre littérature moderne" (X), "Les 'vierges fortes' de M. Marcel Prevost" (XI), "George Sand" (XV), "Universités populaires" (XVII), will remain as models of sound argumentation. Let me mention also the essay on Madame de Noailles, "A propos du 'Visage émerveillé'" (XX), which is a jewel of forcible and delightful irony—terribly deserved by the modern précieuse!

I should like to call attention particularly to two studies on style. One of them, "La langue littéraire moderne" (XIV), examines the contribution of the more recent generations to the French vocabulary and style. The other, "Le Style noble et la Tragédie classique" (VI), is a most remarkably fascinating and minute study of the question of Classicism and Romanticism from the point of view of style. Thus viewed this old subject is completely renewed; to such a degree that it may be to many almost a revelation. Every student of French literature knew that the facts were there; nobody yet had taken the trouble to really work them out. As a reference for private reading for our college students, this essay will be invaluable.

Let us now say a few words as to the attitude of Mr. Pellissier before the events of recent years in France. Two essays show by their titles alone the preoccupations of the author in writing them. "L'affaire Dreyfus et la littérature française" (IV), and "'Vérité' d'Émile Zola" (XVI). (Cf. also VIII, "L'École sans Dieu," and XVII, "Universités populaires.") As to the question of principles, it is treated in two lectures that were first given in the "Grande Salle de l'Université" in Geneva, Switzerland. They are: "Voltaire philosophe" (XIX), and "La conversion de M. Ferdinand Brunetière" (XXII). Mr. Pellissier has picked out the two men who seem to him to impersonate best the two sides of the intellectual France of to-day. Voltaire is the man who had tried to free France from whatever appeared accidental both in religion and ethics, viz.: superstition, intolerance and dogmatism. He had prepared the way to our modern individualism in thought: society is there for the individual and not the reverse. Brunetière is the representative of the spirit of reaction on religious and moral grounds; with an indisputable dialectic power, he tries to convince us that we ought to submit the individual to social powers. He recoils before no consequences; he puts before the men of the twentieth century as a fundamental truth the famous word of Bossuet: "L'hérétique, c'est celui qui a une opinion," and, when his fellow men, unable to understand a writer of his attainments taking such a position, ask him to state exactly what he believes, he answers simply: "Allez le demander à Rome." On one point both Voltaire and Brunetière agree: they make metaphysical and religious beliefs to depend upon ethics. Voltaire seems to be the more logical of the two when he accepts religious doctrines only in so far as they are necessary to support morality. Brunetière, on the other hand, seeing that in this way religion is necessarily taken down from its throne, is afraid of the consequences; thus he suddenly and slyly leaves the theoretical for the practical ground in order to continue the discussion. Men, he says, need an authority; for they are not good enough to be allowed to rely upon themselves in their actions. As Bossuet in the seventeenth century claimed that Protestantism was anarchy, Brunetière to-day shows that democracy or individualism is anarchy and threatens the founda-

tions of society: therefore, we must go back to authority; and the Church is the power that can be trusted. Finally comes Mr. Pellissier, who pitilessly exposes Brunetière's arguments. In fact, he says, Brunetière only refuses liberty and individualism because he does not see good results; but implicitly and even occasionally he recognizes openly its superiority. Now, there is another road open: Let us suffer, if necessary, and be superior; and let us hope too—all the chances have not been exhausted anyway. I cannot reproduce here in full the beautiful and firm argumentation of Mr. Pellissier. I will rather add one or two quotations:

On page 320, "Donc parceque nos pères ont été catholiques, nous serons tenus de l'être, même quand notre raison et notre conscience y répugnent! N'est-ce pas ravaler la religion que de la subordonner ainsi aux hazards de la naissance, que d'en faire quelque chose d'héréditaire comme une maison ou un champ?"

Speaking of the same question elsewhere he has this striking image (p. 122): "Un chef fidjéen, suivi d'une longue file de guerriers, grimpait un sentier de montagne. Il butta et tomba. Aussitôt tous ses hommes buttèrent et tombèrent. Un seul continua de monter. Et les autres l'assaillirent: 'Tu crois donc, s'écriaient-ils, valoir mieux que le chef!' Devons-nous, comme les indigènes de Fidji, témoigner notre respect à ceux qui nous précédèrent en répétant leurs chutes?" . . .

The last quotation illustrates the moment when Mr. Pellissier, after the refutation of Brunetière's views, takes in his turn the offensive; he loses no time and no word, his blows come swift and hard: (pp. 346–47.)

"Le catholicisme, enfin, c'est un gouvernement,—et le protestantisme est une anarchie. Formule à effet, que dément l'observation et qui ne soutient pas l'examen. . . . Tout protestant étant pape, comme dit Voltaire, tout protestant doit être roi; tout protestant, comme citoyen égal à ses concitoyens, doit avoir sa part de la souveraineté nationale. Bien des fois M. Brunetière s'est déclaré démocrate. Qu'entendait-il donc par là? Et pourquoi veut-il maintenant faire de *démocratie* et d'*anarchie* deux termes synonymes?

Si la religion protestante n'est pas une anarchie, encore moins serait-elle une religion aristocratique. Ici même,[1] M. Brunetière prononçait voilà deux ans, son *Discours sur l'œuvre de Calvin* dans lequel il reproche à la Réforme d'avoir aristocratisé le catholicisme. On peut lui opposer "les républicains de Génève, les puritains d'Écosse ou d'Angleterre, les presbytériens d'Amérique" et tant d'autres encore. Mais répond-il "de quelque nom qu'on les nomme ce sont là des élites." Des élites—je retiens le mot; et, retournant, ce mot contre lui, je prétends que ce qu'il y a de plus démocratique dans la religion protestante, c'est justement qu'elle fait, de toute une nation, *une élite*. Oui, les protestants sont en un certain sens des aristocrates, si l'on entend par là comme l'expliquait M. Brunetière, que, devant "se rendre compte à eux-mêmes des raisons raisonnées de leur croyance, ils n'y arrivent qu'en acquérant du même coup une science qui les élève au dessus du vulgaire." Les protestants sont des aristocrates; seulement, ces "aristocrates" ayant tous acquis la supériorité intellectuelle que M. Brunetière veut bien leur reconnaître, forment entre eux une démocratie; et, quant à moi, je ne vois rien de plus beau qu'une démocratie d'aristocrates."

The argumentation having reached this point, it is probably more a question of temperament than anything else that will cause individual people to decide. A pessimist will be on Mr. Brunetière's side, an optimist on Mr. Pellissier's.

A. Schinz.

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[1] M. Brunetière had also been called to lecture on Calvin before the University of Geneva. It was during the winter of 1902–3.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A Correction.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—In *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xx, 191–2, Dr. U. Lindelöf takes exception to a statement made by Dr. C. Alphonso Smith in his cogent review of my dissertation on *The Inflection of the English Present Plural Indicative with Special Reference to the Northern Dialect* (Baltimore, 1903):

"On p. 36 Dr. Rodeffer mentions the view of Sweet, Murray, and Bülbring that the inflectional *-s* of the Northern third singular and the indicative plural is due to the transition of *þ* to *s*, and says that suspicion is cast on this explanation because its advocates can cite no analogous processes. He continues: 'But there are other facts that tend to cast suspicion on the correctness of this view. The organic transition from *þ* to *s* would explain the plurals in *-as* but not those in *-es*, an inflection that occurs frequently in both the indicative and the imperative plurals in the *Durham Ritual* and the *Lindisfarne Gospels* . . . With these *es*-plurals should be associated the plurals in *-eþ*, common to all the Early Northern texts. Since these texts were written at a period antedating the weakening of *a* to *e* in inflectional syllables, these plurals in *-eþ* and *-es* were probably formed on the analogy of the *-eþ* and *-es* of the third singular.' So far as I know, Dr. Rodeffer is the first to note this apparent defect

in the current view and to suggest that the real difficulty lies not so much in the transition of *þ* to *s* as in the existence of a preceding *e* instead of *a*."

To this Dr. Lindelöf objects:

"Professor Alphonso C. Smith mentions Dr. Rodeffer as the first to note the fact that the Old Northumbrian plurals in *-eþ, -es* may have been formed on the analogy of the *-eþ* and *-es* of the third singular";

and proceeds to point out three occasions on which he had previously advanced this same hypothesis.

Dr. Smith had asserted, however, that I was "the first to note this apparent defect in the current view," not that I was the first to suggest "that the Old Northumbrian plurals in *-eþ, -es* may have been formed on the analogy of the *-eþ* and *-es* of the third singular." A thorogoing reviewer, such as Dr. Smith has shown himself to be, could not have made such a mistake as Dr. Lindelöf attributes to him, since my dissertation shows familiarity with all three of Dr. Lindelöf's references, two of the passages being translated in full (pp. 24–25 and pp. 25–26). It is but fair to notice Dr. Lindelöf's confession that, at the time of making his criticism, he had not yet read my dissertation.

J. D. Rodeffer.

Library of Congress.

The Dry Sea and the Carrenare.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—The reader of the very admirable article by Dr. John L. Lowes, in *Modern Philology*, III, 1–46, will not lack an interest in whatever may contribute, in however slight a degree, to completeness of reference to all the guesses that have been evoked by the Chaucerian puzzle in question. It will be noticed that in what is here added, it is the time and sequence of the conjectures that give them a special significance. I therefore beg to call attention to an interesting series of notes on the problem in *Notes and Queries* for the year 1885. The first of these (February 21, p. 149), is by Dr. William Hand Browne. He proposes to account for Chaucer's *the drye see* as a corruption of *the Adrye see*. This makes it certain that whatever credit attaches to being the first to suggest that solution belongs to Dr. Browne rather than to Mr. Paget Toynbee, whose "fifteen years ago" makes the date of his suggestion fall several years later. The second note (April 18, p. 315), is by Mr. A. Hall. The significance of the climax, which Dr. Lowes uses with such good effect, is pointed out by Mr. Hall. He misreads the passage slightly, and loses himself in an attempt to make the Dead Sea serve as an explanation of *the drye see*. The third and last note (July 11, p. 38), is the most interesting of all. It is signed L. L. K., and consists of an endorsement of the suggestion of Mr. Hales that Mandeville's "Graveley See" is the dry sea, with the added conjecture that "Carrenare may . . . . be the corruption of some Turkish or Tartar name commencing with *Kara*, such as *Kara Muren* = the black water." Since this is precisely what Dr. Lowes has shown *Carrenar* to be, it is too remarkable to be allowed to pass unnoticed.

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BRIEF MENTION.

Another valuable Germanistic library has come to this country: that of the late Professor Weinhold of Berlin, which has been donated to the University of California by Mr. John D. Spreckels, of San Francisco. Karl Weinhold was practically the last great scholar of that old school which cultivated the entire field of Germanistics; he was an authority on the history of the High German dialects, on Germanic Archæology and Mythology, and on German Folklore; and he won distinction as a literary historian by his biographical and critical essays and his editions of mediæval and modern prose and poetry. The vastness of his learning is reflected both in the size and quality of his library. It comprises about 8500 volumes and pamphlets; a number of sets of periodicals not included in this number were sold to defray the expenses of binding some 900 volumes. The folklore collection is doubtless superior to any in the country, with the possible exception of that at Harvard. But the main value of the library for purposes of research is found on the literary side, where there are hundreds of first editions, literary curiosities, and other rare books from the time of the Reformation down to the nineteenth century. The principal *Musenalmanache* and *Taschenbücher* are there in full sets; Opitz, Wieland, the Storm-and-Stress writers, and the early Romanticists are especially well represented by original editions. The library is installed in the German seminary room of the university, and Professor Schilling, to whose efforts its acquisition is due, intends to publish as soon as possible a list of the books of special value to scholars. In the meantime he will be glad to give any desired information about the contents of the collection, and to make them accessible to scholars generally.

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